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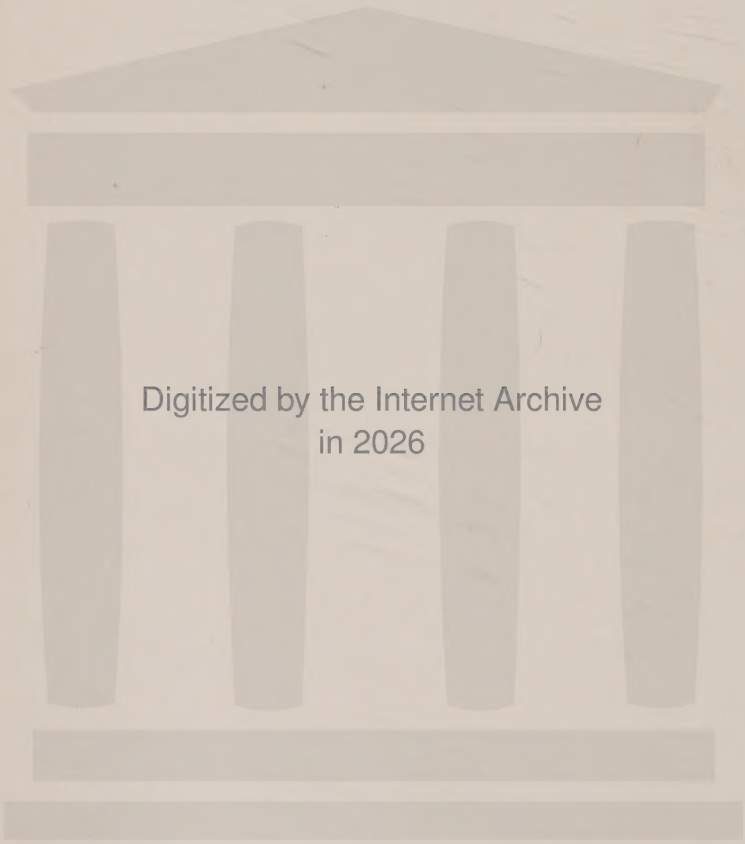
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NATIONAL CONFERENCE

ON

THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION

Held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on May 30th and 31st, and June 1st and 2nd, 1911

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GENERAL PREFACE

The First National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution, held in London in the week before Whit-Sunday, 1911, had its origin in the feeling that, whilst various sectional conferences existed, there was no opportunity for meeting and discussion open generally to those engaged in the different branches of administration connected with the prevention of destitution. The administrators of the Poor Law have long had their own elaborate system of conferences, national and local; and these Poor Law Conferences have been remarkably successful in affecting improvements in Poor Law administration, and in promoting a knowledge of its principles and its difficulties. But nothing of the kind had previously been organised as a common meeting ground for the members and officials of the municipal and other public authorities, and of the voluntary agencies, whose work is concerned, in various direct and indirect ways, with the problem of preventing, as distinguished from relieving, destitution.

The idea of such a National Conference was warmly received all over the Kingdom, and in the comparatively short time which elapsed between the first announcement of the proposal and the holding of the Conference, so much practical support was secured that the total number of delegates and members who attended amounted to 1,111, of whom almost exactly half were formally appointed representatives of public bodies, whilst the remainder were delegates from voluntary agencies and private members.

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The President of the Local Government Board for England and Wales, and the Secretary for Scotland on behalf of the Scottish Local Government Board, signified the willingness of their respective departments to sanction the payment of the expenses of reasonable delegations of councillors and officers. The President of the Board of Trade approved the attendance of officers of the Labour Exchanges and Juvenile Advisory Committees, and sanctioned the contribution of papers by the General Manager and the head of the Women's department of the Labour Exchanges.

The Conference was organised in five separate Sections, dealing severally with the following departments :—

1. The work of the Public Health Authorities in preventing destitution due to sickness or infirmity or infantile mortality.
2. The work of the Education Authorities in preventing child destitution or child neglect in any of its manifestations.

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3. The work of the Lunacy Authorities in controlling all forms of mental deficiency.
4. The work of the Labour Exchanges and Distress Committees and the Trade Union and other insurance agencies in dealing with Unemployment; and
5. Financial Responsibility, including the work of the various authorities in determining and enforcing payments for maintenance, and the sharing of the net cost between the National Exchequer and the Local Authorities.

In the report of the proceedings which follows, each of these Sections is dealt with separately, reports of joint meetings between two Sections being included in one Section only, and in the other indicated by cross-references. At the beginning of the report of each Section is printed a prefatory statement on "The Present Position," giving succinctly the state of the law, the constitution of the local authorities, and the principal facts connected with the subject matter of the Section. These Sectional prefaces were supplied in advance to all readers of papers, in order that so far as possible there should be no unnecessary repetition of commonly accepted information.

In order to allow as much time as possible for discussion at the Sectional meetings, the papers, which had been circulated beforehand in print, were taken as read. Each paper reader, however, was allowed ten minutes at the beginning of the discussion in which to give a brief summary of his paper. These summaries are not reported in this volume. With regard to the reports of the discussions it should be stated that except in a small minority of cases it has not been found practicable to submit to individual speakers proofs of their speeches. In these circumstances it is almost inevitable that a few inaccuracies should have crept into the report, and for these the Editor wishes to beg beforehand the indulgence of the speakers—if any—concerned.

It only remains to be said that at a meeting of the General Council —consisting of the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Committees, and Secretaries of Sections—held at the close of the Conference, an Executive Committee was appointed to make arrangements for the holding of future conferences on the same lines.

August, 1911.

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HON. TREASURER:

MR. GLYNNE WILLIAMS.

HON. SECRETARIES:

MR. R. V. HARCOURT, M.P.
MR. J. W. HILLS, M.P.

Hon. Secretaries of Sections:

Public Health:

DR. G. F. McCLEARY, Medical Officer of Health, Hampstead.
DR. R. A. LYSTER, County Medical Officer of Health, Hampshire
DR. C. TEMPLEMAN, Medical Officer of Health, Dundee.
MR. F. E. FREMANTLE, F.R.C.S., F.R.C.P., County Medical Officer of Health, Herts.
SIR ERNEST CLARKE. } *Organising Committee.*
MR. DOUGLAS EYRE. } *Organising Committee.*
MR. SOMERVILLE HASTINGS, F.R.C.S. } *Organising Committee.*
DR. BECKET OLVERY. } *Organising Committee.*

Education:

MR. R. A. BRAY, L.C.C.
MR. J. W. PECK, M.A., Clerk to the Edinburgh School Board.
MR. F H. SPENCER, LL.B.

Unemployment:

MR. C. M. LLOYD.

Mental Deficiency:

MISS A. H. P. KIRBY, Secretary, National Association for the Feeble-minded
DR. A. BYGOTT.

Legal and Financial:

MR. ARNOLD FREEMAN. MR. H. H. SCHLOESSER.

GENERAL SECRETARY:

MR. CLIFFORD D. SHARP.

LIST OF DELEGATES AND MEMBERS.

PUBLIC AUTHORITIES.

County Councils.

THE COUNTY COUNCILS ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES—
Clifford of Chudleigh, Lord.
Chapman, A. W.
Harris, G. Montague.
Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H.

BERKSHIRE—
Willink, H. G.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE—
Thomas, Sir John.
Watkins, C. G.
West, L. H., J.P.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE—
Fordham, Sir H. G.
Humphry, A. P.
Robinson, Dr. F.

CARDIGANSHIRE—
Davies, Vaughan.
Evans, Rev. Daniel, D.D.

CARMARTHENSHIRE—
Jones, Prof. D. E., M.A.

CHESHIRE—
Young, M.
Hodgson, Dr. William.

CORNWALL—
Pendarves, W. C.

CUMBERLAND—
Carlisle, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of.
Rawnsley, Rev. Canon.

DERBYSHIRE—
Small, Evan W.

ESSEX—
Chisenhale-Marsh, W. S.

FLINTSHIRE—
Lewis, J. Herbert, M.P.
Gladstone, Miss Helen.
Mostyn, The Rt. Hon. Lord.
Summers, J. W., M.P.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE—
Baker, M. G. Lloyd.
Hyett, F. A.
Kimmins, J. C. C.

HERTFORDSHIRE—
Fremantle, Dr. F. E.

KENT—
Berry, W. W.
Mann, Mrs. J. S.
Wingent, F.

LANARK—
Lambie, Robert.
Munro, Thomas.
Stewart, Colonel King.
Tonner, James.
Wilson, Dr. John T.
(*Upper Ward*)
Scott, J. D.
Hope-Vere, J. C.
(*Middle Ward*)
Burns, J. C.
Prentice, J.
Whyte, W. F.

LONDON—
Barrett, W. Freeman.

MIDDLESEX—
Luke, W. B.

MONMOUTHSHIRE—
Raffan, P. W., M.P.
Richards, T., M.P.

MONTGOMERY—
Pryce-Jones, Colonel E.
Powell, E., J.P.

SELKIRK—
Plummer, Scott.
Scott, John.

SOMERSET—
Fry, The Rt. Hon. Sir E., G.C.B.
Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H.
Morland, J. C.
Savage, Dr. W. G.

STAFFORDSHIRE—
Dartmouth, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of.
Hatherton, The Rt. Hon. Lord, C.M.G.
Homer, John T.

WEST RIDING—
Crowther, Alderman B.
Ford, T. Benson.
Kaye, Dr. J. R.
Leatham, C.
Turner, Ben.

WEST SUSSEX—
Harvey, Rev. E. D. L.
Palmer, Rev. H.

WILTS—
Fuller, Mrs. E. S. I.
Goldney, Sir John T.

WORCESTER—
Bund, J. W. Willis.
Fosbroke, Dr. G. H.

Borough and County Borough Councils.

BARNSLEY—
Donald, W. P.
Paley, Alderman, J.P.

BARROW-IN-FURNESS—
(*Distress Committee.*)
Neal, Councillor.

BATH—
Wardle, Fred D.

BIRMINGHAM—
(*Distress Committee.*)
Carter, C. A.
Walthall, Councillor T. W.

BOLTON—
Bommer, Councillor Henry.

BRADFORD—
Geldard, Councillor H.
Holden, Councillor O.
Land, Alderman W., J.P.
Palin, Councillor J. H.
Wade, Alderman D., J.P.
Cash, Alderman E., J.P.
Coffin, A. C.
Warburton, Alderman W.
Williams, Dr. Lewis.

BRIGHTON—
Geere, Alderman.
Stanford, Councillor C. Thomas.

BRISTOL—
Pearson, Alderman.
Sheppard, F.

BROMLEY—
The Mayor (Davies, Alderman T.).
Bell, Alderman Lindsay.
Jones, Councillor Lindley.

BUCKHAVEN, METHIL, AND INNERLEVEN—
Cormie, Councillor John.
Gillespie, Councillor A. H.

CAMBRIDGE—
Cunningham, Dr. George.
Gray, Mrs. Alan.

CARDIFF—
Chappell, Alderman J.
Grey, Councillor W.
Jackson, John J.
Morgan, Alderman Lewis.

CHATHAM—
Whyman, Alderman H. F.
Butts, Councillor G. F. K.

CHESTERFIELD—
Markham, Miss V. R.

COLCHESTER—
Green, Mrs. P. R.

COVENTRY—
Cash, Mrs. Sidney.

CROYDON—
Stapleton, Councillor W. C.
Tarry, Councillor C. L.

DONCASTER—
Theobald, Alderman Charles.
Wightman, Councillor Charles.

DOVER—
Chitty, Councillor Ed.

DUNDEE—
Provost, The Hon. the Lord
Fraser, Bailie
Templeman, Dr. C.
McCabe, Councillor Peter
(*Distress Committee.*)
Duncan, David.
Martin, J. J.
Walker, Miss Mary L.

EASTBOURNE—
Simmons, Alderman C. F.
Willoughby, Dr. W. G.

EDINBURGH—
(*Distress Committee.*)
Campbell, A.
Lodge, Professor R.
Smith, W.

EXETER—
The Mayor (Lorain, A. T.)
Stocker, Alderman J.
Parry, H. Lloyd.

FOLKESTONE—
Penfold, Alderman.
Stace, Councillor.

GILLINGHAM—
Griffin, Councillor W. H.
Price, Councillor G.

GLASGOW CORPORATION—
Stewart, Bailie J. W.
McConnell, Councillor Dr.
Chalmers, Dr. A. K.
Fyfe, Peter.
Lindsay, J.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Maclure, Councillor W.
Stewart, Councillor James.

GREAT YARMOUTH—
Cullen, Rev. M.

HALIFAX—
Clay, Councillor H.
Ostler, W. H.
Taylor, Councillor A., J.P.

HARROGATE—
Rowntree, Councillor J. S.

HORNSEY—
Kelland, Alderman W. W.
Yeatman, Councillor A. A.
Brackenbury, Councillor.
West, Alderman C. W.

HUDDERSFIELD—
The Mayor (Thomson, Coun. George, J.P.)
Broadbent, Alderman B.

HULL—
The Mayor (Taylor, Councillor T. S., J.P.).
Feldman, Alderman Henry, J.P.
Pybus, Councillor John.

JARROW—
Gordon, Councillor J. W.
Hall, Councillor John.

KIRKCALDY—
Ferguson, Rt. Hon. R. C. Munro, M.P.

LEICESTER—
Banton, Alderman G.
Bates, Councillor William.
Sanders, Rev. Canon.

LIVERPOOL—
Jacob, Councillor A. E.
Mussen, Dr. A.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Grisewood, W.
Morrison, Mrs. J.
Sexton, James.

LOWESTOFT—
Doughty, Miss B. M. C.

LUTON—
Archibald, Dr. W.
Primett, Councillor.
Warren, Councillor C. A.

MALDON—
Brown, Dr. H. Reynolds.

MANCHESTER—
Fildes, Alderman.
Jackson, Councillor W. P.
Marr, Councillor T. R.
Niven, Dr. James.
Cunningham, Dr. Barbara.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Lilley, T. E.
Plummer, Alderman H.

NORTHAMPTON—
Campion, Councillor S. S., J.P.
Scott, Councillor C. I.
Sykes, Alderman E. W.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Abbott, G. E., J.P.
Sykes, Alderman E. W.

NORWICH—
(*Distress Committee.*)
Smith, Councillor W. R.

PARTICK—
Johnston, Councillor.
White, Councillor J.

PLYMOUTH—
(*Distress Committee.*)
Child, Rev. W. H.
Harvey, Councillor F. C. H.
Wills, Alderman T. G. G.

PORTSMOUTH—
Fraser, Dr. A. Mearns.
Dummer, Councillor J., J.P.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Groves, Councillor W. J.
Timpson, Councillor J.

READING—
Frame, Councillor William.
Martin, John Wessley, J.P.
Rabson, Councillor John.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Milsom, Alderman J.

REIGATE—
Lemon, Councillor Frank E.

ST. HELENS—
Heaton, Councillor J.
Martin, Alderman H.
Buchan, Dr. J. H.
Sharp, P.

SHEFFIELD—
Crowther, Councillor J. W.
Fordham, Councillor W. H.
Scurfield, Dr. Harold.

STOKE-ON-TRENT—
Elliott, Alderman.
Freeman, W. Ludford.
Parker, Councillor Harper.

SUNDERLAND—
Renney, Dr. H.

SWANSEA—
Miles, Councillor W. H.
Morris, Alderman W. H.

TORQUAY—
Lane, Stanley H. N.

WALLASEY—
Banks, Dr. A.
Barlow, T. W. N.
Oldershaw, Alderman Dr.
Samuel, T.
Swanwick, Alderman B.

WEST HAM—
Crow, Councillor William, J.P.
Davis, Alderman D. J.
Hurry, Alderman John Robert.
Jones, Councillor John Joseph
White, Alderman Richard, J.P.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Humphreys, H. Leonard.

WIMBLEDON—
Nash, Dr. E. H. T.
Holland, Mrs.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Brown, Mrs. Paston.
Malley, S. L.

WINCHESTER—
The Mayor (Furley, Councillor J. S.).

WINDSOR—
Sharpe, Councillor A.

WORKINGTON—
Hepworth, E. J.

YORK—
Davies, Councillor S. H.
Mason, J. H.

Metropolitan Borough Councils.

CAMBERWELL—
St. Cedd, Alderman Whitworth, J.P.
Hearn, Councillor G.
Tagg, C. William.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Morris, Mrs.
Buckland, James.

CHELSEA—
The Mayor (Head, Councillor Christopher).

DEPTFORD—
The Mayor (Berryman, Coun. E. G. H. J.P.)

GREENWICH—
Baron, Councillor H.
Stone, Councillor C.
Williams, Councillor E. P.
Bardsley, Rev. S. M.

HACKNEY—
(*Distress Committee.*)
Glover, F. W.

HAMMERSMITH—
Haig, Miss Mary.
Sanderson, Mrs. A. Cobden.

HAMPSTEAD—
Nunn, Councillor T. Hancock.
McCleary, Dr. G. F.

HOLBORN—
Pullen, Councillor F. J.

KENSINGTON—
Baxter, Councillor R. Dudley.
Cuffe, Coun. Surg.-Gen. Sir C. Mc.D.
Sandilands, Dr. J. E.

CITY OF LONDON—
Howell, J. G.
Monckton, H. Percy.

PADDINGTON—
Dudfield, Dr. Reginald.

POPLAR—
Alexander, Dr. F. W.
James, Councillor A.
Warren, Councillor A. H.

ST. MARYLEBONE—
Beaumont, Councillor the Rev. J. A
Porter, Dr. Charles.

ST. PANCRAS—
Blount, Councillor G.
Williams, Councillor C.
Sykes, Dr. J. F. J.
(*Distress Committee.*)
Harley, Councillor J. H.
Woffendale, Councillor Rev. Z. B.

STOKE NEWINGTON—
Brough, Alderman J. R.
Broadbridge, Councillor G. G.
Glass, Councillor J., J.P.
Hildreth, Councillor W. G.
McLuckie, Councillor G.
Trick, Councillor W. B., J.P.

SOUTHWARK—
Dawes, Councillor J. A., M.P., L.C.C.
Layton, Councillor T. W. R.

WANDSWORTH—
Robinson, Alderman M.
Smith, Dr. P. Caldwell.

WESTMINSTER—
The Mayor (Cocks, E. L. Somers, J.P.).
Hillersdon, Councillor Rev. F. Harcourt.
Walden, Alderman R. Woolley, J.P.

Urban District Councils.

ACTON—
Boissonnade, Councillor W. J.
Shillaker, Councillor J. F.
Smee, Miss Councillor S. M.
Schultess-Young, Councillor H. S.

BARKING—
Bygott, Dr. A.
Edwardes, Councillor A.
Hargreaves, H.

BECKENHAM—
Clements, Dr. J. M.

EDMONTON—
Vincent, Councillor Fred.
Sanders, Rev. Prebendary.
Heap, A.

FINCHLEY—
Syrett, Councillor C. S.

GRAYS—
Hotter, G. A.

HENDON—
McGrath, J. M.
Bunney, Miss Councillor M. E.
Ogle-Shaw, Rev. W. H.

HESTON AND ISLEWORTH—
Buchan, Dr. G. F.
Gentry, Geo.

ILFORD—
Cullis, Councillor W. J. T.
Rule, Councillor J. H.

KETTERING—
Bond, J.
Mackay, Councillor.

KINGS NORTON AND NORTHFIELD—
Mason, T.
Quinney, Councillor T.

MOUNTAIN ASH—
Hall, G. H.
Williams, Dr R. L.

PENGE—
Benest, J. L. M.

PONTYPRIDD—
Evans, T. B.
Jones, D. M.

RHONDDA—
Evans, Councillor Thomas.
Jones, Councillor D. R., J.P.

SHIPLEY—
Reynolds, Councillor.

SUTTON (SURREY)—
Habgood, Dr. William.

TOTTENHAM—
Brown, C. E.
Harvey, A. E.
Lewin, Councillor W. W.

WATFORD—
King, Dr. A.
Southam, Councillor J.
Thorpe, Councillor R. A.

WHITWOOD—
Hillman, Dr. George B.

WILLESDEN—
Butler, Dr. W.
Hill, Councillor J. E.
Hutt, Councillor E. W. B.
Grimwood, Councillor H. H.
McKee, R.

Lunacy Authorities.

BRIGHTON COUNTY BOROUGH ASYLUM—
Planels, Charles.

CHESTER COUNTY ASYLUM—
Grills, Dr. G. H.
Robinson, Councillor.

CROYDON COUNTY BOROUGH ASYLUM—
Pasmore, Dr. E. S.

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND JOINT LUNACY COMMITTEE—
Chance, F. W.
Farquharson, W. F.

DERBY COUNTY BOROUGH ASYLUM—
Macphail, Dr.
Slater, Councillor William.

DORSET COUNTY ASYLUM—
(*Visiting Committee.*)
Digby, The Rt. Hon. Lord.
Macdonald, Dr. P. W.

DURHAM COUNTY ASYLUM—
Foster, Councillor Thomas.
Roger, Alderman R.

EDINBURGH DISTRICT LUNACY BOARD—
Gibson, James.
Kyd, James.
Slater, John.

GLOUCESTER COUNTY ASYLUM—
Curtis-Hayward, Colonel.

GOVAN DISTRICT LUNACY BOARD—
Mitchell, J.
Moffat, John.
Watson, Dr. W. R.

LINCS. (KESTEVEN) COUNTY ASYLUM—
Jessop, Alderman A. L.
Ewan, Dr. J. A.
Wherry, Alderman W. R.

LANARK DISTRICT LUNACY BOARD—
Kerr, Dr. Neil T.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL—
(*Asylums Committee.*)
Goodrich, A. O., J.P.
Hill, The Rt. Hon. Viscount.
Keene, H. F.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY COUNCIL—
Pryce-Jones, Colonel.
Powell, Edward, J.P.

PAISLEY DISTRICT LUNACY BOARD—
Campbell, J. M.
Pirie, George.
Wallace, William.

PORTSMOUTH COUNTY BOROUGH ASYLUM—
Mumby, Dr. B. H.

SOMERSET AND BATH ASYLUM—
Hope, Miss Councillor.

SUNDERLAND BOROUGH ASYLUM—
Turnbull, Alderman H. J.
Middlemass, Dr. James.

SURREY COUNTY COUNCIL—
(*Asylums Visiting Committee.*)
Longman, Sir H. H., Bart.
Ellis, H. M.

THREE COUNTIES ASYLUM—
Holding, Henry Bond.

THE NORTH WALES COUNTIES LUNATIC ASYLUM—
Griffith, Dr. T. W.

WORCESTERSHIRE COUNTY ASYLUM—
Bowen, John.
Bund, J. W. Willis.

Poor Law Unions.

THE ASSOCIATION OF POOR LAW UNIONS OF ENGLAND AND WALES—
Brown, Joseph, J.P.
Craighill, G., J.P.
List, H.
Manton, H. J., J.P.
Propert, Rev. P. S. G.
Spear, T. W., M.P.

AUCKLAND—
Adams, S.
Hudson, W.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE—
Daley, H. H.
Wood, R.

BARNSLEY—
Brown, Walter.

Bamforth, Lieut.-Colonel W. T.
Lang, Thomas.

BARROW-IN-FURNESS—
Barrie, A.
Mills, Mrs. R.

BARTON-UPON-IRWELL—
Lythgor, Mr.
Whitworth, J. W.

BIRMINGHAM—
Rabone, Mrs. B. A.
Vince, Mrs. W. V.
Curtis, R. I.

BISHOP STORTFORD—
Marsh, Miss Chisenhale.

BLACKBURN—
Meehan, M. J.
Wilson, Rev. J. P.

BRADFORD—
Bentham, F. H.
Crowther, G. M.

BRENTFORD—
Ellis, Miss L. D.
Winterborne, Mr.
Stephens, W. F. E. S.

BRISTOL—
Fanson, J.
Francombe, J. T.

BURTON-UPON-TRENT—
Lewis, T. F.
Thompson, F.

CERNE—
Digby, Rt. Hon. Lord.

CHIPPENHAM—
Small, W.

CHORLTON—
Garrett, Mrs.
Hertz, Miss.
Redford, Mrs.

CUCKFIELD—
Burrows, L. R.

DARTFORD—
Parish, F.
Morgan, Rev. S. J. W.

DERBY—
Currey, Rev. L. S.

EASTBOURNE—
Hamblyn, R. W. H.
Boldero, Miss M. M.

EDINBURGH PARISH COUNCIL—
Huie, R. W., J.P.
Forbes, Jas. W.

EDMONTON—
Cole, E. G.
Sharp, Rev. C. J.

ELHAM—
Boyd, Geo.
Daly, Hon. F. M.

GATESHEAD—
Craighill, G.
Peacock, T.

GLASGOW PARISH—
Ker, Miss M. S.
Motion, J. R.
Ross, John.

GREAT YARMOUTH—
King, D. T.

HAMMERSMITH—
Edwards, F. A.
Pascall, C.

HEMSWORTH—
Burns, Isaac.

HUDDERSFIELD—
Littlewood, F.
Rigby, E. A.
Wheatley, W.

KINGS NORTON—
Waite, Robert, J.P.

KINGSTON—
Watmore, M. S.

LEICESTER—
Sherriff, Amos.

MAIDENHEAD—
Cox, C. W.
Walker, J. W.

MERTHYR TYDFIL—
Harris, W.
James, Frank T.
Prowle, J.

NOTTINGHAM—
Horner, G. F.
Palmer, T.

PADDINGTON—
Bruce, Miss K.
King, T.

PONTYPRIDD—
Dicks, James.
Williams, T.

RICHMOND—
Bower, Mrs. Nott.
Newton, Miss Foster.

ROCHFORD—
Brown, Rev. J. R.
Mitchell, H. J.

ROMFORD—
Hope, A. H.
Lambert, E.

ROTHERHAM—
Harrison, W. C.
Jackson, Mrs.
Slack, Mrs.

SALFORD—
Bescoby, W. M.
Townson, F.

SAMFORD RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL—
Chorley, H. E.
Thwaites, T.

SCULCOATES—
Porter, J., J.P.
Stebbing, J.

SHEFFIELD—
Booker, A. E.
Newsholme, G. T. W.
SOUTHAMPTON—
Bowyer, P. V.
STOCKTON—
Close, Mrs. J. A.
Forster, J.
STROOD—
Oakeshott, A. C.
Spoor, Mrs.
THAKEHAM—
Palmer, Rev. Canon.
WALLINGFORD—
Cross, F. J. K.
WARRINGTON—
Bottomley, A.
Mather, G.
WEST BROMWICH—
Beardmore, Stephen.
Gardner, Rev. C. G.
WEST DERBY—
Baker, Rev. J. W.
O'Brien, J. J.
WEST HAM—
Price, Mrs.
Weller, J.
Ward, C. H.
WHARFEDALE—
Peate, J.
Salt, Miss M. I.
WHITBY—
Normanby, Marquis of.
WHITECHAPEL—
Samuel, Miss Ida.
WILLESDEN—
Haylor, J. H.
Lupton, Miss.
Morgan, Rev. E. A.
WYCOMBE—
Johnson, Miss E.
Spencer, Rev. R. F. Ashley.

THE CENTRAL (UNEMPLOYED) BODY FOR LONDON—
Anderson, Rev. J. H.
Brinsley-Harper, F.

Scottish School Boards.

CATHCART—
Cameron, Geo. J.
Fraser, Rev. J.
Watson, Dr. W.
DUNDEE—
Kidd, A. E., M.D.
EASTWOOD—
Maxwell, Sir John Stirling.
EDINBURGH—
Clark, James.
Mackenzie, Mrs. Leslie.
Main, Rev. W.
Ramsay, W. M.
Stuart, Rev. Canon.
Young, John A.
Peck, J. W.
GLASGOW—
Allan, R. S.
Bannatyne, Miss.
Clark, J.
Haddow, W. Martin.
GOVAN—
Brown, Dr. George A.
Hale, George M.
King, Rev. John.
M'Fie, A. B. R.
Macleod, Malcolm.
LEITH—
Kilpatrick, Rev. D.
Dempster, James.
ST. ANDREW'S—
Sloan, Rev. A. D., M.A.

Juvenile Advisory Committees. (Board of Trade Labour Exchanges.)

ASHTON—
Hutton, Rev. F. R. C., M.A.
Mee, Oliver.
BLACKBURN—
Wood, W. B.
BRISTOL—
Tivy, Miss E. L.
DEWSBURY—
Hartop, Miss Rose.
EXETER—
Stocker, Alderman John.
HALIFAX—
Clegg, Miss Agnes.
HUDDERSFIELD—
Williams, D. R. H.
Schofield, Miss E. M.
LEEDS—
Greaves, Miss M.
HACKNEY—
Harris, J. Theodore.
NORWICH AND DISTRICT—
Norwich, Dean of.
Stuart, Mrs. J.
Fanning, Mrs. Burton.
NOTTINGHAM—
Bentinck, Lord Henry.
Dawson, Miss L.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS.

Medical and Sanitary Societies, etc.

Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons—
Dearden, Dr. W. F.
Heywood, Dr. T. W.
Park, Dr. A. Glen.

Association of Health Workers—
Gamble, Miss.
Greenwood, Mrs.

Association for Promoting the Training and Supply of Midwives—
Fremantle, F. E.
Grant, Miss L. M. Lorent.

Birmingham and Midland Counties Sanatorium—
Gardner, Miss Mary.

Birmingham Infants' Health Society—
Lloyd, Miss M. J.
Vine, Miss.

Borough of Poplar Health Visiting Association—
Green, Mrs. R. H.
Hall, Miss A. E.

British Hospitals Association—
West, A. William.

British Dental Association—
Bennett, Norman G.
Hopson, Montagu F.
Matheson, L.
Paterson, W. B.
Spokes, Sidney.
Thomson, Geo.

Burton-on-Trent Health Societies—
Green, Mrs. Roger.
Lowe, Dr. W. Pickering.

Camberwell Health Society—
Klaassen, Miss Helen G.

City of Westminster Health Society—
Horn, Miss.

Fulham School for Mothers—
Jackson, Dr.

Great Northern Central Hospital—
Black, T. Fraser.
Roby, Miss M. F.

Hospital for Consumption—
Cheylesmore, Major-General Lord.
Cohen, G. A.

Hospital for Epilepsy and Paralysis—
Fisher, G. A., Knapp-.

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Kershaw, Richard.

Incorporated Midwives' Institute—
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Paget, Miss Rosalind.

Incorporated Sanitary Association of Scotland—
Lindsay, Robert.
Middleton, George.

Independent League of Women Sanitary Inspectors—
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Looker, Miss G. A.

Institute of Hygiene—
Hogan, J. F. Butler-.
Leslie, R. Murray.

Institute of Sanitary Engineers—
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Scott, A. A. H.

Invalid Children's Aid Association—
Broadbent, Miss.
Nathan, Dr.

Kensington Health Society—
Gates, Percy.
Scott, Miss R. G.

King's College Hospital—
Parker, Rev. T. B. J.

Lewisham Women's Health Society—
Barr, Miss J.
Somerville, Mrs. Murray.

London Hospital—
Holland, Sydney.

Lower Sydenham Mothers' and Babies' Welcome—
Greenwood, Mrs. H. M.

Macclesfield Public Health Society—
Greg, Mrs. W.
Greg, Miss M.

Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association—
Abbott, T. C.
Horsfall, T. C.
Melland, Dr. C. H.
Simon, E.

Manchester Schools for Mothers—
Cunningham, Dr. B.

Middlesex Hospital—
Lucas, R.
Murray, J.

Miller General Hospital for S.E. London—
Roseveare, Rev. R. P.

Mothers' and Babies' Welfare Society—
Evans, Miss G. Richardson.
Malley, Mrs.

National League for Physical Education and Improvement—
Eyre, Douglas.
Fremantle, F. E., F.R.C.P.
Marsh, Professor Howard.
Ripon, The Bishop of.

National Physical Recreation Society—
Gilby, Rev. F. W. G.
Sully, Eugene.

National Sanatorium Association—
Garland, C. H.
Lister, Dr. T. D.

National Society of Day Nurseries—
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace, M.P.

National Society for Epileptics—
Micholls, E. Montefiore.

New Hospital for Women—
Freeman, Miss Adelaide C.

Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital—
Harben, H. D.
Gow, Dr. W. J., F.R.C.P.

Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses—
Pennant, D. F.
Hughes, Miss Amy.

Royal Free Hospital—
Sheppard, G. F.
Theis, C.

Royal Sanitary Institute—
Parkes, Dr. L. C.

Rural Midwives' Association—
Fox, Lady.

Rural Housing and Sanitation Association—
Cochrane, Miss C.
Churton, Miss A.

Sanitary Inspectors' Association—
Johnson, Henry.
Dee, Thomas George.

School Dentists' Society—
Fisk, W.
Wallis, C. E.

School for Mothers—
Warner, Mrs. E., M.B.

Society of Medical Officers of Health—
Hill, Dr. A. Bostock.
Willoughby, Dr. W. G.

Society for the Study of Inebriety—
Hyslop, Dr. Theodore.
Kelynack, Dr. T. N.
Rushbrooke, Dr.
Taylor, Dr. E. Claude.

Society of Infant Consultations—
Carter, Dr. Ronald.

Society of St. Vincent de Paul—
Bingham, Hon. A. E.
Lindsay, L. C.

Stepney School for Mothers—
Gray, Mrs. A.
Shute, Mrs.

St. George's Hospital—
West, A. William.

St. Pancras School for Mothers—
Bunting, Miss E.

Waterford Babies' Club—
Newell, Mrs. Barron.

West End Hospital—
Willoughby, The Hon. C. S. H. D.

Women's Imperial Health Association—
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Women Sanitary Inspectors' Association—
Nicholas, Miss.
Streatfield, Mrs. Deane.
Fisher, Mrs. T.
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York Health and Housing Reform Association—
Gray, Mrs. Edwin.

Yorkshire Ladies' Council—
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Mozley, Miss.
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Educational Societies.

Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education—
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Child Study Society—
Holman, H.

Committee on Wage-earning Children—
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Hackney Local Association of Children's Care Committees—
Flint, J.

Hampstead Local Association of Care Committees—
McCleary, Mrs.

Holborn Local Association of Care Committees—
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National Education Association—
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Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association—
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Grimes, Miss M. K.
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City of Birmingham Aid Society—
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National Conference
on
The Prevention of Destitution

OPENING MEETING

TUESDAY, MAY 30TH, 1911

The President's Inaugural Address

A General Meeting of all Sections was held in the large hall on Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock, his Worship the Mayor of Westminster took the chair, supported by the Lord Mayor of London, the Presidents of Sections, and Hon. Secretaries of the Conference.

The MAYOR OF WESTMINSTER: On behalf of the City of Westminster I have great pleasure and honour in welcoming you here to this National Conference for the Prevention of Destitution. I can conceive no more important subject than to prevent the destitution which we must all regret, and which so often springs to our eyes. My Lord Mayor, it is my peculiar pleasure and privilege to welcome you here as Mayor of the City of Westminster. It has generally been my good fortune to have been received by you on occasions like this at the Guildhall or the Mansion House, therefore it gives me particular pleasure and honour to welcome you here now. I think it was on the last occasion when I had the privilege of being at the Guildhall that you took the chair at what was perhaps one of the most important meetings which will occur during your year of office—a meeting for the promotion of a treaty of arbitration and peace between two great countries of English-speaking people. My Lord Mayor, you then invited your audience to consider the beauty of peace; I invite you to consider the terrors of war, for this conference I venture to think is about to declare a relentless war against destitution, with all its varying horrors of preventable poverty, preventable misery, and preventable illness. I am certain, My Lord Mayor, after the eloquent advocacy with which you inculcated peace, you will be no less eloquent in declaring war against destitution, and that you will encourage this conference to fight the good fight with all their might to bring about such results from their deliberations as will enable future legislation and future administration to accomplish the Prevention of Destitution. In the name of the City of Westminster I again welcome your Lordship, I again welcome the delegates, and will now ask your Lordship to take this chair as President of the Conference and deliver your inaugural address. (Loud cheers.)

Inaugural Address.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of London: Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, you will regard it as being my first duty, I am sure, to say in your name how much we appreciate the kindness of his worship the Mayor of Westminster in coming to this hall, situated within his own jurisdiction, to give that kindly welcome which he has just expressed to this gathering, met to consider a subject deserving of the best thought of the British people. We feel, Mr. Mayor, in accepting the hospitality of your ancient city of Westminster and enjoying the accommodation of this hall we are placing it to a worthy purpose and one which we may say with great respect is also worthy of your own attendance and the gracious welcome you have extended to all here. Well, now, ladies and gentlemen, will you allow me to say that I feel it a great honour to have been appointed to preside over the opening stages of this Conference and much flattered by the request that I should offer to those here assembled a few observations in the form of a Presidential address. I use the word "form" advisedly because I feel that my remarks must in substance be only of a casual character. I have had no time to devote to the serious study of the subject with which this Conference proposes to deal. I am, however, comforted by the fact that those who are to follow after have made themselves masters of the subjects on which they will speak, and that the few minutes I venture to occupy of your valuable time will be fully compensated for by the greater value of the contributions hereafter to be made from others who will address this audience as those having authority.

It is sometimes said there is nothing new under the sun, and yet it is true for me to say that whilst the policy, as a general principle, of prevention being better than cure is generally subscribed to, yet, as applied to the purposes of destitution it is really new. This meeting then is memorable even in an age of congresses and conferences as being the first that delegates of municipalities and other local governing bodies have ever been invited to attend to consider how destitution can be *prevented*. There have been plenty of municipal conferences on particular points affecting social welfare—on infantile mortality, on degeneracy, on educational grants in aid, and such like. We have had in the admirably organised national and provincial Poor Law Conferences ample discussion as to the difficulties and methods of relieving destitution after it has become an accomplished fact, but what we have to-day met to consider in such gratifyingly large numbers from so many different towns and counties in all parts of Great Britain is to see how far we can work out the practical technique of preventing the occurrence of destitution in the future.

If we can only succeed in the noble design of this conference we shall have come to the parting of the ways when we may:—

> Ring out the want, the care, the sin,
> The faithless coldness of the times,
> But ring the fuller minstrel in.
> Ring out old shapes of foul disease,
> Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
> Ring in redress to all mankind. (Cheers.)

In short,

> Men should grow wiser as well as better
> As the world grows old.

The idea of preventing destitution instead of waiting until it occurs and then relieving it, simple as that process appears to be when looked at and so businesslike as to strike one with wonder that it should not have been attempted before, does

in fact mark an advance in national and municipal policy. Have we not all become somewhat tired of paying year after year huge sums of money, merely to relieve the destitution which never ought to have occurred, upon human wreckage that never ought to have been allowed to become battered and damaged, so great a libel on the great Creator who, when He first brought it into being, pronounced His work to be very good, and which has become so deteriorated by the mending of men.

Notwithstanding the inefficiency of the results we have up to now obtained, however, the cost has been tremendous. Mr. John Burns has lately pointed out that since 1834 the Poor Law authorities alone in England and Wales only have spent over six hundred million pounds in poor relief, a sum nearly equal to the whole of our National Debt. This very year it is estimated that we shall be spending in the United Kingdom, under various heads, more than sixty million pounds out of the rates and taxes, and perhaps more than thirty million pounds more of charitable funds on the maintenance, schooling, and medical attendance of the poorer classes. I do not suggest that we should grudge the money, though 100 millions a year is a colossal sum. But the real question is are we, as a community, getting the best return for this huge expenditure, are we making destitution any less, are we stopping the perpetual creation of new destitution, are we proving ourselves to be

> The hope of all who suffer,
> The dread of all who wrong?

I fear not; there are disquieting signs. Last year in the United Kingdom more than two millions of separate individuals successfully applied for parochial relief in spite of all the expenditure referred to, in spite of greatly improved Poor Law administration, on which we must congratulate the Poor Law guardians who are present. (Hear, hear.) In spite of momentary good trade there were on the 1st of January last, taking the United Kingdom as a whole, actually a larger number of people in the workhouses than at any previous period of our history. Moreover, as our Scottish and English county delegates will warn us, the plague of vagrancy seems to be actually and continually increasing. Our public health visitors will tell us that there are ominous indications that the number of people who are broken down in health, or injured by accidents, or ruined in character, by the stress and strain of our industrial system, is steadily going up. And those who report to us the experience of our education authorities will say that they are discovering among the seven millions of children at school far too large a number with defects and ailments likely to bring them to destitution when they come to adult life.

This means that, with all our expenditure on the poor, we are still a long way from seeing the end. The question, ladies and gentlemen, cannot fail to arise whether we are perhaps trying to empty out the basin whilst the tap is still running? (Cheers.) Can it be true, as has been suggested, that in each successive year something like two hundred thousand persons become destitute for the first time? Is none of this new destitution preventable? And in the memorable words of his present Majesty, "If preventable, why not prevented?" (Cheers.) Cannot we succeed in turning off the tap? (Renewed cheers.)

It is high time that we organised our machinery for prevention up to at least as high a degree of efficiency as our machinery for relief. The Poor Law guardians, notwithstanding all that is said in criticism, devote a wonderful amount of time and zeal to relieving those who get right down to the dismal swamp of destitution

—that destitution that fringes the hill on which we have built the city of our civilisation. Are we giving as much time and thought in our municipal agencies to stopping all the pathways leading down to that swamp? There is the pathway of premature old age and the pathway of unnecessary orphanage; the pathway of preventable disease and the pathway of feeble-mindedness; the pathway of neglect of youthful training, and the pathway of unemployment, not to mention what is, as we may still fear, the broad and easy highway of drink and vice and idleness, which we have to deal with, if not in the school, then certainly, at least, in the gaol. (Cheers.)

Now this idea of preventing the occurrence of destitution, and this conception of co-ordinating and organising all our agencies of prevention, gives us, in a sense, a new synthesis of municipal activity, a new programme for those town and county and urban district councils which play so important a part in our national life. In all our great cities—except in this metropolis where municipal organisation is more complicated—it is the town council which is the education authority, the public health authority, the lunacy authority, the pension authority, and through the distress committee, even the unemployment authority. It is the municipality to which for the most part we must look for maintaining the gates and barriers that will prevent our people from slipping down the pathways in to the swamp. And therefore it is particularly encouraging to see how warmly the various municipal bodies and county councils in Great Britain and, in Scotland, also the school boards, have taken up the idea of this first National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution. (Cheers.)

The Public Health Section will have the advantage of many practical papers by medical officers of health and members of health committees on how to stop that potent cause of destitution, tuberculosis, as well as the other preventable diseases: and how far insurance will do as well as prevention. The City Corporation that I have the honour to represent may fairly claim to have been a pioneer in public health administration, in that it appointed the very first medical officer of health, in the illustrious Sir John Simon, whose annual reports of more than half a century ago still repay the perusal of all health reformers. (Cheers.)

The Local Education Authorities are contributing what will be a most interesting series of problems connected with the medical treatment, and school feeding, and school bathing of children, as a means of preventing parental neglect, and of presenting the young people to the labour market physically and mentally fit to earn their living in the world. But some, alas, are born unfit; and in the Section on the Mentally Defective, medical and administrative experts will advise us how we can minimise this perpetual creation of the feeble-minded.

In the Unemployment Section we are glad to welcome among the delegates the new Unemployment Department of the Board of Trade, which is more and more taking over, by its Labour Exchanges and its projected provision for the unemployed, a task which our municipal Distress Committees have struggled with very imperfect success. It will be of special interest to learn how far, by regularisation of the national demand for labour, and by organisation of the seasonal fluctuations unemployment can be, not merely relieved, but actually prevented. There is much of interest, too, in the problem of the training to be given to the man whose unemployment we have been unable to prevent, and for whom, and for whose wife and children we are compelled to provide whilst we are looking for a situation for the man. Finally, we have the question of ways and means; and in the Legal and Financial Section we are to learn all the difficulties of charge and recovery, and all the complications of grants in aid.

But though the municipal and county authorities may have most to do in preventing sickness, stopping the neglect of children and adolescents, controlling the feeble-minded and providing for the aged, no one can realise more keenly than those of us who belong to the ancient Corporation of the City of London how much we must still rely on voluntary agencies in every branch of this work. (Cheers.) However efficient may be the municipality, however zealous its officials, it will fail to see much that it ought to see, its actions will be blunt and harsh, its ministrations will be comparatively ineffective, and may even be cruel, unless it has by its side an extensive array of voluntary agencies, served by the personal devotion of the philanthropist. (Cheers.) It is of good omen that, in this first Conference on the Prevention of Destitution the delegates from municipalities and county councils and Scottish school boards are joined by representatives of guilds of help and councils of social welfare, of voluntary associations for helping the feeble-minded, the crippled and the blind, of health societies and of children's country holiday funds, of juvenile advisory committees formed by the Board of Trade and children's care committees acting on the instructions of the Board of Education.

In this close and intimate association of voluntary service with municipal action—in the co-operation in each branch of municipal work of amateur and official, under the direction of the committees of councillors responsible to the ratepayers—we have, perhaps, the most promising development of local government machinery that this country has yet seen. (Cheers.) We welcome then to our counsels the representatives of all these voluntary agencies; and they may feel sure that, in any improvement in the organisation of our municipal activities for the prevention of destitution, their zeal and their efforts must certainly continue to play a most important part.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, in declaring this conference open, and in bidding you distribute yourselves for the next four days among its five Sections, I cannot refrain, as your President, from expressing the hope that this gathering will not remain an isolated one. We could do with such a National Conference once every year (cheers) in which to exchange experiences and report progress in the great work of preventing destitution which has been committed to the charge of the several local authorities that we here represent.

There is room, too, I venture to suggest, for local conferences in the different parts of Great Britain, in which local circumstances and local needs could receive fuller and more complete consideration. When we get collected into a single handsome volume all the hundred valuable papers by expert authorities on their several subjects—and what I am sure will be the interesting reports of the Sectional proceedings—we shall want more such volumes. (Hear, hear.)

All this, however, is for your subsequent decision. It only remains for me to wish you the pleasantest of sojourns in this ancient City of Westminster, most useful of discussions at this Conference—discussions which may, I trust, be productive of the best results in the improvement of the conditions governing the poorer—the poorest, yet still fellow subjects of our King; in fact, ladies and gentlemen, let it be our object to bring about the blessing—

> Blessing the Cotter and the Crown,
> Sweetening worn Labour's bitter cup;
> And plucking not the highest down,
> (But) lifting the lowest up. (Prolonged cheers.)

Alderman FILDES (Manchester) proposed a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, and in doing so thanked, on behalf of the delegates, his Lordship, not only for his presence, but also for his admirable address. His Lordship had remarked that he was no expert on this subject, but after what he had said the conference must feel that they could have had no one better to address them. (Applause.) They thanked his Lordship, too, not only for his wise and thoughtful speech, but also for his heartfelt words and sympathetic feelings towards the poor of our great cities. He hoped they would all in the coming meetings of the Conference follow his Lordship's example. (Cheers.)

Councillor W. MACLURE (Glasgow) seconded the motion with the greatest possible pleasure. He agreed with all that had been said, and recognised in his Lordship the worthy head of a great municipality and the representative of the wealthiest city in the nation. It was pleasing to think that while the Lord Mayor was in charge of great material things he had a human heart, and had expressed fully and freely his sentiments and feelings in sympathising with all endeavours to prevent destitution. Unless there was a human agency behind those endeavours, all material, all legal, all formal, and all official effort would be in vain. (Cheers.)

The motion having been carried by loud acclamation,

The RT. HON. THE LORD MAYOR: Ladies and gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you for accepting so kindly the remarks of my municipal brother from Manchester, and also of my friend from Glasgow on this resolution of thanks for my humble services at this Conference. It is really a very great privilege to be allowed to meet so many ladies and gentlemen engaged all over the country in doing such excellent work for the betterment of the people. I have had, through a somewhat protracted life of many vicissitudes, a good deal to do with the attempt to influence the wreckage after it has occurred. I have been, for instance, a prison man for many years; I have spent quite a long time of my life within the four walls of a prison. (Laughter.) I have also had to do with hospital work for more than twenty years, and in various ways have dealt with the results, shall I say, of our modern civilisation, at any rate, the results which do accompany it, although they ought to be no necessary part of it. But I have always felt how desirable it is that we should devote our attention to the prevention of the trouble with which so many people deal. (Cheers.) In that regard, too, I have spent a good many years of my life in trying to prevent trouble, and I must say in all frankness I have always thought that if we could influence people in their drinking habits (loud cheers) that alone, ladies and gentlemen, in my humble judgment, would solve a great many problems that confront us. (Renewed cheers.) So in that regard I have endeavoured to do a little through a good many years past, and my friend from Glasgow will realise that whilst I have the honour to preside over an area that is very very small in extent, yet important, I have also had the privilege of doing other kinds of work akin to the subject with which you have to deal. So that, ladies and gentlemen, I find myself in complete accord with all the ambitions of this Conference, and if my attendance here affords the least encouragement to your endeavours to bring about a solution of the problem I shall be gratified indeed and feel myself honoured that you permitted me to take this humble part in opening the proceedings. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. J. W. SPEAR, M.P., in proposing a vote of thanks to the Mayor of Westminster, said that all the delegates heartily appreciated the welcome extended to them in such kindly terms by the chief magistrate of the ancient city of Westminster. They must all feel that they had had a magnificent send-off. The

Lord Mayor had inspired them with a determination to do what they could through that series of meetings to fortify themselves in their attempts to uplift their fellow beings, and they were full of hope and confidence that good results would follow from that Conference. They must all feel the significance of the argument that while there was responsibility on them to relieve the poor at all times, the main aim should be to try and prevent poverty—the disease of destitution. It gave him the greatest pleasure to ask the conference to show its gratitude to the Mayor of Westminster for his hospitality and the kind way in which he had wished the conference God-speed. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., seconded, and said they owed the Mayor of Westminster a debt of gratitude for his welcome and presence at that preliminary meeting.

The motion was agreed to, and

The Mayor of Westminster, in brief acknowledgment, expressed his sense of the kind way in which they had shown their appreciation of the city's effort to place that hall at their disposal and of his presence there. He thought that the promoters of the conference were to be congratulated, not only on the large and enthusiastic audience at the opening meeting, but also on the extremely able and inspiring address which the Lord Mayor had delivered. It was not the first occasion on which he had heard his Lordship speak in such terms, and on all occasions it had struck him that his Lordship's remarks were extraordinarily happy. He was sure that every delegate would go forth to the Sectional meetings inspired and supported by the words of the Inaugural Address. (Cheers.)

MEETING AT THE ALBERT HALL

Addresses by Mr. A. J. Balfour, Sir John Simon, and Mr. J. R. MacDonald

On Tuesday, May 30th, at 8.30 p.m., a public meeting was held at the Royal Albert Hall under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Southwark. Amongst those who were on the platform were the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour and Miss Balfour, Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P. (Solicitor-General), Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Mr. Justice Phillimore, the Rt. Hon. Henry Hobhouse, Sir A. Cripps, M.P., Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., Mr. W. Crooks, M.P., Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., Mr. R. V. Harcourt, M.P., Mr. Arnold Rowntree, M.P., Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P., Mr. Worthington Evans, M.P., Mr. F. H. Bentham, and Sir T. Clifford Allbutt.

The Bishop of Southwark: Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Conference, and Visitors,—I cannot open our proceedings without expressing our profound regret at the absence of our rightful chairman, the Bishop of Winchester. You can well believe that the regret of no one is more profound than of my own unworthy self. Our feelings, it must be confessed, are to a very large extent selfish. We regret the loss by his absence of one whose experience, whose knowledge, whose devotion to the cause which is in our minds and on our lips this evening are well known, well tried, and probably unequalled. Mr. Harcourt has received a letter to-day expressing the Bishop's own personal sense of loss at not being here, and his profound regret at not being able to identify himself in body as he does in spirit with the cause being advocated. But we are not entirely selfish, and I hope you will allow me to write to the Bishop in your name and my own and express to him our deep sense of personal sympathy with him in his trial. We rejoice to know that his medical advisers confidently expect his steady recovery and restoration to full health and full work. (Applause.) Now it is no part of my duty to anticipate the lines of thought which will be followed by our speakers, but I should just like to say one thing—that I am glad to believe it is thought right and natural that you should have presiding over this meeting this evening an officer of the Christian Society, for that Society has stood from the first for this double principle, the principle of the collective responsibility of the brotherhood for every one of its members—if one member suffers all the members suffer with him; and also equally for the principle of the personal individual responsibility of every member for using the opportunities given him for working out his own salvation. The question of how these opportunities can be provided most wisely and most effectively and how to combine that double principle lies at the very basis of all the deliberations of this Conference, and indeed of any conference that is concerned with the well-being of society. It is a question which transcends all the interests of political party, creed, and denomination, and reaches right to the very element of our common humanity. The proof that we recognise that is seen in the assembly

gathered here this evening, and most notably in the remarkable triad of distinguished speakers to whom we are going to have the privilege of listening. On other questions their lines of thought, their attitude of mind, the causes and principles they advocate, may seem to be as wide as the poles asunder; but here, at any rate, this evening we congratulate ourselves, and we congratulate them. They may spend a fortunate hour when it is their purpose not to emphasise their differences, but to bring home and to dwell with all the force of conviction upon their fundamental agreement—an agreement upon a question which concerns more deeply, I believe, and more directly than any other the well-being of our country. It is indeed a remarkable occasion. I doubt if anyone here can recall a similar scene or a similar experience. It forms a landmark in the history of social reform, and we all hail it as a happy omen of the practical measures which are to be brought to bear on issues which go right down to the common life of every day of our own countrymen. I will now call upon the Right Hon. Arthur Balfour to move a resolution.

Mr. BALFOUR rose to propose the following resolution:—

> **"That this Meeting welcomes the formation of a National Conference of a non-party and non-sectional character, to promote the working of the various agencies for the Prevention of Destitution, wishes it success in its labours, and looks to its re-assembling in future years as a valuable means of bringing together municipal representatives and social workers from all parts of the country."**

He said: My Lord Bishop, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In spite of the kind words which your Chairman has just used in reference to the three speakers who are going to address you, I have some suspicion that my two colleagues on this occasion share my feelings, namely, that we are placed in a somewhat difficult and embarrassing situation. (Laughter.) In the first place, we are called here together in connection with a great assemblage—a great conference of experts upon what the Bishop has truly described as the most fundamental problem awaiting solution at the present time. But we have not had the opportunity of attending that Conference which, indeed, has but just begun its sittings. We have not read its papers, we have not heard its discussions, and the result is that we are called upon to address an assemblage largely composed of experts upon a subject on which they are experts, and on which, at all events, if I may speak for myself, I am not an expert, and this before I have had the opportunity of hearing what the experts themselves have got to say. I put this complaint a few minutes ago to an expert friend of mine who is in this hall at the present moment, and he said in reply that it was rather agreeable for the expert to hear, and indeed sometimes useful for the experts to hear, what the inexpert politician had to say upon his subject. (Laughter.) I feel after that that I may be performing a useful *rôle* in coming here, but I hardly felt that it was either improving or very dignified. (Laughter.) At the same time, I think I must take it as something of a challenge, and if the experts are going to listen to us from the point of view of superiority, which I admit is thoroughly deserved, at all events the plain man who is not an expert may be allowed to say something upon the situation upon occasions like this. Now I remember the time—I am not sure it has altogether gone by—when the very word "expert" was anathema in the House of Commons and other representative assembles. I remember the time when an expert was regarded as a person entirely immersed in the minute study of one aspect of one question, who on the strength of his investigations came forward and lectured the rest of the world, and from the height of his superior knowledge attempted to direct

the course which the world ought to pursue. And if you go back a little further beyond the period I have just described you find the expert was held in contempt, and beyond you get to a period not very remote in which the expert was never heard at all. (Laughter.) The expert is a modern growth—except in the law. (Laughter.) In the law there always have been, and indeed always must be, experts, and always ought to be experts. Whether they have ever or have not abused their position as experts my learned friend on my left is more competent to say than I. (Laughter.) But at all events, until comparatively recently, outside the law there was not concerned with public affairs any body of men who could be described as experts at all. The whole community was on the dead level of common ignorance. (Laughter.) Those were the happy times —(renewed laughter)—in which any men of adequate industry and ability could really master all that was worth knowing contained in books; and the books in which he mastered them had no elaborate reference at the bottom of the page to other authorities. (Laughter.) Nor did you find at the end a bibliography containing a gigantic list of books which the author implied that he had read and suggested that you ought to read also. (Laughter.) Those days have gone by, and it is happy, and it is fortunate, that they have gone by so far as the great social work of the community is concerned. It is quite impossible now that in any branch of learning, be it practical or be it theoretical, any man, whatever his power of industry, whatever his memory or capacity of observation be, can really master all that is worth mastering, and the result is that there is more and more coming a division of intellectual and practical labour; inevitable, on the whole beneficial, but which, I think, nobody will deny has, and will have, its dangers. I often think it a beneficent arrangement of our mundane affairs that absolute government went out just when the experts came in. (Laughter.) It would be an awful thing to have an absolute Governor who was an expert. (Laughter.) And I think even the experts who are listening to me—I hope sympathetically—will be prepared to endorse that sentiment when I remind them that the super-expert of whom I am speaking might possibly not belong to the same expert school as themselves. (Laughter.) Now that danger we have escaped, and the difficulty we have to deal with is how in the first place to stimulate to the utmost all our ability and expert knowledge in every department, theoretical and practical, and then to turn it to the best account. That is the problem before modern society. You have got to use the experts, you have to improve the knowledge of experts, you have to help them in every way, by endowment and otherwise, to carry on their work. When they have carried it on you have to turn it to account, and that is not always so easy a problem as at first sight it may appear. The first experts to deal with public affairs were the early economists, and they took the view, which was a convenient view from the politician's standpoint, that the less communities and governments meddled with anything the better for the community. They held quite sincerely, and with considerable plausibility, that politicians, Ministers, Members of Parliament, agitators, were so stupid that they had much better not meddle with things they did not understand, and that attitude was reflected beyond the sphere of early economics into adjacent spheres of social work. But nobody holds that old doctrine in its entirety at the present time. Everybody recognises, at least so far as my experience goes everybody who counts recognises, it as an indisputable truth that the community as a whole, acting through its central government and organisation, cannot treat as no affair of its own the general well-being of special sections of the community. You cannot stand

aside and merely keep the peace, so to speak, as the old phrase went. A Government cannot act merely as a gigantic embodied policeman. Other duties fall to it; other duties must be carried out, and they cannot be carried out unless we know in the first place how to produce experts and then how to use them. I remember when I was younger that expert knowledge upon some of these great social problems was of the most optimistic character. Herbert Spencer, for example, I think I am not going too far in saying, based the whole of his social speculation upon the theory that you had only to improve one generation, and by the mere operation of heredity the next generation would be better than its predecessors; and so on into an unlimited future of social progress based on physiological improvement. Well, the more recent investigations of science, if I understand the matter rightly, have entirely discredited that theory, at all events in its broader applications. I am well aware that the matter is still in dispute, and I am not going to be so presumptuous or so foolish as to express any opinion of my own upon the subject, but I believe I am not going beyond the truth of contemporary speculation when I say that the best scientific opinion now holds that, broadly speaking, even if there be, which most of them greatly doubt, any such thing as the inheritance of acquired gifts or acquired qualities, we cannot count upon that as being worthy of estimation in dealing with the causes which are to produce the future improvement or the future deterioration of mankind. The optimism based by Herbert Spencer and others upon the older view has now, I think, in the main, to be abandoned, and I am afraid I have to add that if we consider the line of thought adopted by many of those most qualified to speak upon this subject, their view, so far from being optimistic in the sense that the school of which I have just been speaking, was optimistic—their views, driven to their logical conclusion, are of the most pessimistic character. There are a large number of persons here who have devoted great study and great thought to this question of inheritance, but so far as I am able to estimate the general trend of thought, they dwell, and dwell almost exclusively, upon the many causes which may produce deterioration of the race—nay, which in their view are producing deterioration of the race, and that rapidly—while they certainly do not give us with any clear or convinced accents any ground for thinking that there are great causes in operation which are likely to improve the physical basis on which, after all, education, environment, and good social influences have to work, and which tend, not merely to make the best of the material we have got, but tend also to make the material itself from generation to generation better in the future. I cannot find that in their view there is any great cosmic cause operating in that direction: I do not know whether they take too gloomy a view of the matter. Some of their speculations, indeed, although I do not pretend to have an answer to the arguments they advance, leave me somewhat doubtful, because I cannot see that experience supports them. For example, we are told, and I am afraid we are told truly, that the birth-rate is rapidly diminishing in the best class of the artizan population and in the middle classes, and, indeed, in all classes except the least fortunate class; and they deduce from that the uncomfortable conclusion that the population of the future will be entirely drawn from those whom they plausibly describe as the least efficient members of the community. I have no answer to that, but I have a question to put about it. If we really can divide the community in the way they divide it, I am unable to understand how we have failed to have a segregation of efficiency in the past between those who are better off and those who are worse off. In other words, it seems to me there must be a cause in operation, on their theory, which would

divide the efficient from the inefficient—I mean some have had gifts which made them prosperous and they have married the daughters of those who had gifts which made them also prosperous, and according to the theory of those to whom I have referred, they ought to have more efficient children. That has been going on for centuries. You see in history the abler men making a success of life and rising in the social scale, and you see those who follow sink in the social scale. This interchange has been going on, and we should, on this theory, expect to see those who are better equipped with everything which makes for efficiency at one end of the scale, and the least efficiently equipped at the other end, divided not merely by the accident of fortune, not merely by one man having better opportunities for education than another, but divided by an actual difference of physiological efficiency. But I do not see any trace of that in fact. (Cheers.) I do not see that that is going on. I admit that I cannot help looking with disquiet to this difference of birth-rate, but the best way of dealing with it, and the quickest and most efficient would be to put the unfortunate people who have too many children into the same category of comfort which apparently in the present social condition arrests the bith rate, and get quality that way. But quite apart from the fact that in the last thirty years this difference has made itself manifest in a manner which naturally alarms, and rightly alarms, all thinking men, there does seem to be a flaw in the reasoning which when carried to its logical conclusion produces circumstances which so far as my observation upon the relative gifts of different sections of society goes has no foundation in the actual fact and truth of things. Differences of education, of course, there are, and differences of opportunity of course there are; but I should look with grave apprehension at all the schemes for enabling people to rise from one class to another as it is called, from one class of position to another by means of scholarships, examinations, and all the rest of it, if I thought that the result was, as it must be on this theory, that you are going to end by having at the top of the scale people who are physiologically destined to inferiority, which certainly I do not see at the present moment. I am not going, of course, to discuss eugenics in detail, and Heaven forbid that I should attempt to discourage what I consider one of the most important investigations which can be carried on; but we have to be careful. And, mark you, there is a certain inconsistency between these theories of heredity and the hygiene which almost everybody I am addressing at the present moment regards as a great and fundamental necessity of a modern civilised community, because hygiene means protecting—not always, but often—those who on the strict theory of the survival of the fittest had better not live, and better not have children. Take tuberculosis merely as an example. You take the disease in early life, and you greatly diminish it. Many of the most competent experts think you will be able to extinguish the malady practically as you have extinguished typhus and leprosy. They may or may not be over sanguine, but at all events that is the end to which they are tending. But, to take it for what it is worth—and I do not know that it is worth much—I suppose disease at this moment is the only method by which the natural selection, the destruction of the unfit, is allowed to work at all in civilised societies, and if we do succeed, as I hope we shall, in producing a community in which there is no microbic or zymotic diseases at all, I suppose it is impossible to doubt that a certain number of generations of this society would be weaker to resist disease than the society in which we live, and *pro tanto*—remember I state this with all qualification—you would be running against that school of eugenics which, after all, is the only school of eugenics which exists, which depends for all its speculations and all its

suggestions upon the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. At the present moment disease is killing out steadily a certain number of people especially liable to the disease. The disease may be practically extinguished; but in doing so have you considered what would happen if through some external source the disease were re-introduced to these islands as we have introduced disease into other lands. Of course, it would find it hecatomb of victims, or at any rate it would find human beings who, in the absence of medical treatment, would be far more liable than their predecessors to the attacks of that particular malady. I think that is undeniable. But who hesitates in that sense between hygiene and the improvement of the race? We must plump for hygiene. What we must go in for irrespective of these remote speculative consequences is for making men, women, and children—and especially the children—as well as treatment can make them, and we have the further duty of doing all in our power as a community to encourage that research which is going to make the medicine of thirty years hence as superior to the medicine of to-day as the medicine of to-day is to the medicine of thirty years ago. I do not want to elaborate or to dwell upon that proposition which I think will be accepted without doubt and without question by almost all those who I am addressing. But if I were to give from the purely external point of view the first rough division between the happy and the unhappy, I should put it at the division of health. I should say that roughly—very roughly—it corresponds with the division between the well and the ill, and if I was to ask what the next rough division was I should say it was between those who suffered from destitution and those who, whatever their profession in life or their monetary position might be, do not suffer from destitution. It is there that the great division as regards worldly goods comes in. But this is the tragedy of the situation, that those being the two great divisions, they interact one upon the other. The man who is ill becomes destitute, and to all the horrors of illness are added all the horrors of destitution, each acting and reacting upon the other. And then you have the third great tragedy of the situation, namely, that when you have sickness and destitution combined, each one acting partly as cause and partly as effect, there is the further action and reaction upon family life in which the man or woman feels that his or her illness is not merely the cause of suffering to themselves but to those who are nearest and dearest to them; that their own utility is destroyed; that instead of being a support they become a burden; and to all the individual and self-centred pains of illness and destitution are added those other and still greater pains, the pains of those who feel that their own misfortunes are dragging down those who are nearest and dearest to them. (Cheers.) Now that is the cause in which we are to-day fighting; that is the cause in which this great mass of expert knowledge is brought together; that in the main is, I take it, the fundamental problem before us, and it evidently turns in the first place upon using what medical knowledge you have to the best advantage, in making your population understand what the doctor can do for them, and in giving to the doctor adequate opportunities of doing it. And it depends, in the second place, upon that growth of knowledge, upon that increase of research, upon that spread of scientific knowledge to which, whether it be in social suffering or in industrial suffering, we must in the main look as the great lever by which all the other influences of religion and morality are to be aided. That is our cause, ladies and gentlemen; for that you are gathered together. May the great Congress opened to-day and its successors in years to come be fruitful of those great social results which we, who from outside look upon its labours, most earnestly hope will crown its efforts. (Cheers.)

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL, in supporting the resolution, said: My Lord Bishop, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I fully endorse the truth of the proposition with which Mr. Balfour began, that it is a hard situation in which to find yourself to be without expert knowledge of a subject and to be addressing a great gathering of those who have devoted a large part of their lives to its special study. But none the less, I am sincerely grateful for the opportunity which is afforded to me to take my part in this evening's proceedings, and to ask for a recognition of the importance and the timeliness of the Conference which has been called together. That Conference, Mr. Chairman, is a national Conference, and as I understand it, is designed by its promoters to avoid all those controversies of party or of sect which might otherwise limit its usefulness. Certainly, ladies and gentlemen, if you wish to know that the Conference is a non-party organisation, look at me. I find myself sandwiched between the Leader of His Majesty's Opposition and the Leader of the Labour Party. As I listened to the speech with which we have just been so delighted and charmed, I could not help thinking that it is not given to every man to steer with so easy a course between the Scylla of political controversy and the Charybdis of platitudes—(laughter)—and although you see me in a few minutes a hopeless shipwreck on Charybdis, you will do me the justice of saying that I have at any rate avoided the alternative evil. (Laughter.) Let me say for myself, and, I think, for many here, in the first place that this crusade, directed as it is to the promotion of co-ordination of agencies designed to prevent the cause of destitution, is not on that account to be regarded as casting unmerited criticism upon those other agencies which endeavour to deal with destitution when it has arisen. (Hear, hear.) I am delighted to say that in our civilisation of to-day there is no body of men and women who more thoroughly deserve the recognition which single-minded zeal and devoted energy call for than those who are responsible for the administration of the existing agencies for meeting the difficulties which destitution causes. We do not live in the age of Mr. Bumble and Oliver Twist. That is not the problem with which we are faced, but it is the very fact that agencies for dealing with destitution when it has arisen have done, and are doing, their utmost and their best which justifies those of us who hold the view that it is necessary to take a wider range. We feel that if the best of human energy and the best of human organisation cannot do more to counteract social misery when it has arisen then that is one more proof that the wiser course is to direct attention to co-ordinated attempts to eradicate the cause of social misery itself. And, ladies and gentlemen, you will observe that those who felt most keenly the terrible problem of human suffering to social suffering a generation ago called for that very remedy. That was why Charles Dickens exposed the monstrous wickedness of the Poor Law of old. It is the very fact that we have removed those obvious blots and have called to the service of the alleviation of distress when it arises, I believe as complete an organisation as any civilisation in the world can command, which justifies, and doubly justifies, the call which your Congress makes for an attack upon the very roots of the problem instead of waiting until it had brought forth its evil fruit. (Applause.) Now it is, of course, quite obvious that if the problem is first and foremost a problem of the prevention as opposed to the attempted cure of social misery, then the very centre of the problem is to be found in the way in which the community deals with the youth of the community, and I think it is a striking and significant fact that step by step, as the humbler members of our country—those who are the first to feel the pinch of the ill-designed law and of crude administration—have been brought

within the range of direct political responsibility, it has always happened that one of the first directions in which they have made advances has been in this very direction of improving the care and the treatment of the youth of the State. The first Great Reform Bill of 1832 was followed seven years later by the establishment of the National Department of Education. The second Reform Bill of 1867 was followed in three years' time by the establishment of compulsory elementary education; and the third Reform Bill of 1884 was followed within a few years by the recognition that elementary education at best is not a boon to be dealt out in return for the payment of the citizens, but is a duty which the State owes and must freely discharge. I think that if one considers the development of national education in this country it has a very close bearing upon the study of the source, and it may be to some extent the remedies, of those social evils which this Congress is designed to stop. And if I were to venture a criticism of the way in which the great Education Act of 1870 has been accepted and worked in this country, it would be this—first, I must beg leave to say I think it a profound misfortune that its aspect and true power should so frequently have been obscured by that perpetual cloud of smoke which too often proceeds from the fires of religious controversy. But putting that aside, the criticism which I think a fair-minded man, considering the attitude of his country towards national education, would make would be this—that the Act of 1870 and the administration of it ought to have been regarded, far more than it ever has been regarded, as an experiment; as one of a number of possible experiments; attempts by the country to ultimately find a wise way in which to train the young lives of this country. While I think we shall be doing an injustice if we did not recognise the great advances which have been made upon the educational provisions of 1870; while I think we should show ourselves very much wanting in candour and information if we did not recognise the tremendous labours and devoted services of educationalists since, I do think we have been much too prone to suppose that that which was done by our community forty years ago settled in substance and in fundamentals what is, after all, the most important problem that faces any citizen who desires to counteract the causes of social ailments. I think, Mr. Chairman, there is a special reason why that is to be regretted. Consider for a moment the development of industry during the last forty years. It is a commonplace to say it, but even commonplaces must be repeated; that the last forty years have seen the most enormous advances in the displacement of adult skill and the individual craftsman by the machine, and the result is that modern industry calls less and less for that individual excellence in the craftsman which was the foundation of the industry of the middle ages, and it calls more and more for unlimited supplies of the immature, undeveloped new life which, if it is turned too soon into these industrial channels, may indeed be used for a few years, but can only be used for a few years, at the price of its permanent immaturity. These matters I know are commonplaces to most of you assembled here, but I confess to being struck—and I hope, although the observation is trite, I may be allowed to make it—by the fact that several of the great impartial inquiries of these modern days have directed specific attention to this very evil. There is the great Commission on the Poor Law, and both the Majority and the Minority Reports call pointed attention to this terrible waste of the life of the children. There was the Consultative Committee appointed by the Education Department which, I think, may be regarded as the source of much of the valuable Bill just introduced which is attempting to raise the school age. There was an inquiry two or three years ago into the very difficult problem of half-time,

and there was an inquiry, more modest in scope but one in which I happened to take a personal responsibility because I was its chairman—the Departmental Committee upon the Employment of Children, which produced a Report last year on street trading. In every one of these Reports from its own point of view attention was called to this sore evil, and when just now Mr. Balfour was saying that it was difficult to find a man who thought that the State should never interfere in these bargains between one citizen and another I could not help thinking that if ever there was a case in which the State is justified in interfering it is this case of the employment of the child. (Applause.) I was much struck at the time we inquired into street trading to find it proved, and proved overwhelmingly, that the earnings of young children in the streets when they first started to sell newspapers are at their maximum in their earlier years. The small boy keeps the change. (Laughter.) He grows up and he turns into a less active, a less pleasant speaking, a less attractive, and a less interesting vendor. So that, if the employment of young children in the streets is justified by any social or economic consideration, it is true to say that of the 15,000 children who to-night in our great metropolis of the Empire are engaged in selling matches and newspapers, that while they are at this moment earning an income greater than they deserve, they are spending their future, and unless the community interferes in such a case as that there is no force which can possibly save them from the disaster of spending their powers at a time when they are not ripe for the work of a remunerative industry. I have taken that single illustration because, on that matter, at any rate, I may claim to have spent some little personal study. Your street trader for a few years is his own master, keeping his own hours, spending his own money, making his associates on the curb-stone and in the gutter. He has learned to an astonishing degree to sharpen his wits, but in six years' time you will find he has done nothing to develop his intelligence, and after that may be taken as a sample of the problem which this Conference has met to discuss. I say that single sample is an abundant justification for the great efforts so happily made by Mr. Harcourt and Mr. Hills, who are responsible for the success of this gathering. And now let me, in conclusion, make one or two observations to show why, as I think, and as it appears to me, we have reached a time in the history of our own country when the tackling of this aspect of the problem is one that is full of hope and encouragement. I think if one surveys the situation one sees two or three reasons. I will mention three reasons why this is a time when to an extent hitherto thought impossible we may, without being accused of being mere visionaries and dreamers, desire to concentrate attention to co-ordinated effort upon the root of these social diseases. The first reason is this: the need was obvious, as is proved by the assembly here to-night, but it would not only not have been obvious a generation ago, it would have been regarded as the height of absurdity. Ladies and gentlemen, to-day reasonable men believe it can be done. (Applause.) The proposition that every effect has its cause is more than a generation old; but the belief that when you are studying social circumstances which promote social misery you can so analyse your results as to be able to pluck from the heart of it and isolate its cause is an essentially modern idea, and I believe it to be confined to the present generation. Side by side with the rapid and enormous advance in the science of medicine; side by side with the growth of the belief and knowledge that things happen not because they must happen but because no wise steps have been taken to prevent them happening; side by side with these developments in other departments of life, there has grown up in our modern community, almost without our know-

ledge, a thing which our forefathers knew nothing of—a belief that if you will concentrate attention and apply knowledge to the proved social evils of our time you may first identify and isolate and diagnose their cause, and secondly you may apply a remedy which will strike at the root of the disease. And the second motive power, the second phenomena, I think worthy of notice, justifying our meeting here to-day is this—also, I think, essentially a modern growth—the overwhelming reason to-day why a civilised community should endeavour to deal effectively with social suffering is not so much, or not only, because it is dreadful to think of the unmerited distress of the victim, as because our own duty to our own community, to our conscience, and to our own dignity, demands that we should remove the cause. The alleviation of suffering from sympathy with the victim is in itself an admirable incentive, but we stand upon a far wider basis than this: the moment you can quicken the consciousness of the community the suffering which hitherto has merely provoked human sympathy becomes a personal disgrace. And I think it is the development of that feeling which is largely responsible for the determination with which this class of problem is tackled in these later days. I would venture to make one third suggestion, not, I hope, inadvertently, in view of the time of the year and the occasion on which we are met. This great City of London, which is the centre of our tiny island, proudly boasts that it is the centre of an enormous Empire, and we are at this moment welcoming to our shores our fellow-subjects from across the seas. Does it not strike us what a stigma it is on us for these same welcome visitors from new and vigorous communities to find that this great London has upon its Embankment to-night wretched outcasts without a home? We must remember in fairness that ours is an old country, and that the Dominions beyond the seas are young; that ours is a small country, and that the Dominions beyond the seas are great; that ours is a populous and crowded country, and they have yet great room for extension; but I do think that at the time when we are taking a pride, and rightly taking a pride in the tremendous mission which has been carried forward by those who speak our language and bear our name and fly our flag, I do think it a truly imperial work to see whether steady and scientific effort cannot do something to remove these reproaches from our own country and our own metropolis. Let nobody think that the high hopes and the fixed determination which brings this great Congress together to confer at these busy times is likely to proceed too fast and to accomplish so much that we shall approach the millennium before its time. It is little enough it may be that the greatest and most wisely directed effort will do, but at any rate it is proceeding not in some visionary spirit but in a spirit whch is truly scientific, in order to deal with a problem which is before the eyes of us all, and those who are responsible for any of the work done in conferences such as these in years to come may not inappropriately reflect in the language of a modern poet too little known, when he said:—

> "Oh, earlier shall the rosebuds blow
> In future years—those happy years—
> And children weep when we lie low,
> Far fewer tears—far softer tears." (Cheers.)

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.: My Lord Bishop, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure if you sympathise with the two preceding speakers on account of the difficulty they have felt this night you will much more readily and, I think, also much more heartily, sympathise with me now. I have not the

dexterity of Mr. Balfour, nor have I that wonderful capacity of the Solicitor-General, for saying things that are controversial in a tone and in a manner which is beneficence itself. (Laughter.) There is a proverb which belongs to the worldly wisdom of the House of Commons that when we see the two Front Benches in collusion then every honest man must look after himself. (Laughter.) I do not know what is going to be said after to-night. We shall require to add a new edition, to issue a supplementary volume to that worldly wisdom, when the three parties—the three great parties at any rate—(laughter)—occupy the same platform upon such a subject as the Prevention of Destitution. I can only say, my Lord Bishop, most profoundly and most sincerely that I hope our union to-night will be an augury of union for many days; of a united and co-operative attempt to solve the problems which you have been discussing to-day and are to continue to discuss in the next two or three days. Mr. Balfour has referred to the great change of opinion which has taken place within recent years, and when one sits down and quietly thinks of it, when we assume, as we are too apt to do, that these times are very dull and very uneventful, surely, my friends, we are absolutely wrong. The changes of opinion that are going on now, the changes in points of view, the new conceptions we are making in our public work, signify one of the most remarkable revolutions that has ever come across public opinion in this country. Take that one writer whom Mr. Balfour referred to —Mr. Herbert Spencer—and I can do so now, although I could not have done so a few years ago in an assembly where controversial speeches were not supposed to be made—only a few years ago that characteristic expression which he used as the keynote of hs political philosophy, "The Man *versus* the State," was accepted, I think I am right in saying, by the majority of the people of this country. At any rate, when it was challenged it was only challenged by a small minority of the thinking men of the country. What has happened? Who now is going to rise up here or anywhere else and declare that that position between the man and his community is the true position, is the position that ought to guide us in our legislation, or that ought to guide you in your administration? That day has gone by, and, irrespective of party politics, irrespective of party colour, we are beginning to hammer out some method of advance which is best expressed by some phrase indicating the co-operation between the individual and his community; co-operation between liberty and authority; co-operation between the free man and the free State. (Cheers.) After all, my Lord Bishop, that is a fundamental change. That change means a great deal, and to a great many of us sums up the present movement. I do not pose as an expert upon the subject of destitution, but I would like to lay down, if you will be good enough to allow me, three propositions with reference to this subject. I do not think they are controversial, but I think they are rather apt sometimes to be forgotten. My first proposition is this: that the mere alteration in administration, like the administration of the Poor Law, will not cure destitution—(applause) -and I will illustrate it in this way. We have to make up our minds now that one of the first substantial advances in the cure of destitution is to decasualise labour. Nobody disputes that. Nobody disputes that if any calling is so disorganised that there are 25 per cent. more men than the calling can properly assimilate and give sufficient employment to them that occupation is something of the nature of a parasite on regular industry, and the very first thing to be done is to so co-ordinate and organise the demand for labour in that industry that the superfluous percentage disappears. We all agree about that. But what is to happen? What is going to be done with this 25 per cent. of

superfluous labourers? Your changed administration undoubtedly enables you to benefit and organise the regular worker, but the man who has been declared to be superfluous in the process must be the subject of careful, scientific, and far-reaching attention. I leave it there. My second proposition is one to which, I think, you will give an equally ready assent. It is that aids on behalf of low wages solve no problem, and I do not care who gives the aids—whether the aids come from the well-filled pockets of philanthropists or from the State itself. I know, as a matter of fact, we have got to do something to relieve the pressure that low wages bring to bear upon the lives of so many of our citizens. We cannot shut our eyes to the hard circumstances of life. That sort of dogmatism is inconsistent with the scientific attitude that my friend, the Solicitor-General, has been expounding so successfully. But nevertheless, do not let us go away under the vain and misleading delusion that if we have poverty and destitution the only problem they present is that of the effects on the victims. You have got to go much further back than that. You have got to trace the cause through a long series of effects and causes, and in doing it do not, I beg and pray of you, merely content yourselves with mere patchwork of the nature of aid and grants, but go right to the root of the matter and build up your ameliorative and temporary assistance and relief with an eye steadily directed to, and a mind steadily bent upon, the ultimate causes from which the whole of the evil springs. (Applause.) My third proposition is that the cause of destitution is social as well as individual, and we must not forget it. One of the characteristics of old time controversies was that there was a constant war going on between a school holding one theory and the school holding the other theory. I am old enough to remember that it was a point of honour with the two schools never to admit that there was a patch of truth in the doctrines and contentions of the other. One school says it is all the individual's fault; train character, improve the moral condition of your people. The man on 15*s.* a week, they said, can perfectly well save and fulfil all his functions in life. The other school, equally erroneous, mark you, for I hold a brief for neither, kept saying it was all the fault of society, and that there was no part amongst scientific causes of poverty that could be assigned to mere individual shortcomings. They were both wrong. As a matter of fact, the two play into each other's hands. It is a case of action and reaction. There is no man who can rise up and say that the intemperate habits of the people have not created poverty, for they have. The man who has been drinking too much can have as much aid as you like to help him to eke out his small wages, but he will never get out of the rut of destitution. Then there is the cause of sickness. There is not the least doubt about it, as Mr. Balfour has said, that the mere fact that we are all subject to periods of sickness means that hundreds and thousands of people who have no reserve, who have nothing to fall back upon except the small and almost insignificant savings that can be made from wages, as soon as sickness overtakes them run a grave risk, not merely of becoming stationary, but run a grave risk of being thrown back absolutely. They may lose the whole grip of life and have to begin right away to work up the lower steps once more. These are two individual causes of poverty—one in which the individual is responsible, and the other in which the individual is not responsible, and it would be sheer blindness on the part of anybody not to count them in dealing with the causes which produce our national poverty at the present time. But poverty is social as well. I listened with the greatest pleasure to the description that the Solicitor-General gave you of the child being ground down by an unreasoned state of social unconcern and social

blindness. And then I thought, without for a single moment trying to minimise the effect of his description, that you may direct your child, you may fit your child for life at the age of 18 or 19; pass all the Education Acts you can; spend as much money as you like upon your schools; open the way of life which the youth of the nation has got to walk as carefully as you may; but when that youth goes into the factory he is subject to periods of depression; and he is subject to all the ups and downs of an ill-regulated social system. Even that child would be like the man who goes off the highway into the marsh; he plods and plods and plods through the marsh, and the further he goes the more woeful becomes his condition, until at last, spent both in body and mind, he gives up the struggle and becomes a mere wreck of what he was, without capacity to improve himself, and an inevitable recruit for the ranks of the great army of the destitute. I have been taking round some of our colonial visitors, and I candidly confess to you my friends that I have been ashamed sometimes to show them things—things which were not hidden away in the shady recesses of our bye streets, but things which are walking about staring you in the face in the most frequented highways. I was ashamed to show them to our Colonial guests. I admit that these are not common to England only, for I have seen precisely the same things in other countries, and those of you who are working as experts in the problem must not narrow down your vision and confine your inquiries to your own country. All over the world, in new countries as well as old, this deplorable, this pressing problem of poverty is troubling men and women, who can think for the masses as well as for themselves, and have some humanitarian sentiment that must influence their conduct in life. I propose to trouble you no longer. I can only, in conclusion, join with those who have preceded me in hoping that the Conference which was opened to-day will result in a great deal of good. Let us remember, however, in our work, that we must not think of pitching camps merely. We must go on. Every day has got its march as well as its resting place, and we must examine each other's position. We must not merely form our own camp, and hide it by a high wall, but we must enter into closer communication with each other, and exchanges ideas more freely. And with more open meetings many of our divisions will prove to be merely superficial, and we shall discover that we can all stand upon a very broad and very ample and very efficient platform of common belief, common aim, and common endeavour. If in the future we could only discover ourselves oftener than in the past I feel it would be greatly to the benefit of the country and to the blessing of the people whom we have to call our fellows.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried with acclamation.

Mr. F. H. Bentham: The duty imposed on me is a very pleasant one, and it is to move that this meeting accords a hearty vote of thanks to the speakers who have spoken so well to us this evening. When I was asked to attend this conference I felt that as a Poor Law guardian I would be somewhat out of place, but I think after the experience we have had to-night one need not feel out of place whatever his political feelings may be, and whatever his social views may be with regard to this question. I feel that a great thing has been done to-day. We have marked one step forward in the direction of preventing destitution; and if I might speak for the members of all the Boards of Guardians in the country I could say that every single one of them desires to see destitution prevented as far as ever it is possible. They do not desire to see merely a change in the horse which has to carry the burden. They do not want to see the burden transferred from one authority to another; but they want a reduction in the burden. No

guardian desires to see an increase in the volume of the work he has to deal with, but rather a decrease; and therefore they wish God-speed to this movement which brings together all agencies, both public and voluntary, having for their object the reduction of destitution.

Mr. W. Crooks, M.P.: I rise for the express purpose of seconding the vote of thanks to the non-experts who have spoken to us to-night, and I think when you consider what they would have told us twenty years ago you will agree with me that what they have left unsaid is something marvellous. (Laughter.) I rejoice that I have lived to see this day, and to hear the speeches we have heard from Mr. Balfour, from the Solicitor-General, and from my friend, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. That any statesman should speak on a public platform about casual labour and leave out the important fact that it is absolutely necessary for industry to have a supply of casual labour waiting in the reservoir for the purpose of being employed by any person who might desire their labour from day to day, is wonderful. (Laughter.) But we have never heard a word about it. Nobody believes it now. We have got tired of the man who is in and out of work regularly. I remember when I spoke a few years ago about the possibility of preventing the recruiting of poverty a newspaper published my epitaph: "Sacred to the memory of Will Crooks, who died of feeding the poor—at other peoples' expense." (Laughter.) I could not feed them at my own. (Renewed laughter.) But what happened? The paper died, and I am left to tell the tale. But there was one thing which was missed to-night, and which is invariably missed on these occasions, and that is the philanthropy and kindly sympathy and humanity of the exceeding poor. You can get more humour in five minutes out of a slum area than you can get in the Albert Hall in a year. (Laughter.) I have a friend who is well known as "the contented man," whose child, owing to the opportunities now afforded, gained a junior county, an intermediate, and a senior county scholarship. He is a casual labourer in and out of work regularly, and he has nine children. I asked him whom he considered the most contented, the man with nine children or the millionaire, and he replied: "The man with nine children." "Why," I asked. "Oh," he said, "the millionaire always wants more." (Laughter.) I rejoice that I have the opportunity of saying how much I thank the organisers of this gathering, and I hope the Conference being held this week will be a success. I may perhaps be forgiven for saying what I have said up and down the country, for I do not get the chance of saying it often in such an illustrious company as this. "Our fathers—myfather—knew the effect of the poverty in which they had to bring their children up. They knew the effect; I have lived to know the cause; and, God willing, our children are going to find a remedy for it all."

PUBLIC HEALTH SECTION.

Prefatory Statement.

THE PRESENT POSITION.

It is interesting to note that it was primarily in order to prevent destitution that the Local Health Authority in England was called into existence. It was as Secretary to the Poor Law Commission that Edwin Chadwick in 1838 drew the attention of the Government to the need for what we should now call Public Health powers; and described as "the most prominent and pressing" of all Poor Law reforms, "the means of averting the charges on the Poor Rates which are caused by nuisances by which contagion is generated, and persons are reduced to destitution." From this impulse sprang the four great Reports of the Poor Law Commission on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population (1842), the Royal Commission on the Health of Towns (1842-5), the Removal of Nuisances Act of 1846, and the Public Health Act of 1848. To-day it is officially estimated that from one-third to one-half of all the public expenditure in relief of destitution is due to sickness—one-seventh of it, indeed, to tuberculosis alone.

(i) The Law.

So far as the law is concerned, very extensive powers are now given for the prevention of disease. By the Public Health Act of 1875 (for London, the Public Health Act of 1891), together with the Acts amending the same—sadly needing, by the way, an early codification—Parliament has made it everywhere obligatory for a periodical inspection of the whole district to be made, in order that no unhealthy conditions may be suffered to exist; for whatever sewers and house-drains are necessary to be compulsorily and universally provided and kept in a proper state; for every dwelling to be properly constructed, not over-crowded, and kept without any nuisance injurious to health; for the universal provision of at least a minimum of sanitary accommodation, to be kept in good order; for a proper water supply to every dwelling wherever this is reasonably practicable; for systematic collective arrangements to be made for the removal of house refuse and filth, and the cleansing and disinfecting of any dwellings found to be in an unwholesome state; for the insistence upon special requirements to prevent disease with regard to all underground dwellings, common lodging-houses, houses let in tenements, factories and workshops, bakeries and slaughterhouses, and all unhealthy trades; and for steps to be taken to prevent the continuance anywhere or under any circumstances of any nuisance injurious to health. Wide powers of inspection and enforcement of sanitary conditions are given with regard to meat, milk, and other food, and the places where it is dealt with, and for the making of bye-laws imposing sanitary regulations upon the whole population. Food is inspected at its source by Local Sanitary Authorities, and at its port of entry by Port Authorities; in its distribution by Local Sanitary Authorities and Police. Births and infancy are looked after by Local Sanitary Authorities under the Midwives Act and by Health Visitors;

health at school by Education Authorities; and health in factories and workshops by the Home Office and Local Sanitary Authorities. Extensive powers are given for the provision, at the public expense and for common use, of sewers, pavements, water supply, lighting, cleansing and scavenging of every description, public baths and washhouses, parks and open spaces, playgrounds, markets, mortuaries, cemeteries, sanitary conveniences, ambulances, disinfection places, hospitals (including out-patients' departments or dispensaries) for any or all diseases, and even (but only temporarily) a supply of medicine and medical assistance for the poorer inhabitants.

Similar powers as regards Scotland are contained in the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897, and the Burgh Police (Scotland) Acts, 1892 and 1903.

So far as general words can go in statutory form, the powers available to prevent the occurrence of disease, and to deal with it effectively when it does occur, appear to be ample. But experience proves them to fall short, in this or that detail, at many points. Much of what is merely optional is not put in force. Even what is nominally obligatory and compulsory is, here and there, not in existence.

(ii) The Authorities.

Everywhere, in England and Wales, the Authority for putting the law in force is a Council directly elected by the ratepayers of its district (including women householders), either annually by thirds, or triennially *en bloc*. This elected Council, referred to as the Local Health Authority, is, in all the seventy-six "County Boroughs" the entirely autonomous County Borough Council. In London, the Public Health powers are shared between (*a*) the London County Council, (*b*) the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which is essentially a Public Health Authority, and (*c*) the City Corporation and the twenty-eight Metropolitan Borough Councils. Outside London and the County Boroughs the County Council has now certain responsibilities and powers with regard to the health of the whole county. But, subject to a supervision by the County Council —which is, notwithstanding the provisions of the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1910, still somewhat vaguely defined—the Local Health Authority is the Council of either (*a*) the Non-County Borough, (*b*) the Urban District, or (*c*) the Rural District. The members of the Rural District Council are also *ex-officio* Guardians of the Poor for the Poor Law Union in which the Rural District is situated, but the two bodies are entirely distinct. In the service of every Local Health Authority (including now every County) there must be a qualified Medical Officer of Health, with whatever sanitary and administrative staff is necessary. The Local Health Authorities receive practically no Grant in Aid from the Exchequer, and are responsible to no Minister of Health, though their work is more or less supervised by the four or five separate Divisions of the Local Government Board which deal with the subject.

In Scotland, the Local Authorities, for the purposes of the administration of the Public Health Acts, are in Counties (exclusive of Burghs) the County Council where the County is not divided into districts, the District Committee where the County is divided into districts, and in Burghs the Town Council. There are 8 Counties not divided into districts, 99 District Committees, and 206 Burghs—making a total of 313 Local Authorities for 5,000,000 of people. Each of these Local Authorities has a Medical Officer of Health and a Sanitary Inspector, and the Medical Officer of Health must possess a diploma in sanitary science,

public health, or State medicine. An important fact is that no Medical Officer of Health or Sanitary Inspector can be removed from office except by or with the sanction of the Local Government Board for Scotland.

It should be noted that many of the smaller Burghs have made arrangements by which they obtain the services of the County Medical Officer of Health and Sanitary Inspector, and practically all the District Committees have appointed the County Medical Officer of Health and Sanitary Inspector as their Medical Officer of Health and Sanitary Inspector respectively. Uniformity of administration throughout the County is thus, to a great extent, secured. In a few cases two Counties have combined to appoint the same Medical Officer. In addition, almost all the Local Authorities have appointed a Veterinary Surgeon for the purposes of meat inspection and the inspection of cattle in dairies. With the exception of a contribution to the salaries of Medical Officers and Sanitary Inspectors, Local Authorities receive no Grant in Aid from the Exchequer. Their work is more or less supervised by the Local Government Board of Scotland, which (unlike that of England) is a real Board, composed of the Secretary for Scotland, the Solicitor-General for Scotland, and the Under-Secretary for Scotland as *ex-officio* members, and three appointed members, viz., a vice-president, a legal member, and a medical member.

In many towns in England, and in a few in Scotland, more or less elaborately organised voluntary agencies, working in conjunction with the Medical Officer of Health, exist. Over 240 towns have Health Visitors (see Return *infra*) or Health Societies in active work, visiting (*a*) all notified births, (*b*) sometimes also houses where deaths are notified, and (*c*) following up cases discharged from hospital or specially reported. There are a few "Schools for Mothers," whilst some of the voluntary nursing associations and "Nursery School" societies act under the Medical Officer of Health.

(iii) The Facts.

No general survey of the Public Health service exists, and such a survey is badly needed. The 1,800 separate Local Health Authorities in England, and the 313 in Scotland—which are, under the Statutes, jointly responsible for preventing disease, and therefore for keeping the whole population in health—vary indefinitely in their activity. In some districts almost the only sign of a Public Health service is the payment of an annual fee of ten or twenty guineas to a local medical practitioner to walk through the part of Medical Officer of Health, and a corresponding fee (in England and Wales) to the Poor Law Relieving Officer to pretend to be Inspector of Nuisances; and the whole Public Health expenditure of a Rural District Council responsible for the good health of tens of thousands of people may (in England) not exceed a hundred pounds. At the other end of the scale stand cities like Liverpool and Manchester, where the Town Council provides elaborate drainage systems, water supply, parks and open spaces, baths and washhouses, workmen's dwellings, and municipal hospitals, whilst the Public Health Department is a highly organised and all-pervading influence, maintaining a vigilant supervision of the sanitary condition of the dwellings, the streets, the work-places, and the food supply; and carrying on a persistent campaign, not only against the ordinary notifiable zymotic diseases, but also against infantile mortality, tuberculosis, measles, whooping-cough, and the minor ailments of children at school. We know that the 1,800 Local Sanitary Authorities of England and Wales, together with the County Councils, have among them about 1,500 Medical Officers of Health, and that out of these, about

350 (including those of London, the County Councils and the County Boroughs) are salaried "full timers," whilst about 400 are private practitioners to whom the Local Health Authority pays a stipend of from £3 to £30 per annum. We know that, out of these 1,800 Local Health Authorities, only about 700 have any sort of hospital provision of their own for infectious diseases; and it is uncertain how many of the 1,100 without hospital accommodation can effectively secure isolation by arrangement with more energetic or more provident neighbours. We know that the 700 municipal hospitals have over 25,000 beds, or more than those provided in all the endowed or voluntary hospitals put together; that they must receive about 100,000 patients a year; that (as they can legally provide for all diseases, infectious or not) they are here and there widening the scope of their work, admitting patients suffering from accidents, from tuberculosis, from measles, from whooping-cough, and so on; and that they are beginning to open out-patients' departments or dispensaries (for tuberculosis, for ringworm, for various skin affections, etc.).

In Scotland also there is no survey of Public Health available. We know that the 313 Local Authorities have among them about 120 Medical Officers of Health. Of these, about 40 devote all their time to their duties, whilst about 80 are engaged in private practice and receive salaries varying from £2 2s. to £200. With but one or two exceptions, every Local Authority in Scotland is provided with hospital accommodation for cases of infectious disease. As already stated, the work of the Local Authorities is more or less supervised by the Local Government Board for Scotland; but, with a staff of only two Medical Inspectors, an adequate systematic survey of the Public Health service is impossible; and it has been revealed by evidence that in many places—notably in the Hebrides and in the Highlands, but also in some of the Lowland districts—the provision for the prevention of disease is little more than nominal, whilst the percentage of uncertified deaths is large.

HEALTH VISITORS: RETURNS MADE IN FEBRUARY, 1911.

SALARIED HEALTH VISITORS	
For 195 different Localities	471
Health Visitors paid entirely out of rates	359
" " paid partly out of rates and partly by philanthropic Institutions ...	38
" " paid entirely by philanthropic Institutions	83
VOLUNTARY HEALTH VISITORS	
Working in 46 different Towns	964
Total Salaried and Voluntary Health Visitors ...	1435

First Day, Tuesday, May 30th.

MORNING AND AFTERNOON SESSIONS.

(*Joint Meetings with the Education Section.*)

At the Morning Session the President of the Public Health Section, Sir Clifford Allbutt, K.C.B., occupied the chair. The subject discussed was THE MEDICAL INSPECTION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*Pressing Administrative Problems of Medical Inspection.*
By the RIGHT HON. HENRY HOBHOUSE, Chairman of the Somerset County Council.

2.—*Some Administrative Details of Medical Inspection.*
By DR. E. W. HOPE, Medical Officer of Health, Liverpool, and DR. A. A. MUSSEN, Assistant Medical Officer of Health, Liverpool.

At the Afternoon Session the President of the Education Section, Professor M. E. Sadler, occupied the chair. The subject discussed was THE MEDICAL TREATMENT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The School Clinic.*
By DR. LEWIS WILLIAMS, School Medical Officer, Bradford.

2.—*The Need for Dental Clinics.*
By MR. A. W. GANT, Borough Dental Surgeon, Cambridge.

3.—*The Medical Treatment of School Children by General Practitioners*
By Dr. LAURISTON SHAW.

(*The papers taken at the above Joint Sessions, together with the discussions which took place, are given in the proceedings of the Education Section on pp.* 172 *and* 190.)

Second Day, Wednesday, May 31st.

MORNING SESSION.

The chair was occupied by Sir T. Clifford Allbutt, who delivered his Presidential Address. The subject of discussion was The Administrative Control of Tuberculosis in Relation to the Prevention of Destitution. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Compulsory Notification of Consumption in Relation to the Prevention of Destitution.*
By Dr. Harold Scurfield, Medical Officer of Health, Sheffield.

2.—*The Phthisis Sanatorium as a Means of Prevention and Cure.*
By Professor A. Bostock Hill, County Medical Officer of Health, Warwickshire.

3.—*The Domiciliary Treatment of Tuberculosis.*
By Dr. James Niven, Medical Officer of Health, Manchester.

4.—*The Tuberculosis Dispensary.*
By Dr. D. J. Williamson, Medical Officer to the Paddington and Kensington Dispensary for the Prevention of Consumption.

The Presidential Address.

By Sir T. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT, K.C.B., F.R.S.

It would be an ill return for your courtesy in calling me to this place in your conference were I to occupy you by exhortations, or by records and counsels, already only too familiar to all those of this assembly who have studied the subjects with which we are now to concern ourselves. Of these matters I can scarcely pretend on any point to know more than you do; while on the whole in these respects I am behind most of my hearers. In this address then I must confine myself to a few reflections of a general kind.

The old Roman farmer and paterfamilias, in ploughing round the limits of his estate, watched and mused with himself as he went how he might invest these limits with immunities against the companies of spirits which in air, woodland, or water might be envious to him; by what witchcraft, as he conceived his proper weapons to be, he should win them to his aid, or at least to neutrality. In this fixed purpose he gathered together a battery of spells, infallible if only the worker himself could be sure not to fail in performing the proper charm at the critical moment. And in Southern Europe, and not there only, these enchantments were still the weapons of noble and churl, of priest and people, down the stream

of time through the Middle Ages to the days of Anne; and, if in other guises and in attenuated degrees, even of Victoria. As the Roman family looked to its head, so the "common people" of later times looked to their masters to propitiate the malignant spirits—the "common people," a horde which these masters ignored or oppressed, except when on occasion they had need to take profit of them.

Now, to turn but for a moment still farther into the backward of time, ancient men began to learn, as some animals—wolves, for instance—had done, that groups might survive where individuals could not hold their own, or could do so with less advantage. Thus individual rivalries were dissolved in the growth of a society, and thenceforward competition lay less and less between various individual survivors—more and more between various social survivors. That social body survived which proved itself the most coherent, and in which therefore the most energy was most economically stored, and most unanimously put forth.

But, to make hordes into coherent and efficient bodies, it was necessary to compel individuals to surrender personal to tribal motives; to mould the common folk into pawns, and to concentrate all initiative in a few chiefs and priests whose awful rule was sanctioned by ruthless and, as it seems to us, fantastic rites. Thus the tribe was moulded and consolidated, and in many instances welded into a marvellously compact and consentaneous society, by what Bagehot called the cake of custom. If, besides the good of the whole society, individual interests were sunk into nothing, yet every individual heart beat with the life of the whole. But it came about that, although while under more or less uniform circumstances of food and enemies such societies might long survive, and inspire every individual with the common function, yet they were too rigidly constructed; they lacked flexibility, and readiness of adaptation, so that under any large changes of outer conditions they broke up. To succeed organisation by custom, to gain the flexibility to enable a society, by adapting itself to varying conditions, to resist disintegrating forces, was developed that wonderful instrument of survival, the intellect.

But, for its fence and play, the intellect demanded the release of those individual liberties and values which under the rule of custom were suppressed, coherence under pressure had to be resolved into voluntary co-operation; and to old and conservative dynasties this release was intolerable. As even within our own modern society this antagonism of rational and customary organisation is by no means past, as in many of the smaller divisions of our land the folk are still held together by good form and the cake of custom, there is not yet room enough within the framework of traditional static rule for the free play of mind, or indeed for the general desire of it. Still we see—

> "Decency and Custom starving Truth,
> And blind authority beating with his staff
> The child that might have led him."

To changing conditions every society adapts itself more or less reluctantly; yet in continual readaptations lies the secret of survival of modern societies, and nowadays changes of conditions are running swift and deep.

Nevertheless, we cannot forget that all changes of the directions of motion involve waste; in a machine some of the energy is dissipated as heat, and in a working society no little heat is expended; if the parts of it do not run sweetly energy is lost still more wastefully in internal collisions, whose violence, depending upon the differential speeds of the constituent parts, and upon degrees of pent-up

stresses, has been sometimes cataclysmal. Hence the economical readaptations of social form and spirit, imperative upon a modern society if it is to survive, should be uniform and orderly. This or that change, or rate of change, may be wise or unwise, but if we do not perceive correlative changes, external and internal, going on with unanimity, if we do not see the strength of ancient custom giving place to the strength of thought, observation and fellowship, we may be sure that in the competition of social systems we are falling behind.

My desire is, then, to bring into fuller light the truth, too often forgotten in current applications of Darwinian principles, that competition is no longer between individual but between social bodies. Yet the phrase, "survival of the fittest," is still used with almost exclusive regard to the personal body, the co-efficients of survival of the social body being ignored or misunderstood. The pity which cares for and preserves halt or sickly individuals is deprecated as sentimental by disputants who forget that pity may be one of the vital bonds of the unity of a progressive society. Music, says another philosopher, is a delight to the individual, but cannot give survival value; wherein he forgets not only his Plato, but also the chanties of our bluejackets and the bugles of our warriors. It was not by its words only that the Marseillaise set a nation on fire.* The eminent author of the article on "Evolutionary Ethics" in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1909, harps upon a contrast between intellect, art and ethics and natural selection, which is surely false. "Natural selection," he says, "does not dominate life. . . . Intellectual, ethical and artistic interests . . . useless and puzzling by-products lie outside its range. . . ." They "look to ends beyond the mere preservation of the individual and the race. . . ." They "actively oppose natural selection by protecting the weak. . . ." And so on. I know what injustice I am doing to so interesting an article by shreds from the whole, but I permit myself the liberty to illustrate my argument that antitheses of this kind lose their force at once when we remember that in our day social ideals still mean natural selection, survival by fitness, but not of individual but of social organisms. Now we cannot always foretell what characters may prove potent as factors in the survival of social organisms, to which the individuals stand in a similar fashion to the whole as a nerve cell or a liver cell stands to the animal body; a similar but not an identical fashion, for, as I have already said, the intellect, an adaptive variation of marvellous potency, requires for its greater activity more and more individual freedom. That the intellect is only regulative and does not generate progress may be true, or largely true; but, as it determines its direction and its critical moments, it is an essential coefficient in the incessant readaptations and reintegrations of internal function and structure by which a modern society must hold its own.

In England we have a profound sense, too profound perhaps, of that side of the truth which teaches that the intellect and its logical categories—if, for convenience, we may thus detach our co-operative faculties—regulate growth but are not growth; that there are intimate developmental fibres which sociological dissections cannot untwine, secret influences which elude analysis; and that logical simplicity is obtained by stripping things of their attributes. This conviction, sagaciously and seasonably held, is a valuable one; but we must also realise that for good or ill we have now passed into a maturer phase of development when conscious growth must lead the unconscious, when the blinder

* On one of the Jubilees in an eddy of the crowd the crush became perilous, tempers were rising and conditions menacing, when in the midst of it a man threw up his arm crying out twice, "Do as I do," and began to sing "God Save the Queen." The crowd took it up, and falling into rhythm the crush resolved, and the crowd seemed to melt away.

instincts intuitions and impulses of spontaneous life, pregnant as they are, must be cultivated under the judgment and control of the deliberating mind. If by too much thought and too much system the generative impulses may be tamed, if there be more sap in natural growths than in artificial inventions, there is waste and peril also in wild and unpruned vegetation; time and opportunity are fleeting, ungainly growths may be unconformable. Still the analytic reason is accused of clipping and dissecting this growth and fruitage pedantically. We ask ourselves, not without some cause, if the German nation, the great neighbour to whom we owe so much, and not least our deliverance from the stagnation of impregnable Empire, may by excess of material methods check spontaneity, or obstruct the springs of spiritual life. In our own society we may observe a curious instance of this faith in growth from the old roots, this mistrust of invented models, in our present shyness of a brand-new House of Lords composed of superior persons; and in misgivings—misgivings which this Conference will do well to harbour, lest by our new machinery we may be weaving for ourselves a new bondage, the bondage of a bureaucracy. Wedded as the Englishman has been, and still is, to individual initiative, successful as his mistrust of rationalism and abstract methods, and his reliance on the instinctive judgment of craftsmen, on character, and sense of contingency, may have been in the incalculable problems of politics, it will be strange if in fits of haste or ruth he should now manufacture for himself a bureaucracy which, slowly stifling spontaneous growth, will ultimately make for sterility. No caste or office has ever been the birthplace, or even the nursery, of new ideas, save always the idea of making the servant into the master. No bureau has ever been fertile in imagination, yet it is by our imaginations that our seminal ideas are engendered and nourished.

Let us then keep open that sense of infinite and fertile contingency in human life which is often helpful—always significant; which perceives that abstract principles obtained by eliminating much both of nature and man are barren, or prolific only of logic; which prefers spirit to letter, empirical tact and inventiveness to syllabus; for this, the best pragmatism, has been the secret of the English political genius; but if at the same time we do not also become more and more vigilant in fostering a consentaneous play of reason as a directive and regulative faculty we shall waste much of our seminal ideas, or in fits of reaction, or absence of mind, we may forge the yoke of bureaucracy, a peril now menacing us in the multiplication of tutors and inspectors, and in some impatience with the more tentative lines of evolution. I think therefore that although in overlapping of administrative and charitable societies and agencies there is some waste, we ought notwithstanding to cherish a variety of such ministries, lest we fall into the monotonies and rigidities of officialism. If all almsgiving be inexpedient, we lose much in the forbidding of it; we lose the touch of nature and of fellowship. Let us then, working with our own hands, welcome both voluntary and salaried agents, officials, visitors, nurses, Bible women, and, I am fain to add, the clergy, fervent and devoted men as they are; though being more attached to tradition than versed in history, and feeling how, in the past, magic has served to weld the social body together, they endeavour in pessimist dread of a return to chaos, to bind up the sores of the social body by the old thaumaturgic devices; not seeing in the fullest light how the living principles of the gospel must become the conditions of this survival, not comprehending that in modern times the survival of a social body will depend less and less upon tradition and ceremony, more and more upon reflective synthesis. And it is no less true that if we are to fuse our people into one body it cannot be by administration only; not by insurances, by reforms

of dwellings and foods, or by any merely material aids, fundamental as these conditions are; but the unity must be also one of spirit. It must be rooted in a sense of our common humanity, in an understanding sympathy, in mutual aid, in the precepts and example of Christ. Without this, which is the true socialism, a socialistic framework of society, a mere "institutionalising" of the people, can only turn to bitterness.

In this constitution or in that there is no absolute or inherent efficacy; of the many varieties and shades of government that form is best which in any period best expresses the activities and the wants, many of them inarticulate wants, of its people. Nevertheless, we fret because natural processes are slow and wayward; to realise, to weigh, to express, and to give economical effect to the manifold and various wills and capacities of a huge, complex, and mostly undiscerning people is a difficult and a tedious task, one needing more patience than many of us are willing to give. Meanwhile, however, growth has been more rapid than rational design and things are moving faster and faster; in the growth of cities, which are, as it were, the several organs of our social body, we have been taken by surprise. It never occurred to the gentry of the eighteenth century—"that dressed-up century"—that three-quarters of its people were in misery, poverty, weakness, and hopelessness. If the upper layers were cultivated, the lower were not thought worth cultivating. Hume, it is said, was the first historian to set forth the social and economical problems of the people, yet even in my boyhood to encourage the rural labourer was to awaken angry resentment. After him arose Howard, Mrs. Fry, Shaftesbury, and since their day much good water has flowed under the bridges; yet even now the present Bishop of Winchester appeals to us on "the terrible conditions of life which have widely crushed and stifled our people's faith and hope, . . . the need for more care for the children, the awful pressure and tension of the housing problem"; and he emphasises that lamentable conspiracy between disease and destitution, which is one of the chief of the problems we are met to-day to discuss.

These problems, then, we shall discuss, I trust, with so much of intellectual analysis of causes as may shape and organise the growth of our people without committing us too much to officialism. We shall not fail to sympathise with the Englishman's belief in spontaneous growth, his mistrust of over-pruning and of dragooning, even for temporary efficiency; yet wholesome as this mistrust may have been, on the other hand in this temper we have busied ourselves almost entirely in mopping up consequences without rational and systematic analysis and prevention of the causes of the flood of evils. If from time to time in the journals we glance at the records of bequests for public purposes, almost without exception we shall note that benefactors bestow their funds not upon agencies of prevention in a wide, or even in a narrow sense, but continually, as I must reiterate, for mopping up consequences; for hospitals and refuges of all kinds, which is good, but not for what is better, those means by which disease itself should be sapped at its sources; funds are devoted to palliate the effects of ignorance or folly, but not for the larger designs by which ignorance and folly are to be dispersed; they are devoted to the palliation of destitution rather than for gaining knowledge of the causes of destitution, and for organising methods of attack upon them.

I have spoken of our mopping up of consequences, but the worst of it is we cannot mop them up. The hospital is but a patch on disease; charity organisation but a patch upon pauperism; the refuge but a cloak for the ineffectual; State subsidies but a patch on destitution. And are we to expect in the long run much

more of reformatories and colonies, that they also will prove to be more than patches on grown-up indolence, shuffling, plausibility, and depravity? Apart from the marvellous effects of religious conversion on a few of the more passionate natures, I fear that even the once reputable workman, when by bad luck or inefficiency he has drifted into idle and degraded habits, offers no great promise of reform save in the arts of dissimulation. So on all sides we are thrown back upon the study of causes and radical means of prevention; upon the salvation of the unlucky young worker before his ill-luck has soaked into him; and above all, upon our plastic babies, for whose sakes I would go a long way in political heterodoxy; for them I would defy or evade the most time-honoured axioms of the economists. Before the British child I confess myself almost a Socialist. It is said that the feeble-minded and inefficient derive from the thriftless, from the lower ranks of labour, and paupers. I have not all this complacency; to that level they are apt to sink; but if I may judge by conversation and their mental occupations I should guess that as many are born or manufactured in the affluent classes of our society; but their capacities are not put to the test, and the public opinion of their class is not very intolerant of them.

In what I may call then his hypertrophy of common sense, the Englishman has disdained all philosophers, scientists, experts, reformers, and, I fear, even readers of papers at congresses, as visionaries; yet those warriors, if sometimes they are fanatical, make for ideas, for movement, and for progress, to be realised in some effective way if not always in their way. And let not English Tories be aghast at audacious opinions and utopias; they may console themselves by a contemplation of our vast native stores of sapiency, of doggedness, which are sure to preserve us from violence or headlong revolution. If a movement is making way in England we may be sure we are overripe for it. Let them remember the words of Socrates, which might have been meant for us restless haunters of congresses: "There is no need to be angry at this ambition of theirs, which may be forgiven; for every man ought to be loved who says, pursues, and manfully works out anything which is at all like wisdom; at the same time we shall do well to see them as they really are." And furthermore, we shall remember that our practical men, our heads of departments, our colonial and other governors, whose habit it is to hate importunate people who want something, who are suspicious of visionaries, and who protect us by their common sense, are by no means averse from bureaucracy; nay, they build bureaus to entrench themselves and to defend us from the people who want things. Let us be careful then about the creation of squadrons of officials, lest our latter state be worse than our first. It is much easier to change machinery than to change folk.

We see, notwithstanding, that if our civilisation be not a failure, as some of our prophets proclaim, assuredly it is miserably defective; if not worse than of old, much better indeed, yet still grievously wrong; but not because our people are falling lower; happily our discontent is because our standards of humanity are rising, rapidly rising, and our instinct of self-preservation by means of the unity of the social organism is driving us more and more to consolidation by mutual sympathy and help. Let this cheer us; and in the breaking up of our "cake of custom," let us summon our reason to give us instead of it that flexibility of readaptation and that efficiency of the social body which are engendered of the harmony of sound and sensitive parts, and of the penetration of life-giving streams into every starved or even cankered element of our social body. If the social organism is to survive by that natural selection which is now determining not directly individual survivals but the survival of one social organism against

another, the need now is imperative not of the unity of a ruling caste only but of an integration of every man, woman, and child into an economical, consentaneous, and swiftly efficient whole. Somewhere in the works of Darwin himself these words are, I think, to be found: "*Those communities which contain the greatest number of most sympathetic members will flourish most.*" Could we have a more inspiring motto for our congress than these words from the very fountainhead of the doctrine of natural selection.

We are gathered here, then, to say grow, but grow with eyes open. We cannot always—perhaps generally we cannot—read at first the social value of a fresh idea or tendency; many such a germination cannot be interpreted till it is seen at work. Watch! Watch the social currents, that every unit of our organism may be purified, nourished, and integrated to harmonious ends; not in a fashion of pedantry, but as always remembering that those sports which bear the fruit of ideas are born not by taking thought but of spontaneous growth. I see no reason to expect them to be born more of the cultured classes than of the uncultured; I am not apprehensive of the greater fertility of the masses as compared with the cultivated classes, unless perhaps it be of the city baby as against the country baby; I am not aware that a vulgar baby promises less in the bud than an aristocratic baby. Mr. Mundella said that "the English workman, if coarser, less sober, less instructed, is more inventive than his fellows abroad." We cannot tell whence genius may come; out of Maiden Lane perchance, or an ostler's yard; it is no appanage of rank or wealth, it comes as it lists; indeed by too much system we may trample it under jog-trot conformity. Let all growth then be cherished, and especially in the children, seeing that in them our future lies; and if starved in body and mind—and to starve the body is to starve the mind—they will grow up not as integral and effectual members of the social body, but to lie within it as unassimilated, undigested lumps, to hang upon its skirts as burdensome, morbid, or cancerous appendages, a drag or even a poison to our State. This, then, may be the second motto for our Congress: Cherish your babies; among them there are angels unawares; and all of them are to be our comrades; but we may make up our minds to fewer babies if we can take a fuller care of those which arrive.

Once more, if we are to excel in rational statecraft, trustworthy data are essential, but the difficulty of accumulating them is prodigious; at length, however, we are gathering some statistics to which even Professor Pearson may give a cautious approval; for instance, those of birth and death. But as bearing directly on destitution, of which, as we have seen, disease is a chief factor, it is even of greater importance to gather statistics of what is now called "invalidity," of morbid incidence and proclivity about which the mortality statistics give us little notion, and no data. To this vital question the Home Office has been devoting much attention. Dr. Collis and Dr. Legge are desirous of utilising the invalidity certificate to obtain data for statistics of invalidity. Each medical certificate entitling to compensation for invalidity might furnish, with other details, the precise department of the trade in which the invalid was employed, and on conclusion the period of the invalidity. The mortality and the invalidity of an unwholesome occupation by no means run parallel; indeed the invalidity would give a much better index of the kind and degree of injury attributable to it. I have only one moment of hesitation about all such proposals, and it is one that I trust this Conference will bear in mind throughout its deliberations, namely, lest we lay yet more and more unpaid or half-paid tasks upon the unfortunate medical practitioner who, unlike the lawyer, having few friends in

the Houses of Parliament but a tempting reputation of inexhaustible generosity, has in his character of good-natured friend new duties continuously thrust upon him, so that his work is always increasing while his pecuniary reward relatively or actually falls off. The nation is to be endowed at the expense of its physicians. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has inspired us with a magnificent idea of social amelioration, but it is scarcely too much to say that the living realisation of it will depend upon the goodwill, the talents, and the genius of the medical profession, and my profession will not be found wanting. The Chancellor's intentions towards us seem kindly; but I fear lest they be clipped by a grudging Executive, or designed without a full comprehension of the conditions of medical work; and, generous as individuals may be, an ill-paid employment means in no very long run a lowering of its standard of education and efficiency.

To conclude, what is our aim to-day? Is it not, in a word, to raise the social body to the function of social mind? We are but on the threshold of the study of the individual mind; the study of the social mind, the emotion and the reason of group-unity, has not got even so far. But we are sure at least that it must consist in a collective responsibility, in a corporate life; in a permeation of all the height, depth, and breadth of us by sympathetic nerves and by irrigating channels, so that there shall be no parts living an atrophied, a cankered, or a parasitic existence. There is no such thing as stationary life. As parts and as a whole we go forward or backwards; and if we are to survive it will be by this knitting of all our members together by fertile ideas and by quick interweaving of all racial fibres in one system. We shall test faculties not by the prevalent measure of their advantage to individuals, but as coefficients in the growth and strength of the social body by which, and not by our single selves, we are to survive; a body in which—to use the words of Hooker—"the very least is feeling her care, the greatest is not exempted from her power." And grievous as may be the way we have to win, yet surely we have much cause for thankfulness, none for despair. When I compare these days with those of my childhood, days of tyranny and alienation, of chartism and plug riots, of fierce reprisals and estrangements, I see—and does not this conference testify to it?—more and more sensitive human sympathy, human souls and human duties growing nobler in our view, social interests of deeper moment; and in the words of James Martineau, "we are no longer regarding the whole scene of man's visible life merely as the vestibule of an invisible futurity, but as having a worth and a dignity of its own."

The Compulsory Notification of Consumption in Relation to the Prevention of Destitution.

By Harold Scurfield, M.D., C.M., D.P.H.
(Medical Officer of Health for the City of Sheffield).

The effect of tuberculosis of the lung, or consumption, in causing destitution, is so much a matter of common knowledge that it would be a waste of time to illustrate this point by elaborate statistics. I may point out, however, that of the 294,939 deaths of males at ages between 25 and 55, which occurred in England

and Wales during the five years 1905 to 1909, 72,291, or 24.5 per cent. were from consumption. In Sheffield during the same period the figures are respectively 4,349 and 1,216, or 28.0 per cent. Presumably most of these deaths were those of breadwinners.

During the last three years in Sheffield, out of 1,543 deaths from tuberculosis of the lung 554, or 35.9 per cent., have occurred in the workhouses. It has been estimated that one-eleventh of the total pauperism of this country is due to phthisis, but I should think this is an under-estimate, especially if we take into consideration the other forms of tuberculosis which owe their origin to the infectious material from tuberculosis of the lung.

In order that adequate steps may be taken to deal with the danger of the infection of consumption being spread throughout the community, it is obvious that the first step is to obtain information as to the whereabouts of the infectious cases. The idea of the compulsory notification of consumption is no new one. It has been debated and discussed at Congresses for a long time. In 1896 it fell to my lot to move a resolution in favour of compulsory notification at the Newcastle Congress of the Sanitary Institute. The resolution was carried almost unanimously. A similar resolution was passed by the Public Health Section of the British Medical Association in the same year. Before that year and during the fifteen years which have elapsed since that year numerous resolutions have been passed at Public Health Congresses to the same effect.

The Government are now moving in the direction of compulsory notification. The Local Government Board have recently issued two orders on the subject. The first enforces the notification of cases of consumption coming under the purview of the Poor Law, and the second compels the notification of cases coming under treatment at voluntary hospitals.

I happen to be the Medical Officer of Health of the town which was the first in England to adopt compulsory notification, and I have had to work the compulsory notification clauses since they came into operation in November, 1903. During these seven and a half years I have forgotten what the theoretical objections to compulsory notification are. I have come across no practical objections during that time, and when I was asked by your secretary to open a discussion on this subject I wrote to him asking him if he would kindly let me know what the theoretical objections were. Perhaps that is the most emphatic way of stating that I know of no real objections.

Dr. McCleary kindly sent me a few of the objections as he had heard them stated from time to time.

The first objection is that compulsory notification would not achieve its object, because a large proportion of the cases would not be brought to the notice of the Medical Officer of Health, and there would be wilful concealment.

I have no reason to suppose that this has been a valid objection in Sheffield. A certain proportion of the cases do escape notification, as will be seen from a reference to the following table. In this table are shown the number of cases of consumption who are certified as dying from consumption and who have not been previously notified. The percentage is not large, and I feel therefore justified in stating that the clauses of the Act are fairly well carried out.

Year.	Number of Deaths from Tuberculosis of the Lung not including those of residents dying elsewhere, in Asylums, etc.	Number of Persons who have died from Tuberculosis of the Lung without being notified.	Percentage.
1906	— 443	— 29	— 6.5
1907	— 506	— 36	— 7.1
1908	— 549	— 27	— 4.9
1909	— 506	— 29	— 5.7
1910	— 436	— 22	— 5.0

A possible motive for concealment is removed by the fact that in those cases where the medical attendant takes upon himself the responsibility of seeing that all precautions are carried out a request can be made by him at the time of notification that no inspector shall visit. This arrangement has, however, only been made use of in nine cases in 1908, one in 1909, and eight in 1910.

If the Sanitary Authority acts in a reasonable manner I do not think there will be concealment of cases, especially if hospital treatment is provided. A few consumptives no doubt put off going to a doctor because they do not wish to know the worst, and such cases may die from a sudden hæmorrhage without being notified. We have had inquests under such circumstances. In other cases there has been failure to notify because the medical attendant has assumed that his patient was already notified, either because he has not sought advice till a late stage of the disease, or because he has moved into the city from another district. In the case of some of those who have died unnotified the diagnosis has only been made *post-mortem*. In fact, I have had no reason to suppose that there has been wilful concealment.

The second objection is that persons notified as suffering from consumption will be treated as lepers, and lose their employment through being notified.

I do not think there is anything in this objection. The public is undoubtedly becoming alive to the fact that a careless consumptive or a consumptive in a late stage of the disease is a danger. We are doing what we can to educate the public in this respect, and to get them to adopt this view.

The fact that consumption has to be notified and that all the consumptives are supplied with information as to the precautions which they must take, is much more likely to remove the feeling of alarm than to create a scare. Persons suffering from consumption undoubtedly labour under certain disabilities, but the fact that notification is in force does not increase those disabilities. I have lately had a case in point brought to my notice. A member of a family well known in a certain district was suffering from consumption. Other members of the family had died of consumption. The fact that this family was affected by consumption was well known in the neighbourhood, quite apart from the operations of the notification clauses. It was known in the neighbourhood that the patient, who was confined to the house, borrowed books extensively from the Free Library, and a complaint was made to the Libraries Committee in consequence. The point I wish to make is, that the origin of this complaint was in no way due to compulsory notification.

As regards the loss of employment, it necessarily follows that when a person is suffering from consumption, he must be debarred from certain occupations. Thus it is not right that a person suffering from consumption should have to do with the handling of milk or the preparation of food, or should act as a children's nurse, etc. If notification causes loss of employment in such cases it is only right that it should do so. This is not an objection to the Act, but is, in fact, one of

the advantages of the Act. The Guardians must provide for such few cases as are rendered destitute in this manner. As regards ordinary occupations, a consumptive who has been notified and taught precautions is less likely to lose his occupation than a consumptive who is noticed by his fellow-workers to be careless. It is hardly possible for a consumptive to work in a workshop without some of his fellow-workers becoming aware that he is so suffering and may be a source of danger to themselves. Supposing a grinder has consumption and is notified as suffering from such, and he refuses to take proper precautions and is seen by his fellow-workers to spit about the workshop, it is only right that such a man should lose his occupation. On the other hand, I think it may be stated that if a workman is careful in the disposal of his expectoration and uses a pocket spittoon, he will as a rule be permitted to carry on his occupation as long as he is able to do so.

Provided, then, that the consumptive is careful in habits it is only in the case of special work that it is necessary to interfere with his employment, and the patient or relatives as a rule readily appreciate the need for such restrictions.

The objection that the consumptive is likely to lose his employment from being notified must give rise to very few grievances, seeing that I cannot recall any serious grievance with which I have had to deal in the course of the seven and a half years' working of the notification clauses.

The third objection to compulsory notification is that it would be expensive.

This objection has, I believe, reference to the fact that the same sufferer is likely to be notified by more than one doctor. This, however, is not a very important objection. Table I. shows the total notifications received every year, and the percentage of those which are new cases. The expenses of notification will be somewhat increased by the regulations for notifying cases coming under treatment of the Poor Law and voluntary hospitals, but there will be corresponding advantages to compensate for this extra expense.

The total expenses of the work in connection with consumption can be of course anything one likes, according as the municipality provides sanatorium treatment on a lavish scale or not. Table III. shows what is being spent by the municipality over the scheme in Sheffield at present, rather more than is produced by a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$d. in the £.

A fourth objection to compulsory notification is that it is unnecessary, and that the desired object can be obtained by voluntary notification, or by a tuberculosis dispensary, or other means.

In a recent paper entitled "The Crusade against Consumption," Dr. Jane Walker stated that for any public authority to deal with cases of disease such cases must come under its notice, and such notification must be either voluntary or compulsory. She admits that under a system of voluntary notification the proportion of cases notified is small, but does not seem to have made up her mind in favour of compulsory notification. She quotes an American author as saying: "The contagiousness of tuberculosis differs from the contagiousness of acute diseases, in that the individual who has tuberculosis can always be made non-contagious through his own efforts without isolation, while the individual suffering from acutely contagious diseases can only be made non-contagious by isolation, and not through his own efforts." I do not agree with the writer quoted. Even if a consumptive can lead the sanatorium life, he cannot be said to be able to render himself entirely non-contagious, especially in the late stages of the disease.

Dr. Walker says: "There are undoubtedly circumstances when compulsory notification may, and does, press hardly on the workers." I do not think it is

compulsory notification which presses hardly on the workers, but the fact that they are suffering from an infectious disease which may cause their fellow workers to be afraid of them. The Sanitary Authority does not inform the fellow workers. The fellow workers get to know that the patient has consumption, and naturally are afraid of infection, especially if the patient is careless.

Even if voluntary notification is in force, I take it that the object of it is to enable the Sanitary Authority to send special visitors, and to take certain precautions. It seems somewhat unfair to what might be called the " progressive " consumptives who allow themselves to be notified under a voluntary system if the " reactionary " consumptives are to be allowed to escape notification.

I can quite appreciate the argument that voluntary notification with hospital accommodation is better than compulsory notification without, and I hold strongly that the Sanitary Authority which adopts compulsory notification ought to provide some hospital benefit for the consumptive in return for the " policing " to which he will be subjected.

Obviously a tuberculosis dispensary cannot take the place of notification. Such a dispensary can only deal with cases which notify themselves to it by seeking its aid or are notified to it by medical men, or others, or are found by its visitors as the result of such notifications.

It then comes to be a choice between the visitors of the dispensary and the visitors of the Sanitary Authority. Are the paid visitors of a voluntary tuberculosis dispensary " officials "?

Dr. Jane Walker, in the paper already mentioned, refers to non-official visitors as follows: " These non-official visitors are a great advantage, for they can visit cases at once, without waiting for notification, and they not infrequently find out cases that would be missed through concealment of the disease, from fear of loss of employment, and other reasons, were it to become known." I confess I do not quite understand this statement or the outstanding advantages of non-official visitors. Of course, with some people, if a visitor is called an official, he is at once supposed to be a person full of fussy interference and devoid of tact. That has not been my experience. I find that the visits of our inspectors are quite well received. The inspectors do not wear a uniform cap. For many years they did so, and even that appeared to be no objection. They, of course, have a delicate duty to perform, and it is very necessary for them to be tactful, but provided they are ordinary humane individuals I think they get through their work without much difficulty. I do not find that a trained hospital nurse loses her humanity or becomes brutalised owing to the fact that she is visiting on behalf of a Sanitary Authority.

Some few householders object to disinfection. The majority welcome it when they understand the reason for it.

The inspectors become the agency by which all patients are admitted to the benefits of hospital treatment, and this brings them into friendly relation with the patients and their relatives.

I have had considerable experience of official and non-official visiting, and I have no hesitation in saying that the better-trained official visitor usually has the pull in the matter of tact.

A difficulty has occasionally arisen owing to the fact that the doctor who has notified the consumptive has not first told the patient that he is suffering from the disease. This, of course, puts the inspector in a very false position. Formerly it was quite common for a patient suffering from consumption not to be told of the nature of his disease. Nowadays, when the results of treatment

are more hopeful, it seems to me that this is an absolutely unjustifiable attitude for the medical attendant to adopt. As a matter of fact, since the provision of hospital treatment by the Corporation, I have reason to think that cases are notified earlier and that the doctor in attendance more frequently informs the patient of the nature of his illness than heretofore.

A fifth objection to notification appears to be that the Sanitary Authority cannot provide hospital accommodation.

The object of notification is not necessarily to provide hospital accommodation for the disease notified, but to take such steps as may be thought desirable to check the spread of the disease.

Hospital accommodation is not provided by the Sanitary Authorities for all the diseases scheduled under the Notification Act. For example, few Sanitary Authorities provide hospital accommodation for puerperal fever or erysipelas. With regard to consumption, however, it must be pointed out that hospital accommodation forms a very important part of the scheme, either at an early stage with a view to cure, at a moderately advanced stage with a view to education, or at a very advanced stage with a view to isolation. The task of providing a reasonable amount of hospital accommodation on these lines for those patients likely to benefit is not such a very extraordinarily costly one.

In conclusion, one can hardly deal with the question of notification without mentioning briefly the use to be made of it.

I have here some reprints describing the Sheffield scheme which are available for anyone who is interested. The items in the scheme are as follows: Examination of sputum free of charge by an arrangement with the Bacteriological Department of the Sheffield University; home visiting by special Inspectors and by nurses of the Queen Victoria District Nursing Association who are on the look-out for "contacts"; examination of the home and the removal of defects; disinfection when necessary; visiting of workshops when necessary and reports to H.M. Inspector of Factories; hospital accommodation provided by the Corporation with a view to the selection of cases suitable for sanatorium treatment and the education of all cases; the endeavour to persuade cases at an advanced stage to go into the special consumption wards provided by the Guardians; a special out-patient hour at one of the hospitals to which contacts may be sent for examination; the examination of contacts of the school age by the School Medical Officers, with an open-air school available for suitable cases. If tuberculin treatment turns out as well as is anticipated by some observers it can be grafted on to the present scheme without difficulty.

If a Sanitary Authority adopts compulsory notification it seems to me that it can hardly hand on the information which it receives to a tuberculosis dispensary supported by voluntary contributions without leading to much waste of time and duplication of records. The visitors from such a dispensary will have no power to require disinfection or cleaning up, and they will have no power to stop overcrowding, or to require compulsory removal to hospital, if in the course of time the last-named power is granted under a reformed Poor Law administration. The Edinburgh Tuberculosis Dispensary has done good work in showing the kind of organisation which is required, but it seems to me that the time has now come when this kind of work should be taken over by the Sanitary Authorities.

I have found by experience that there is no real objection to compulsory notification in spite of the theories which are held on the subject, and I shall be extremely surprised if any town which has adopted compulsory notification subsequently gives it up.

TABLE I.

City of Sheffield

Tuberculosis of the Lung

Notifications since Voluntary Notification was introduced, November, 1899.
(Compulsory Notification was introduced November 1st, 1903.)

Year	1899 (one month).	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.
(1) Examinations of Sputum	(?)	566	649	734	906	936	904	1029	1264	1518	1730	1604
(2) Notifications received	33	585	648	739	918	1216	1057	1122	1238	1299	1184	1125
(a) New cases belonging to City	29	309	282	326	519	826	741	698	779	793	712	667
(b) Cases previously recorded—												
(1) Under Voluntary System	—	30	41	62	168	97	20	19	12	14	11	7
(2) Under Local Act	—	—	—	—	32	278	286	393	442	473	452	436
(c) Notifications of Cases whose addresses were not in the City (Charitable Institution cases chiefly)	1	17	20	16	9	15	7	9	4	19	7	14
(d) Revised Diagnoses	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	1	—	2	1
(3) New cases notified per thousand of population	—	—	—	—	—	1.91	1.68	1.56	1.71	1.72	1.51	1.31

TABLE II.

Tuberculous Diseases.—Sheffield.

Deaths in Workhouse Hospitals and in City.

YEAR.	DEATHS from PHTHISIS (chiefly Tuberculosis of Lung). in Workhouse Hospitals.	in whole City.	Percentage of Phthisis Deaths occurring in Workhouse Hospitals.	Death-rate per 100,000 persons living. from Phthisis (chiefly Tuber. of Lung).	from Tuber. Diseases other than Phthisis.	from All forms of Tuber Diseases.	Deaths of Notified "Consumptives" classified under other Causes.
1889 ...	62	552	11.2	168	89	257	—
1890 ...	75	618	12.1	192	79	271	—
1891 ...	81	551	14.7	169	85	254	—
1892 ...	59	459	12.9	139	86	225	—
1893 ...	74	552	13.4	165	79	244	—
1894 ...	72	502	14.3	147	64	211	—
1895 ...	76	473	16.1	136	91	227	—
1896 ...	56	453	12.4	128	60	188	—
1897 ...	90	522	17.2	146	55	201	—
1898 ...	98	448	21.9	123	60	183	—
*1899 ...	117	502	23.4	136	74	210	—
1900 ...	135	539	25.0	143	59	202	—
1901 ...	142	580	24.5	141	66	207	—
1902 ...	121	491	24.6	117	62	179	—
†1903 ...	142	573	25.4	134	73	207	—
1904 ...	154	536	28.7	124	60	184	12
1905 ...	135	490	27.6	111	48	159	17
1906 ...	126	452	27.9	101	46	147	21
1907 ...	146	524	28.0	115	48	163	24
1908 ...	214	564	37.9	122	48	170	17
1909 ...	174	524	33.3	111	38	149	13
1910 ...	166	455	36.5	95	35	130	12

* 1899. Voluntary Notification introduced November, 1899.
† 1903. Compulsory Notification introduced November, 1903.

TABLE III.

City of Sheffield.

Department of the Medical Officer of Health.

Annual Expenses in connection with the Notification of Tuberculosis of the Lung (approximate).

	£
Fees for Notification (average 1908-10)	92
Fees for Examination of Sputum (average 1908-10)	207
Maintenance in the Corporation Hospitals of forty Patients at, say, 25s. per week each	2,600
Expenses sending selected Patients to Sanatoria and Maintenance ...	740
Salaries of Inspectors (£125-£78)	203
Payment to Q.V.D.N.A., being the cost of the whole time of one Nurse	100
Salaries of Clerks (proportion)	25
Tram Fares of Inspectors and Nurses	25
Disinfectants and Apparatus	75
Printing, etc.	10
	4,077

The Phthisis Sanatorium as a Means of Prevention and Cure.

By Professor Bostock Hill, m.sc., m.d., d.p.h.

(Professor of Hygiene, Birmingham University, and County Medical Officer of Health for Warwickshire.)

The work that has been done in this country and abroad of late years has shown perhaps in the clearest possible manner, the very close connection there is between the existence of tuberculosis and destitution. On the face of it, a disease which kills 60,000 people per annum must of necessity have a considerable influence in limiting earning capacity, and thus producing poverty, but when we find that tuberculosis is a disease chiefly affecting the working classes, and also that it is a disease which is most destructive in the working ages, it is obvious that it exacts an enormous toll both in lives and money, and is one of the prime factors in producing and continuing destitution.

Another fact which perhaps speaks even more eloquently on this subject is that one out of every three deaths occurring in persons receiving Poor Law relief is due to tuberculosis, and although there may be some argument as to whether tuberculosis produces poverty or poverty tuberculosis, there cannot be the least doubt of their close association, nor of the importance it must be to the nation to reduce as far as possible the magnitude of such a scourge. It must not be forgotten, in considering this question, that high as the mortality from tuberculosis still is, there has been during the last fifty years a continual decrease in the

death-rate from it, and this without any very definite work being undertaken for its reduction. This, no doubt, may be largely ascribed to the general improvement in the condition of the working classes, the advance of general sanitation, to some extent to instruction in hygiene, but chiefly, I believe, to the greater possibility of procuring cheaper supplies of the necessaries of life. One thing is quite certain, the reduction cannot, to any extent at least, be due to the institution of sanatoria for the treatment of the disease, for although treatment in such institutions has been much discussed by the medical profession as well as by the general public of late years, the number of beds available to all except the well-to-do has been so small as to be practically a negligible quantity. In this direction much valuable experience can be gathered from Germany, where sanatorium treatment has been much more largely developed, and it is fitting, therefore, that we should utilise the experience obtained in that country as well as our own in endeavouring to form an opinion as to how far the sanatorium may be considered a valuable means in the administrative control of tuberculosis.

A point at the outset, perhaps, to be borne in mind, is one which has been definitely proved, namely, that in a large proportion of cases consumption is not only curable but cured. Many leading medical authorities, both here and abroad, state without hesitation that a considerable proportion of all persons living suffer at some time or other from tuberculosis, but that the majority of these, by reason of the strength of their defensive powers overcome the attack, in most instances being ignorant that they have so suffered. The records of our *post mortem* rooms give ample proof of this. This being accepted, it follows as a matter of course that the most important consideration in treating consumption is, from the point of view of cure, that every means should be afforded sufferers of strengthening their powers of resistance. In other words, we should endeavour, while eliminating the supply of seed, to make the soil as unfruitful as possible.

I think it may be urged that the sanatorium in its many aspects is capable of doing this. The main object of the sanatorium is undoubtedly to put the patient under such conditions that he may have as reasonable a chance of cure as possible, and at the same time receive instruction as to the nature of his disease and its methods of spread, so that when leaving the institution he may be able to carry on the necessary work for the maintenance of his health, and at the same time minimise the risk of spread to others associated with him as much as possible.

Statistical results of treatment in sanatoria have been very fully set out by Dr. Bulstrode, and there is, I think it may be stated definitely as a proposition to which all would agree, no doubt, that the question of cure in a sanatorium depends in the majority of cases on whether or not the patient can be subjected to treatment at a sufficiently early date. Though there are apparently some types of virulent infection which will not allow of successful treatment, the bulk of early cases if treated according to modern methods have a reasonable chance of cure, or at all events arrest of the disease, but unhappily at the present time a large proportion of the cases do not come under observation till they are far advanced, and it is these cases which in the past have lowered the records of cure or amelioration, owing to the fact that they were not in a position to be cured. At the present time, however, both from the curative and preventive points of view, we have to deal with these cases, and also with cases far advanced, in which there is practically no hope of arrest or of marked amelioration. When, therefore, we come to consider the value of sanatoria as a means of dealing with consumption, we have to bear in mind these three types of cases, and it is obvious that no ordinary single institution can properly deal with them. From this it becomes obvious that we

have to consider the work of sanatoria from different points of view, namely, the point of view of cure of suitable cases, the amelioration of other cases, and the retention in hospital of advanced cases, with which is closely associated the work to be done in preventing the spread of infection. In instituting a sanatorium for a district, it is obvious, therefore, that for the maximum benefit to be obtained there must be some system of early notification of the disease, for without this it will be impossible at the present time, till education in the matter is much further advanced, to get hold of those which will benefit most by sanatorium treatment. Voluntary notification has been tried in many towns with good results. In others, particularly smaller towns, the results have not been so satisfactory. Notification of patients in Poor Law infirmaries and in the practice of Poor Law medical officers has been in operation for some little time, while on May 1st notification was further extended to patients in ordinary hospitals. All these are steps in the right direction, but it seems to me difficult to see how a really valuable step can be taken in the full utilisation of sanatoria until notification of the disease is made generally compulsory. In the meantime education is progressing and public opinion is being formed, so that there can be little doubt that in the future it will be ready to adopt such notification.

With the exception of a few of the large towns, the bulk of sanatoria in this country are provided by voluntary effort, and have been chiefly utilised by those who are not likely to swell the ranks of the destitute. It would appear, therefore, to be essential, if sanatoria are to be effective, that failing compulsory notification, there must be a national system for the supply of such institutions, and that these must be available according to the type required by the case. At the present time the sanatoria available do not give opportunities for treatment of more than 2 per cent. of the cases, and it is obvious, therefore, that before the sanatorium can be considered an efficient means to fight tuberculosis, provision must be made on a much more liberal scale. It may be urged against this that the expense of any such system would be enormous, and that it would be practically prohibitive. Looking at the results likely to be attained, I do not think that this is so, because it must be remembered that owing to the enormous amount of destitution caused at the present time by tuberculosis, an immense amount of money is spent under the Poor Law with a result that can hardly be considered satisfactory. Not only is a very large sum expended in actually treating hospital cases in Poor Law infirmaries, but the amount of outdoor relief necessitated by the ravages of the disease is very great, and this to a considerable extent would be saved by a system which prevented or largely diminished the amount of tuberculosis now existing.

The problem of the sanatorium is very different in the urban to what it is in the rural districts. In large towns it is possible to see how much might be done by co-ordinating existing arrangements. It is easy by associating the sanatorium with the anti-tuberculosis dispensary to deal with patients found to be so suffering. Suitable cases can be sent to the sanatorium and others dealt with at their homes or in other ways. In country districts the difficulties would appear to be very much greater. The capabilities of the ordinary small Urban or Rural District Council do not extend to the establishment of sanatoria, while under existing law it must not be forgotten that though County Councils are being endowed with more powers of a sanitary kind, yet that at present they are not sanitary authorities. This again would seem to imply that a radical alteration of our preventive procedure is necessary, and this to a considerable extent would be brought about if suggestions recently made were brought into being, by which

County Councils, through a committee, become the Poor Law Authority. Even supposing, however, these difficulties were overcome, there would still remain the difficulty of dealing with those dependent upon wage-earners, for these will be unwilling in many instances to give up work and cease to support their families until the disease had progressed so far that a cure has become impossible and only temporary small amelioration can be hoped for. It would appear, therefore, that if the crusade against consumption as a means of producing destitution is to be carried out with a reasonable hope of speedy success, that some means of invalidity insurance will have to be adopted. It has been admitted in the past that both in this country and abroad much good has been done suitable patients in sanatoria, but much of the success hoped for has been discounted by the fact that after leaving the institutions large numbers of patients have been unable to obtain work or continue their old work, and through one of these causes the disease lying latent has been started up again and the patients have lost the benefit previously received. This is undoubtedly true, and the effect complicates exceedingly this question of sanatorium treatment when a national crusade is attempted. The difficulties at the outset will undoubtedly be greater, particularly in the first instance, in dealing with the large number of persons just on the borderland of capacity for working, but who, at least from the preventive point of view, require instructing so as not to spread the disease. It is extremely difficult to see how, without provision being made for supporting the dependents of these people, the scheme can be made to work, and this seems to point out still further the necessity of a scheme of invalidity insurance to be brought into being antecedent to any systematised national crusade. In the case of poor persons in the past, who have been treated in sanatoria, efforts have been made to find employment for them on discharge, suited to their capabilities. It appears to me, however, that when the problem is tackled on a large scale this will be increasingly difficult, and that we shall have as far as possible to encourage patients to return to that work for which they have fitted themselves, and to improve where necessary the conditions under which they work.

As regards the sanatoria themselves, it will be very important in the future to erect and carry on the buildings under any national scheme as cheaply as possible compatible with efficiency. There can be no doubt that many of the sanatoria in the past have cost a great deal too much, but evidence is being collected that such costly buildings are unnecessary. The later sanatoria erected have been, with the exception of the administrative blocks, built in such a way that shelters for the patients can be erected for a comparatively few pounds, and while this, I think, is essential in the financial sense, I am inclined to think it is equally essential from the point of view of the patient. The poor person taken from a squalid cottage and placed in a palatial institution is apt to think that the benefit he receives is due to certain special arrangements not obtainable elsewhere. The aim should be, in my opinion, to let every patient feel that not only is it possible, but that it is essential for his treatment to be continued at home when discharged from the institution. In many instances patients have been maintained for very long periods in institutions. This would be impossible in a national scheme, and consequently it is important for the patient to understand that he should return to his old environment, and by putting in practice the essentials of what he has learned in the sanatorium, continue his cure or maintain the degree of health to which he has attained.

Closely associated with the sanatorium system is the provision of shelters for patients when leaving the institution. In suitable cases, after a few weeks'

treatment in a sanatorium, many patients having been taught the elements of prevention and cure, might under suitable supervision continue this in shelters in their own gardens or yards. This system is being tried in certain portions of Essex, and is undoubtedly an economical method of fighting the disease.

I think it must be a matter of surprise, particularly having regard to the experience of Germany, that in such a small number of cases have the Friendly Societies of this country done anything in an organised way to establish sanatoria. The published results conclusively show how large a proportion of their funds is required to meet the ravages of tuberculosis, and yet, as far as I can gather, the only well-known instance of something being attempted on modern scientific lines is that of the post office employees, who have arranged for a certain number of beds at the Benenden Sanatorium to be available for their members. This, I believe, is done at the rate of 2s. per member per year, and although the post office employees are not specially immune from tuberculosis, I understand that the sum thus obtained has been found to be ample. As the members coming under the scheme are somewhere about 40,000 we have here a valuable object-lesson of what might be done in a national crusade.

In an earlier part of this paper I referred to the diminution of consumption in this country, and have attributed this largely to improved nutrition caused by better and more available supplies of food. At the same time it should be mentioned that Dr. Newsholme, the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, considers that to a considerable extent this may be due to the isolation of advanced pauper cases in our workhouses. This being so, how much better results might be expected if we had a scheme for dealing with advanced cases generally and thus utilising certain sanatoria in each district, not with any hope of cure but as homes for those in such a state that their further sojourn with their families is likely to produce other cases by direct infection.

In the past I am inclined to think that we have been too much obsessed by the importance of site and position for our sanatoria. In the case of those which would be used purely for preventive purposes, I think the best results would probably be obtained by the establishment of them at places near our towns and at easy distances from the populous centres. They would be much more likely to be used by those for whom they were intended if the idea of far removal from friends and relatives was reduced as much as possible.

In many instances, too, it would be very desirable for more common utilisation of certain institutions like our small pox hospitals. In some cases these have been used in the long periods between small pox epidemics, and experience has shown that they are most useful, particularly as instructional sanatoria and as homes for advanced cases, and in that way, though perhaps not ideal as sanatoria, may be very advantageously used.

We may take it, I think, then, in conclusion, that the following are the chief points to be borne in mind:—

1. Sanatoria of different types should be available to all classes.

2. They must not be looked upon as self-contained institutions, but as closely associated with the sanitary service, being, therefore, closely connected with tuberculosis dispensaries.

3. Funds must be available, other than Poor Law relief, for the families of those wage-earners undergoing treatment.

In this way will the capabilities of sanatoria be made fully available for the important work of cure, and of the still more important work of prevention of the disease.

The Domiciliary Treatment of Tuberculosis.

By James Niven, M.A., M.B., LL.D.
(Medical Officer of Health, Manchester.)

In this paper it is proposed to use the term "treatment" in its wider sense, as including *preventive* as well as *curative* treatment.

We may usefully begin by considering the principles of treatment which have so far been evolved.

When a case of phthisis is brought under treatment in a sanatorium or in a well-managed hospital, there is usually at first a very marked improvement. The patient gains weight, the cough becomes less troublesome, signs of improvement show themselves in the lungs, and there is gain of strength. The temperature tends to fall, especially if the patient is kept absolutely at rest.

Improvement is more marked in children even than in adults. After a time, perhaps, the improvement ceases and the condition remains stationary, or the patient slowly becomes worse.

In a certain proportion of cases, again, the improvement persists. This is especially the case if the disease is in the commencing phase, or if, with some advance in the disease, the phthisical individual possessess considerable strength of will and natural vigour.

The observed improvement is due to a combination of favourable circumstances. The stress of life is for the time put aside. The daily output of energy in work ceases, and the worries of home are out of sight. Perhaps, also, the worry about the welfare of those left at home is removed, a most important consideration. The food is good and is carefully chosen so as to give the greatest possible return, and it is skilfully cooked so as to render it appetising and easy of digestion. There is plenty of room and the patient lives practically in the open air. After a few days this change ceases to cause discomfort, while the fresh air stimulates respiration, more air is inhaled, and oxygenation is improved.

There is also skilful medical attendance and whatever is needed in the way of good nursing, so that a confidence is imparted to the patient which does not depend on the patient himself.

Then, again, everything is scrupulously clean, and each patient goes through a regular routine which keeps him fully and favourably employed. Patients who are getting well are thus freed from danger of re-infection, and from direct irritation of the lungs.

It is, perhaps, not easy to dissever these favourable circumstances, and to say which of them is most essential in producing the measure of success achieved. It is, however, evident that the entire cessation of work for a time is a great saving of energy, setting free the nervous system for the work of digestion. It is further evident that the skilful choice of food and careful cooking are calculated to supply the maximum of energy with least expenditure on the part of the system. These, then, are prime essentials. It is also clear that an atmosphere free from irritating impurities is very necessary, at any rate so far as concerns the air reaching the lungs.

We have seen that the open window stimulates respiration, but it is also liable to chill the patient. It is thus necessary that he should be warmly clothed both when he is in bed and when he is sitting up.

We have thus accumulated already a considerable number of aids which the

consumptive enjoys in a sanatorium and which he may find difficulty in procuring at home.

On which of them must we lay especial stress? Probably on the two already mentioned, viz., rest and good food. The early improvement mentioned is no less conspicuous and marked when the atmosphere is not especially pure as when it is ideal, and, moreover, patients after discharge from the sanatorium often retrogress rapidly, although doing no work and carrying out the sanatorium methods.

It follows, again, as matter of course, that the conditions which have proved so favourable in the sanatorium to the cure of the patient, with the necessary deductions of those which are not needed for prevention, must be equally important for the prevention of the disease in those predisposed to it, or specially exposed to infection.

Here, also, what is required is avoidance of overwork, plenty of good food well cooked, fresh air, cleanliness, and a regulated existence. To these requirements we may add avoidance of overcrowding, and a judicious choice of occupation.

Now, although the sanatorium conditions are favourable to most cases of phthisis, it is amongst those in the very early stage of the disease that we are asked to accept the fact of a high proportion of cures. The statistics vary considerably in the percentage of recoveries claimed, and in such a manner as to suggest that the term "early cases" has a variable significance. Nevertheless, in all sanatorium statistics a fairly high proportion of cures is claimed for very early cases. It is clearly of importance that cases should come under treatment in an early stage, whether in the sanatorium or at home. As a matter of fact, the great majority of the cases do not come under treatment at an early stage, and it is very important, therefore, to arrive at a clear understanding of the reasons for this fact.

One of the reasons most commonly given is the reluctance of the consumptive to give up work on account of the distress liable to fall on his or her family, for the services of the mother are very often as indispensable as those of the man, and undoubtedly this factor has much influence.

Another factor, however, is the reluctance of the consumptive to lose his personal freedom, and to give up the privileges and enjoyments, such as they are, which he is able to procure by means of his work. A third is the insidious character of the disease which may slowly extend from one part of the body to another, and from one part of the lungs to another. A fourth is the dulness and indifference of persons, who do not appreciate the first onset of serious symptoms, and, being perhaps accustomed to a certain degree of bad health in the family, do not appreciate the advent of a more formidable condition of things.

In a certain proportion of cases, also, it is possible that a medical attendant has been called in, and has failed to see, in what looks like a chronic bronchitis, the progress of the more formidable malady. Nor is it always easy to form a positive diagnosis. In not a few instances the history of families has pointed to some older member as the origin of the disease, who has himself, or more frequently herself, suffered from chronic catarrh for many years, without losing the power to continue the discharge of her domestic duties, and without ceasing to enjoy a tolerable measure of good health.

In not a few instances the medical attendant is under the conviction that to mention the word consumption, or its equivalent, is to precipitate an unfavourable

termination. There is, also, the ever-pressing question with him: "Supposing I express my conviction that this patient is consumptive; what can I do or get done for him?"

There is, moreover, the serious question of work. Supposing a man or woman is made to realise the vital necessity of seeking medical advice and of taking effectual steps to have the disease treated at the earliest possible moment; what is going to happen at the end of the period of treatment, whether three or six months? Will his place remain open, or is there going to be a sickening period, during which it will remain doubtful whether there is any longer a need for his services? Can anything be done in the way of change of employment, where such a change is required?

It is clearly vital both for curative and preventive treatment that a diagnosis should be made at the earliest possible moment. If a patient seeks medical advice for an illness which presents signs of consumption, the medical attendant should not relax his attention till he has arrived at a definite judgment. If the physical signs, coupled with examination of the expectorations, are sufficient for his purpose, he should, in my opinion, have recourse to the diagnostic use of tuberculin. Nothing is to be gained, and all may be lost, by delay. Having arrived at a conclusion he should tell the patient or his guardian the result in plain terms, and place before him a plan of personal action, stating the chances and conditions of cure.

It is quite certain, as the result of *post-mortem* examination, that a large number of persons undergo spontaneous cure, presumably as the result of a vigorous and reactive constitution. It is his business to bring this force into action and, as far as practicable, to command it, while there is yet time. Further, he has the family and associates of his patient to consider, and no time should be lost in instructing him as to the modes in which he may imperil others, and what he must do to avoid this danger. It is probably true that in a certain number of timid natures he will produce depression. Even here, however, measures of precaution will be taken, and those who fail to respond to his efforts are precisely those who would have succumbed had he not spoken.

This difficulty is, however, minor and partial. The reluctance of the patients themselves to come under treatment, or the lethargy of themselves or their guardians, is a far greater one.

It would assuredly remove much of the difficulty if, during the absence of the patient from work, he were assured that the family was receiving proper sustenance, and was being duly cared for. To what extent the Invalidity Insurance proposals of the Government will meet this difficulty remains to be seen.

It is scarcely likely, however, that the needs of the poorest labouring class will be fully met by this means, and it is precisely in this class that the greatest difficulty exists.*

It appears to me that the proposal to provide a sum for this purpose to be administered with the aid of the Public Health Departments of Sanitary Authorities would most effectually, and most profitably, meet this need. The sum required by Manchester has been given as £5,000 per annum. There is nothing revolutionary in this proposal, as it might perfectly well come under the medical aid which the Sanitary Authority could grant with the permission of the Local Government Board, under the Public Health Act, 1875.

It is, however, quite hopeless to expect that under existing conditions bread-

* The great measure introduced by Mr. Lloyd George meets this need to a greater extent than could have been anticipated, but there will still be room for additional assistance to the very poor.

winners will, in general, hurry to get medical advice as soon as symptoms of declining health present themselves.

It is probable that the difficulty of procuring work is a much smaller one. The patient, if not quite cured, will have greatly improved, and will look much better than he did before treatment. In other respects, also, he will be acceptable. Nor is it, in general, necessary or desirable that he should change his employment. This may, of course, be of a specially injurious character requiring a change, but such employments are the minority.

One thing all consumptives should be taught to do, viz., to breathe through the nose, and to keep the mouth shut, so as to minimise the dust which can reach the lung.

Is domiciliary treatment of phthisis, as contrasted with treatment in a sanatorium, desirable or possible? To answer this question we may take seriatim the points in which we have seen that sanatorium treatment was beneficial. In the forefront may be put the question of food and drink.

It may be taken as axiomatic that in the households of the working classes generally, though no doubt there are many exceptions, except in districts in which cooking has been widely and thoroughly taught in the schools, there is general ignorance of food values, and also of the best ways in which to cook foods. To a large extent this is the result of our industrial system, and it is incumbent on the community to restore to the working classes this vital knowledge of which the needs of our industrial system has deprived them. Hence the failure to obtain food appetising and of the requisite nutritive value is not merely the result of poverty, though the difficulties are increased by poverty. It is general, and has probably had no little to do with the excessive prevalence of consumption in great industrial centres. The most serious effort to give general instruction in cooking has been made in Sheffield. Is it to this we owe the immense reduction in phthisis which has taken place in that town?

It is not too much to say that if it were made an essential part of the school curriculum that food values, choice of foods, and cooking should be thoroughly taught, this alone would ensure a great reduction in the prevalence of phthisis, providing that the economic condition of the population remained as it is.

It will be seen, however, that the imparting of this knowledge should be a first object with the Sanitary Authority. It might also with great advantage be given in a special kitchen to persons admitted into a sanatorium, at all events when these are maintained out of public funds.

It follows from the same considerations that it is of very great importance in a sanatorium to have a first-rate cook. In the house of an artizan or of a labourer it will not be possible to provide so rich or varied a diet as is furnished in the sanatorium; but this is not absolutely essential. Good cooking, however, is essential, and a second requirement is that the food eaten should be very thoroughly masticated.

Another great advantage which sanatorium treatment has over domiciliary is that excessive use of alcohol does not occur.

I am indebted to Mr. G. H. Lock, Head Clerk of the Tuberculosis Office, for the following figures relating to cases of phthisis in families notified in 1909. The scale of nutrition used is that given by Mr. Rowntree in his book *Poverty*. Nearly one-half of the cases of phthisis, which is very nearly the same as to say nearly half the families containing consumptives, were below the minimum level of nutrition on that scale, when investigated. It would, also, appear from these figures, which agree with those for 1907 and 1908, that phthisis is much more a producer than a product of poverty.

1909—PHTHISIS.

Habits.	Below minimum. Hard life before onset.	Below minimum. Hard life after onset.	Not below minimum. Hard life.	Not below minimum. Not had hard life.
Temperate	59	131	31	441
Intemperate	29	139	7	93

	Below minimum. Hard life before onset.	Below minimum. Hard life after onset.	Not below minimum. Hard life.	Not below minimum. Not had hard life.
Non-wage earner	34	73	15	160
Wage-earner still working	8	17	11	108
Wage-earner not working	69	260	23	266

(2) The second point in which sanatorium treatment may be compared with domiciliary is rest. There can be no doubt that rest is much more complete, as a rule, in the sanatorium than at home. It is also judiciously alternated with exercise, when exercise is possible, so that the mind is kept engaged. Yet, providing that there is an income sufficient to provide and furnish a separate room, rest and exercise may be planned out at home.

(3) How do the sanatorium and the house compare as regards cleanliness? By cleanliness is not meant ordinary neatness and decency, but that informed cleanliness which will avoid reinfection and remove the risk of infecting others. This is no imaginary risk. It is a well-recognised thing that consumptives may get tuberculosis of the bowel by swallowing their expectorations, and there is no reason why they should not infect or reinfect a healed lung by the inhalation of tuberculous matter.

It is clearly necessary in his own interest and in that of others that the consumptive should be taught the cardinal dangers involved in his condition. He must learn—

1. When out of doors to use the spit bottle, which he must clean according to definite instructions. In using it he must keep his moustache and beard clean.

2. When indoors, to expectorate into a vessel or specially prepared paper cup, which according to circumstances must be cleansed with boiling water or burned.

3. Not to cough towards others, and to catch the matters shot forth in the act of expectoration in waxed tissue paper, which should then be suitably stored for burning.

4. To take care that his hands are clean. Never to cough into them. Not to handle matters containing expectoration more than he can help. Always to wash his hands and face and also his mouth before partaking of food.

5. Never to swallow his expectorations.

6. Never to offer part of his food to another member of the family; nor to allow another member to use the plate or utensils which he has been using. In fact, such vessels and utensils should be always well scalded after being cleaned. It would be well indeed that these precautions should be used as between all the members of the family, whether known to be consumptive or not. The same observation applies to the cleansing of the hands before partaking of food.

Now the consumptive at home may be told all these things, but he is more likely to be taught them so that they become a habit, in the sanatorium or hospital. It is thus very necessary that special systematic instruction should be given in all hospitals receiving consumptives.

Again, it is not at all infrequent for other members of the household in which one consumptive is present to develop the disease, and this happens irrespective of age. Much trouble and expense, therefore, may be expended in restoring a

consumptive to health, who then returns to be reinfected. As soon, therefore, as a consumptive comes under observation, the greatest care should be expended in investigating the history and condition of every other member of the family, and of others who have been in intimate association with him. Not infrequently another member or other members will be discovered who are tuberculous, and who must be similarly instructed, and brought under medical guidance. Perhaps there may be young children affected. In these, it is the bowels which are the chief source of danger, and the mother or attendant must then take special precautions with the fæcal discharges and persons of the children.

Again, the mother of the family will often have to discharge a variety of duties, and she in particular will have to be warned to be constantly on the alert against carrying infection on her hands. *Inter alia*, it will be her duty to make the beds, and she will have to pay special attention to the pillows and to articles of personal attire.

The procedures involved in the above sketch can best be supervised by a medical man or by a trained nurse, but our experience has shown that the instruction required may also be successfully imparted by a clever layman.

The bath is a part of personal cleanliness, best obtained at a sanatorium, but may be had at home, to a sufficient extent.

(4) *Overcrowding.*—Overcrowding is, of course, unknown at the sanatorium. There is abundance of space for each bed. The windows are wide open night and day. If the consumptive can get about he is out in the open during the day. He is also trained to carry out strict personal precautions.

At home, if the income is sufficient to afford it, the consumptive could have a room to himself, good warm bed-clothes in cold weather, and an open window. Nor is there any reason, if his room is large enough, why there should not be another bed in the room, provided that both persons occupying the room were well acquainted with the precautionary measures required, and could be trusted to carry them out.

The difficulties are greatly increased when the consumptive cannot have a room to himself, and when several members of the family have to occupy the same room. Even then, if the room were large enough, and if the means were sufficient to provide warm clothing, including bed-clothes, and plenty of good food, and if the family would maintain the open window day and night, it might be possible to achieve recovery, and to avoid infecting others. But the chances are greatly reduced. With multiplication of persons comes multiplication of irritants to the lungs, disturbance to the nervous system, interruption of rest, and relaxation of personal care. We may, therefore, draw the line at the possession of a room all to himself and say that where this is not possible, and also, in general, when the family is large, the consumptive person should be in a sanatorium or hospital.

In a large town, moreover, fogs are terribly destructive to consumptives. At such times the open window should be abandoned, a fire should be kept burning, and the air required should be drawn in at the closed window, or, if a ventilating opening is provided of sufficient size, it may be brought in across a thin sheet of cotton wool.

(5) *Pure Air and Sunlight.*—The air in towns is not so pure and the sunlight obtainable is less than at the sanatorium. It is doubtful, however, whether this is, under most circumstances, a factor of primary importance. *Post-mortem* examinations show a high proportion of healed tuberculous lesions even in the bodies of those who have been the denizens of a smoky town. The experience

of Dr. Noel Bardswell at the Sheffield Sanatorium and our own at Clayton Vale Hospital show that cure and great improvement may be attained in a moderately smoky atmosphere. The atmosphere of coal mines is not ideal, yet coal miners are now comparatively immune from phthisis, due, perhaps, to the great improvements in ventilation which have taken place. No doubt it is true that pure air and much sunlight aid recovery, but it is also true that recovery may occur where they are not present in the highest degree, but where rest and good nutrition are secured. Their absence does not, in my opinion, constitute a strong case against the domiciliary treatment of phthisis. It is also true, however, that the smoky atmosphere of our great industrial centres is, in the aggregate, injurious to human life, and is very expensive.

(6) *Damp.*—A damp house is cold on account of the latent heat lost in evaporation. Energy is thus wasted which would otherwise go towards recovery. Special precautions must therefore be taken against loss of energy by damp houses.

(7) *Clothing.*—In carrying out any treatment for phthisis it is necessary that the patient should wear good, warm, dry clothes, and that he should have good boots. It is also necessary that he should have warm, dry bed-clothes. This is just as necessary a part of treatment as the provision of good food well cooked.

The major part of the digestive work, under the most favourable conditions, goes to the production of heat, and to allow a consumptive to be without adequate dry clothing is to throw an impossible task on the digestive organs. Hence consumptives are expected to take with them good clothes and good boots when they go to a sanatorium.

Both in the sanatorium and out of it, this is an essential part of treatment. If a consumptive cannot afford the necessary equipment, it must be provided for him, and if it is not safe to trust him with clothes at home, he must be removed to a hospital where they will be furnished while he is under treatment.

We are now in a position to see what the domiciliary treatment of phthisis means.

The patient must have a separate room, he must be carefully trained in personal precautions, his family must receive a similar training, he must live practically in the open air, he must receive good food (not necessarily expensive) skilfully cooked, the history of his family must be carefully investigated and appropriate measures taken if necessary, he must be shielded from worry and enjoy complete rest, in cold weather he must have warm, dry clothing, personal and bed, his family must be well clad, well nourished, and put under special measures of precaution, the home must be scrupulously clean, and, lastly, his personal habits will require to be carefully regulated.

It will not be easy to secure all these desiderata, partly from want of conviction on the part of the consumptive, of their necessity.

It is clearly desirable, even if the patient is to be at home most of the time, that the difficulties should be diminished, and a fresh mental attitude attained, by taking him into a sanatorium for preliminary training. Such training, however, should be systematic, and should be regarded as an essential part of sanatorium and hospital treatment.

There should be compulsory power of removal and detention of consumptive persons who are, in the opinion of the Public Health Authorities, a menace to their neighbours and family.

If, however, it is not possible to remove patients to a hospital or sanatorium, and if the circumstances of the family are such that treatment can be carried out at home, or if, having received a preliminary training at a hospital or sanatorium,

the patient has returned home, it will be necessary to take account of all the circumstances already enumerated, and to see that they are as far as practicable carried out.

We may now enumerate the measures necessary to enable us to deal successfully with tuberculosis in the household. It will be necessary that the consumptive person and other members of the family shall have abundance of well cooked and properly varied food. To ensure this it will be necessary that the housewife shall be taught to choose food so as to secure the greatest value for the smallest sum. The Sanitary Authority should, therefore, issue a booklet dealing with value, choice, and combination of foods, and further verbal instruction must be given, when necessary.

Instruction should also be given in cooking. This may be done by a suitable booklet, but demonstrations should also be given. This can best be done by an instructed nurse or by a cook. The whole household will gain by such instruction.

The choice and quality of the clothing should also be carefully considered. This may best be done by a nurse.

The arrangements for a separate room, and the measures of disinfection, cleansing, ventilation, and personal precautions may be seen to by any special trained inquirer, but most completely by a doctor or a nurse.

The history and physical condition of each member of the family can, in many cases, only be completely ascertained by a medical officer.

Much useful information may, however, be collected by a nurse or by a special inquirer, and the families most needing medical attention can thus be ascertained beforehand.

It is important to ascertain how far routine precautions are carried out. This is ascertained in Manchester by district sanitary inspectors and health visitors. Certainly it will be necessary to give special instruction if these are to be carried out properly. If it were possible to have a sufficient staff of special inquirers and nurses, it would be better to devolve such work on the special staff. Still, useful work can be done with our present system.

One has hoped that, in due time, a sum of £5,000 per annum would be voted, to bring the families of destitute consumptives up to a requisite point of nutrition. It has been anticipated that, when that day arrived, the assistance given would be subject to the condition that the disease was notified, and that the money could be shown to be usefully expended. In particular it would be necessary that the Medical Officer of Health should certify that the house was sanitary and clean, that all required personal precautions were being carried out, that the food purchased was sufficient and of good quality, that all members of the family were properly clad, and that suitable measures of isolation were adopted. In this way there would be a return for the money expended.

This seems the direct way to set about the business, and would involve comparatively little expenditure.

It appears to me that persons benefited should furnish guarantees to some public body that any assistance given is well and wisely expended. Otherwise a great part of the benefit to be derived would be lost.

In the administration of voluntary notification in Manchester the following measures are adopted. A special inquirer calls and makes an extensive inquiry into the family history, the conditions and places of occupation, the exposures to infection, the personal history of illness, the physique and habits of the consumptive, and other matters. Instructions are given in personal precautions to be taken. The means for carrying them out are supplied. Investigations are

instituted as to suspicious illnesses and advice is given as to the need for medical aid. Where poverty is present, the family are advised as to the best mode of obtaining assistance. Arrangements are made for sanatorium or hospital treatment, and pressure is brought to bear where necessary. Should the histories point to the workshop as a source of infection, means are found to put the owner or manager on the alert, and warning notices are suspended in the workshop as to expectoration.

Sanitary defects are remedied.

Other special measures are taken which need not be here enumerated. Much of the work sketched out in the course of this paper is done. Only hitherto we have not touched on the question of instruction as to how nutrition may be improved, a matter which is all important.

The clinical investigation of family illness needs to be rendered more complete. No nursing assistance has been given, except in so far as rendered by the Manchester and Salford District Nursing Association. The help rendered by charitable bodies and by the Poor Law has been, we consider, inadequate to meet the needs, and in the latter case has not been accomplished by an insistence on the fulfilment of conditions such as we think necessary.

This work can, in my opinion, be carried out better by the Public Health Authority than by private benevolence. But, where one fails, the other should be appealed to.

Hence, one hails with gratitude the work of anti-tuberculous dispensaries, while considering that the functions which they perform ought to be carried out by the Sanitary Authority.

A question which has given rise to much discussion of late has been the age at which the tuberculous infection which terminates in phthisis commences. Is the phthisis so fatal to adults contracted in adult life, or is it but the development of an insidiously advancing disease contracted in childhood? Practically the question is important. If the disease derives from the earliest years, the experience of rural districts would point to its being highly curable under favourable conditions, and certainly children react in a most favourable manner to treatment. Such a view would lead to the concentration of effort on the cure of the young, as the best means of diminishing tuberculosis, and this is the view which appears to be generally adopted in France.

Certainly there is much less provision for institutional treatment of tuberculous children than for institutional treatment of tuberculous adults, and the measures which have been here advocated apply no less to children than to adults. It may safely be said that there exists a decided need for schools devoted entirely to tuberculous children. Nevertheless, the majority of our histories of infection do not point to childhood as the origin of the fatal attack. Nor would the results of *post-mortem* examination bear out the view that the attack in the adult arises from early infection. It is probable, I think, that a very large number of persons recover from tuberculosis in childhood, and would remain free from the disease in an active form were they not re-infected. Practically the domiciliary measures of treatment are unaffected by the question.

Those, however, who incline to the view that infection occurs to a preponderating extent in early life would be led to consider that the kind of instruction as regards food and clothing which is here advocated must be universal and thorough.

The Tuberculosis Dispensary.

By D. J. Williamson, M.D.

(Medical Officer, Paddington and Kensington Dispensary for the Prevention of Consumption).

Tuberculosis is a disease which, besides enacting such a heavy toll on the lives of the community, is so intimately bound up with the causes of poverty, that no discussion on "The Prevention of Destitution" which neglected to deal with the problem of its eradication would be of any value. It is therefore a matter of congratulation that the organisers of this Conference have given so prominent a position to its study.

As a disease it has been known from the earliest times. As a cause of national poverty and waste it has only been brought into prominence within comparatively recent years.

The great progress made during the Victorian Era in the improvement of the hygienic conditions of our large towns, and the attention which has been paid to the general welfare especially of our lower classes, both at home, at school, and in the factory and workshop, has resulted in a material diminution in the number of deaths per annum from this as from many other diseases.

Direct measures for its control have, however, played but a small part in this improvement. In fact, such measures may almost be said to have been conspicuous by their absence. Though by Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus in 1882, tuberculosis became classified as one of the preventable diseases, the civilised world has taken a long time to grasp the full significance of this fact.

Treatment, as opposed to prevention, has continued to absorb the attention not only of the medical profession but of the general public. Hospitals for its treatment have steadily grown in size and importance, while sanatoriums have sprung up all over the country. Yet, as a result, there has been no marked further decline in the death-rate than was already taking place, and a certain despondency and dissatisfaction with the effect of these measures has been noticeable in all parts of the country.

Causes of Past Failure.

If we ask ourselves the question, "Why have these measures proved so fruitless?" we must, I think, come to the following conclusions:—

(1) The great chest hospitals, and the out-patient departments of our general hospitals, have been dealing with the mass of tuberculous material which presents itself daily at their doors as representing in itself the whole extent of the problem, without realising that these patients represent the merest outcroppings of a disease whose roots burrow deep and ramify in all directions in the homes and families from which they come. Considering the insidious onset, the long duration, and the periods of latency characteristic of consumption; considering also the figures gleaned from tuberculin tests and the *post-mortem* table, showing how many are at one time or another affected in comparison to the small percentage who die, we are forced to the conclusion that for every case presenting himself at a hospital there are at least ten others in whom probably the disease is entirely unsuspected but nevertheless present.

The discovery and removal of the hidden sources of infection in the homes, and the search for these unsuspected cases with a view to early treatment and cure, are matters which have been *almost* entirely neglected at our hospitals. The result is the never-ending cycle of well-marked cases, too advanced most of them

for cure, which year in and year out continue to overcrowd such institutions without causing the slightest impression on the real problem—the final *eradication* of the disease.

(2) Exactly the same may be said of our sanatoriums. The sanatorium is simply a still more specialised hospital, and represents merely an advance along the same lines, being concerned wholly with treatment. Treatment at these institutions may certainly be more successful owing to careful selection of early cases and the possibilities which are afforded of closer supervision and of graduated labour, but the prevention of infection is left untouched. True, a certain amount of educational value has been claimed for them, but from my experience of ex-sanatorium patients living in London I am inclined to discount this almost entirely.

Let us give sanatoriums full credit for the part they play in our fight against consumption, for their function—the cure of a limited number of early cases—is an important one; but let us at the same time acknowledge their limitations, for after all they only touch the fringe of the problem.

The Necessity of having a Broad Outlook.

The whole thing resolves itself into the question whether we are going to have a limited outlook and pin our faith on this or that measure for dealing with the disease, or whether—realising the vast extent and the many aspects of the problem—we shall insist on utilising every available means at our disposal, each factor in our campaign having its own important function to fulfil, and all welded into one effective organisation. This is the doctrine expounded for many years past by Dr. R. W. Philip, of Edinburgh, and now at last beginning to bear fruit in this country.

He points out how from time to time some particular idea is brought forward as the surest method of combating the disease. Thus the sanatorium was at one time thought to offer the surest means to this end. Then came the idea that the segregation and isolation of all cases would lead to the extermination of the disease—a very pretty theory and one quite capable of realisation, had consumption been less ubiquitous and had the duration and course of the illness borne more resemblance to that of the other infectious diseases.

More recently still comes the proposition to stamp out the disease by the universal use of tuberculin—a still prettier theory provided it were practicable. Each of these theories contains a germ of truth, but not one of them is in itself capable of offering a solution to the whole problem. They all are, however, as Dr. Philip points out, necessary parts of a complete organisation.

A Complete Organisation—"The Edinburgh System."

He places in the forefront of his battle-line what, for want of a better term, is known as a "Dispensary." The word "Dispensary" gives one a wrong idea of what are the most important functions of such an institution, for the dispensing of medicines forms quite a minor and subsidiary part of its programme.

A dispensary is an institution working in the closest possible relationship to the homes of the people. That is mainly why it is placed in the forefront of our attack. To it all the tuberculous material of the district comes and is sorted out for appropriate treatment. It offers the readiest facilities for examination, diagnosis, and treatment to the poorer classes, and its doors are open to all, without letters of recommendation. This is, however, but the beginning of the dispensary's activities. Having discovered the patient to be suffering from consumption, the

dispensary does not content itself with giving him medicine or other treatment: the patient's *home* is also dealt with. A trained nurse is sent to visit the home on the day following the patient's first attendance. She gives advice as to the carrying out of the doctor's orders and as to the method of preventing the spread of infection generally. Later on the doctor himself visits the home with a view to gaining a thorough knowledge of the home surroundings of the patient he is treating, and seeing that his instructions are being carried out, but more especially with a view to seeing the other members of the household. He holds what Dr. Philip describes as a "March Past," and by thus methodically examining all those exposed to infection (known as "contacts") he is able to discover many cases suffering from the disease who otherwise might have gone for many months or even years without suspecting its presence or seeking the advice of a medical man. A few of these unsuspected cases thus discovered are well-marked cases, and may even have been the source of infection to the original patient, but the majority are very early cases in whom, now that the disease is discovered, there is every prospect of a perfect recovery.

It will be seen that in this way practically the whole of the tuberculous material of the district will pass through the hands of the dispensary, which brings us to a further function of this institution, *i.e.*, that of being a collecting and distributing agency, or "clearing-house," to the sanatorium, the hospital for advanced cases, and all the other agencies concerned in the work.

It will also be seen that the dispensary must have exceptional opportunities for gathering valuable information and statistics regarding the distribution of the disease in the various localities, streets, and tenements of the district, and can at any moment lay a finger on those spots where need for improvement is most indicated. Thus in a properly organised anti-tuberculosis campaign the dispensary will also act as an "Information Bureau." It must be clearly understood that the dispensary *alone* does not constitute such a campaign, even in the eyes of its most profound admirers. It forms the centre round which the other factors are ranged, the foundation stone on which the whole structure should be erected. The Public Health Department, the Poor Law Authorities, health societies and phthisis committees, philanthropic and charitable agencies, surgical and general hospitals, sanatoriums and convalescent homes, special schools and working colonies, hospitals for advanced cases, and every other agency which bears a hand in the work, should work hand in glove with the dispensary.

This is essentially what is now known throughout the world as the "Edinburgh System," and it is this system which was adopted by the Local Government Board for Scotland as a national scheme for that country, and this system, which was described by Dr. Hermann Biggs, the General Medical Officer of New York, as the most perfect organisation in the world, and the one on which he had based the whole of his anti-tuberculosis measures in that city.

Organisation of Voluntary Work at the Dispensary.

We are not concerned, however, with the complete organisation in this paper, and I have only referred to the other agencies in order to emphasise the importance of the relationship which must exist between them and the tuberculosis dispensary, if either are to do any good. We have already discussed the broad outlines of the work undertaken by the dispensary, but we have no more than alluded to the vast amount of work which comes under the heading "Improvement of the Home Conditions." The paid staff, consisting of doctors and nurses, of any institution would be inadequate to cope with the wide field of activity which opens

out under this heading. Herein lies the opportunity of the voluntary worker. Working under the direction of the dispensary doctor, he or she may devote himself or herself, as the case may be, to what is perhaps the most useful kind of work to be found. All social work to be successful must depend largely on voluntary work, and the fight against tuberculosis is essentially a social work when viewed in its broader aspects. Each dispensary should have a large staff of such workers. They should be trained in a general knowledge of hygiene, especially, of course, in its relation to the prevention of consumption. In addition to this they should make a special study of various problems which have a bearing on the work, such as:—

(1) The care and nourishment of infants and children;
(2) The choice and preparation of food;
(3) The finding of suitable employment for consumptive men and women.

Each of these is an extremely important subject, whilst the third—*i.e.*, the finding of employment for consumptives—is one of the most difficult problems we have to face.

The dispensary doctor who has such a staff of voluntary workers under him as this can in any given cases which needs special attention appoint an appropriate visitor, who, working on the lines of the Personal Service Association, will become a friend of the patient, and under the direction of the doctor will endeavour to carry out the latter's wishes regarding the case.

Another field of usefulness for voluntary workers in connection with a dispensary lies in assisting the staff with the vast amount of clerical and secretarial work which has to be undertaken.

Co-operation with Outside Agencies.

We must now discuss the relationship which should exist between the dispensary and certain other agencies concerned in the work:—

I.—*The Public Health Authority.*

The tuberculosis dispensary and the Medical Officer of Health for the district should work together in the closest harmony. It is too early to refer to the effect of compulsory notification of all institutional cases which came into effect on May 1st of this year, but in Edinburgh during the first year of compulsory notification some 60 per cent. of all the cases notified were notified by the Victoria Dispensary.

In addition to the notification of cases the dispensary should lay all its store of information and statistics before the Medical Officer of Health, in order that he may make such use of it as seems advisable. On the other hand, the Medical Officer of Health should undertake the disinfection of rooms after death or removal of the patient at the request of the dispensary, and should inquire into and rectify all cases of overcrowding or insanitary conditions notified to him by the dispensary.

II.—*General Hospitals and Private Practitioners.*

No case should under any circumstances be attended by a dispensary who is already under treatment elsewhere. The strictest precautions have been taken at the dispensary in Edinburgh and those already opened in London. Such patients are immediately sent back to their own doctors, and are not seen again without the doctor's written permission. Many cases are actually sent to the dispensary for treatment both by the general hospitals and by private practitioners.

Thus in London the majority of consumptive patients attending St. Mary's Hospital are transferred to the Paddington and Kensington Dispensary. The dispensaries should confine themselves strictly to cases of tuberculosis, and all other cases should be sent on either to private practitioners or to general hospitals.

Thus, it will be seen, the tuberculosis dispensary is in no way prejudicial to the interests of other doctors.

III.—*Sanatoriums.*

Many people imagine that the dispensary offers a rival form of treatment to that of the sanatoriums, but this is absolutely erroneous. Only a small percentage of patients are suitable for sanatorium treatment, but as far as possible these are sent by the dispensary to a sanatorium.

From the extensive knowledge of the patient gained by the dispensary both as regards his home surroundings and as regards the possibility of his obtaining suitable work on discharge from the sanatorium, the dispensary is able to make a very careful selection of patients for sanatorium treatment. Further, the dispensary completely overcomes the problem of after-care, for the patient's stay at a sanatorium is only an incident in the course of his career as a patient of the dispensary, and on his discharge from sanatorium he immediately reports himself at the dispensary again.

At the Paddington and Kensington Dispensary open-air shelters are loaned to patients, in order that they may sleep out of doors and so continue sanatorium treatment at home even after starting work again.

Therefore the sanatorium benefits in every way by co-operation with the dispensary—having more carefully selected patients sent to it and having its patients well looked after on discharge.

IV.—*Hospitals for Advanced Cases.*

During the last year or so of life consumptive patients are usually more or less bedridden. This is the period, too, during which they are most infectious. If the home conditions are such that with care the patient is not in danger of infecting other people, the dispensary doctor continues to treat him at home till the end. But if the home is crowded, and especially if there are children in the home, the dispensary endeavours to persuade the patient to go into a special hospital where he will be well looked after so that the rest of the family may be saved. London is very badly off for such hospitals, though for the majority of patients the Poor Law infirmaries as available.

V.—*Special Schools.*

The majority of children found by the dispensary to have consumption are extremely early cases and non-infectious. There is therefore no danger to other children in their attending the ordinary elementary day schools. But it is important that such children should receive their education under the very best of hygienic conditions, and should avoid over-fatigue. With this idea in view an open-air school has recently been opened in connection with the Paddington and Kensington Dispensary. The children in this school are drawn entirely from among the patients of the dispensary.

VI.—*Philanthropic and Charitable Agencies.*

In dealing with the consumptive poor a considerable part of the battle consists in altering the economic conditions of the patient's family. It is therefore extremely important that the dispensary should co-operate with such bodies as the Charity Organisation Society and the Invalid Children's Aid Association. It

is also important that the dispensary itself should not become a relieving agency. The committee of the Paddington and Kensington Dispensary decided to give no material relief whatever except through the Charity Organisation Society, and this plan has worked perfectly satisfactorily.

The Dispensary Movement in London.

In January, 1909, the "Paddington Dispensary for the Prevention of Consumption" was opened. It was modelled as far as possible exactly on the lines of the Royal Victoria Dispensary, Edinburgh. The latter dispensary was founded in the year 1887, and has been copied in many countries, especially in America. In New York alone there are some thirty dispensaries, or tuberculous clinics, as they are called, and in several other American cities dispensaries also exist.

The Paddington dispensary developed very rapidly and soon aroused considerable attention in London. In April, 1910, the inhabitants of North Kensington, being anxious to join in the movement, it was decided that the two districts should amalgamate. Accordingly the dispensary is now known as the Paddington and Kensington Dispensary, and serves both districts.

In November, 1910, the St. Marylebone Dispensary was opened on the same lines.

The Central Fund for the Promotion of the Dispensary System in London.

Paddington, Kensington, and St. Marylebone are among the richer districts in London, however, and the question arose as to how the poorer districts might obtain the same benefits. The opinion was held in some quarters that the whole scheme should become municipalised as a way out of the difficulty.

But there were many objections to be raised to this proceeding. In the end a voluntary committee was formed for the purpose of raising a large central fund of money from voluntary sources, with which to assist the poorer boroughs in establishing and maintaining dispensaries.

Money poured in for this purpose very quickly, with the result that a dispensary has now been opened in Stepney, another is on the point of being opened in Bermondsey (if not already opened by the time of the conference), and dispensaries have been decided on in Woolwich, in Battersea, and in Wandsworth. Many inquiries have been received by the central fund. In fact the question of starting a dispensary has been mooted in all except two or three of the Metropolitan boroughs.

Conditions Laid Down by the Central Fund.

The central fund are willing to help any borough which is anxious to start a tuberculosis dispensary if that borough is unable to raise the necessary money itself.

The dispensary in each district will be controlled entirely by a local committee, and the central fund will exercise no right of control provided the following conditions are complied with:—

1. That the dispensary is managed by a voluntary committee and supported by voluntary contributions.

2. That it confines its operations to a definite area to be agreed upon in consultation with the executive committee of the central fund.

3. That it co-operates as far as possible with the Medical Officer of Health, and with all hospitals, dispensaries (free and provident), doctors, charities, churches, and chapels in the district.

4. That cases requiring material relief are referred to the Charity Organisation Society or other suitable agency.

5. That the accounts are kept according to the rules of the King Edward's Hospital Fund.

6. That the dispensary, whether it be a new and independent institution or a department of an already existing hospital or dispensary, is conducted on the following lines:—

a. It shall employ one or more medical officers, who shall not only see patients at the dispensary but visit them in their homes.

b. It shall employ a specially trained nurse who shall, under the supervision of the doctor, care for the patients at the dispensary and at their homes.

c. It shall only treat cases of tuberculosis.

d. There shall be no letters of recommendation, and all treatment shall be free. Persons found able to pay for treatment shall be referred to private practitioners.

e. Any person who is already under medical care shall be treated only after the consent of his medical attendant has been obtained.

7. That in order to facilitate the collection of statistics and co-operation with other dispensaries, case papers and schedules of questions, similar to those in use at existing anti-tuberculosis dispensaries shall be adopted.

The Future of the Dispensary Movement.

It will be evident from what has already been said that in the near future one may expect London to be served by a network of tuberculosis dispensaries, all working on the same lines, as set forth in this paper. They will no doubt work in with all the existing agencies to form a complete anti-tuberculosis organisation, as in the Edinburgh system, and then at last we will doubtless see before long a substantial fall in the death-rate caused by this terrible disease.

One may expect the same development to take place in all our provincial towns, a start having already been made in one or two centres.

If tuberculosis can be stamped out in the course of the next generation, one of the most potent factors in the production of destitution will have been removed from our midst.

Discussion.

In opening the discussion, Dr. Niven explained that the National Insurance Bill, which had not been introduced when he wrote his paper, had altered the outlook, because it made provision which would form a strong inducement for the people to go into sanatoria. But he did not think it would meet the needs of the poorest class, and that problem therefore was still with them. They in Manchester had been thinking a good deal on this matter, and some of them thought that if they could get £5,000 a year or so they could do a great deal to meet the needs of the families who were brought under the poverty line by reason of consumption being in the household. If that sum were put in the hands of the Charity Organisation Society—— (cries of "No, no.") He could assure them they found that an excellent mode of working in Manchester. (Cries of "Yes" and "No.") The Charity Organisation Society found out all about the income of the family for them, and that they must

know. They must have correct information about the means of a family, for no one had the right to squander public money without knowing precisely what the needs were. He would like to say a few words about the new Health Committees to be created by Mr. Lloyd George's Bill, which would not be connected with the Public Health Authorities who had been carrying on the campaign for a great number of years against consumption. All people who had studied the question would be of opinion that it was essential in carrying out this campaign against consumption to co-ordinate the various parts of the work, and he thought it would be a positive misfortune if they had a Health Committee which was not clearly and definitely placed in connection with the Public Health Authority, and in particular he would point out that what was required for the new sanatoria to be created was, firstly, that all cases admitted should have been previously notified to the Public Health Authority; and secondly, that the Public Health Authority should be required to see that the family which benefited by admission to the sanatoria carried out the public health requirements.

Dr. Goss, who gave a summary of Dr. Williams's paper, said that in Stepney they found the Charity Organisation Society a most useful agency in helping them in sending patients away to sanatoria and in assisting them at home, and also in finding out the financial position of families. This latter was a matter which required a specially trained person. He thought that one of the most useful things a voluntary worker could do was to try and find suitable employment for consumptives. If all over England they had the dispensary as a co-ordinating centre, their sanatoria, their hospitals for advanced cases, compulsory notification, and special schools for the treatment of tuberculous children, and also an improvement in the present schools in the way of aeration, then he thought they might look for a substantial reduction in the incidence of tuberculosis and possibly a complete eradication of the disease in a generation and a half.

A Delegate asked Dr. Scurfield if he had known any instances of patients compulsorily removed after being notified and sent to a sanatorium.

Alderman R. Bulley (Wallasey) asked whether Dr. Scurfield would include amongst the trades which would be affected by the employment of tuberculous persons the laundry trade, for that was a question which affected everyone there.

Dr. Scurfield said they had had experience of the patient being removed, and it was one of the difficulties. They came across consumptives who were an obvious danger and who would not go into the accommodation provided by the Board of Guardians. All they could do was to try and persuade them. The working of consumptives in different trades had to be considered each on its merits. In one case a girl was stopped from working in a confectionery works, and was employed in the packing department afterwards. Sometimes they could arrange a thing like that by a consultation with the manager and a transfer from one department to another. He thought the medical officer of health had to take each case on its merits and consider what the risk to the public and the other workers was and advise accordingly.

A Delegate asked who gave the Sheffield Corporation power to use their small-pox hospital for consumptives.

Dr. Scurfield said the Local Government Board gave their sanction. There were a few beds set aside to which small-pox cases could be taken. If a case of small-pox arose the consumptives had to be removed. The consumptives were driven down in a brake to the Winter Street Hospital, and there was no particular difficulty. So long as there was accommodation for the first case of small-pox which occurred they had an hour or two to get the consumptives out. They had to remember that it was not like cases of scarlet fever. If they did not have hospital accommodation for the consumptives they would simply be at their homes, so that if they had to return to their homes if the hospital accommodation was required for small-pox, it was not a particular difficulty.

A Delegate asked what the result of the farm colony of consumptive patients at Edinburgh had been.

Dr. Goss said the farm colony had not been going sufficiently long to show what the eventual result would be. The object of it was to send patients there who could not be sent back home to their ordinary existence from the sanatorium. The patients were sent to the farm colony and taught farming or some suitable occupation which they could carry on afterwards in order to continue the treatment for years. So far as he knew no cases had been discharged from the colony, so that no one could say what had been the result.

Dr. Fraser (M.O.H., Portsmouth) said he wished to make a few remarks on tuberculin dispensaries. They had listened to some very important papers on the subject, and they would agree that they had dealt with nearly all the methods which could be adopted by the municipality. The most obvious preventive of consumption had not been mentioned because of its obviousness, and that was the better housing of the working classes. The death-rate from consumption was practically tumbling down now, and he thought that was due to the very improved conditions under which the workmen lived. The Portsmouth Town Council had recently considered the matter of the preventive measures to be taken in regard to consumption, and they considered first the question of sanatoria, but eventually the decision come to was to provide what was now known as a tuberculin dispensary. A tuberculin dispensary was really a central place from which all the various agencies for the prevention and cure of consumption radiated, and one of its features was the treatment—and the successful treatment, they believed—of consumption by the injection of tuberculin. Very unfortunately a certain amount of controversy had arisen between some of the advocates of sanatoria and of tuberculous dispensaries and some of the advocates of tuberculin dispensaries. He dissociated himself entirely from all controversy, and he thought it a very great pity that such a controversy should arise, because there could not be the least doubt in the world that all these institutions were valuable, and so far from there being any antagonism between them if they were to be successful there must be thorough co-ordination all round. No municipal scheme could, he thought, be thoroughly effective unless it included the compulsory notification of phthisis, the provision of health visitors, the provision of hospitals with some beds, and the provision of a dispensary. The whole four things were interlaced and worked naturally together. The reasons which persuaded the members of the Portsmouth Town Council to provide a tuberculin dispensary instead of a sanatorium were, briefly, these: in the first place they considered very carefully the facts of the present sanatoria, and they came to the conclusion, as he thought everybody who considered the question would, that sanatoria could not deal with the number of consumptives which there were to be treated. Dr. Bostock Hill had already told them that at present in the country they could not deal with more than 2 per cent. No municipality could face the expense of providing sanatoria to deal with all the consumptives in a town, and unless they could treat, or have some reasonable expectation of being able in time to treat all their cases, or a very large proportion of them, they would not have a very great effect upon consumption. Of course, when the Portsmouth Town Council decided on a tuberculin dispensary they had not heard of Mr. Lloyd George's Bill, but even with that Bill and with the million and a half of money devoted to sanatoria, it would not be possible to deal with more than 15 to 20 per cent. of the cases of consumption in the country: therefore if anyone relied on these sanatoria to solve the problem they would find they would be disappointed, although they would do a great amount of good. However, the difficulty would always remain that the working man would not go into a sanatorium until he was obliged to—that was to say, until he was incapacitated from work. And when he went in owing to his incapacity to work he was usually in too advanced a stage to be cured. Therefore it was to a certain extent a waste of money when the man did go in. Of course, no money was absolutely wasted which improved a man's health and gave him a longer life, but it was wasted from the point of view of curing the man and returning him as a useful working member of the community. There was another very strong reason why the sanatorium could not deal with the problem. There was the family to maintain, and when they came to consider the cost of maintaining a man and his family for six months while the man was in the sanatorium it was very alarming, and the cost of all the cases in the country put it out of the question. Now what did they expect from the tuberculin dispensary? He could explain it best by telling them of some of the results he had seen at some of the tuberculin dispensaries which were now in practice. The first one in this country was that of Dr. Wilkinson, at Kennington. He believed a large number of those present had visited that dispensary and seen the work being carried on there. Briefly, the patient was first of all tested. He was given a test dose of tuberculin to see whether he was really suffering from tuberculosis, and then he attended twice a week for treatment. That was the strongest point in favour of tuberculin dispensaries. A man could have the treatment, providing that it was not an advanced case, without leaving off work. It was impossible to exaggerate the importance of that fact. The reason why sanatoria failed was that the men had to give up their work. He had

seen many men and women undergo the tuberculin treatment and the whole time they were carrying on their daily work, the only interruption being perhaps once or twice a week. If by means of tuberculin dispensaries you can cure cases of consumption, if only cases in the early stage, he thought they would be satisfied that such institutions were well worth providing, because if they were cured in the early stage they never got to the advanced and infectious stage. He had seen a number of cases at Dr. Wilkinson's dispensary. There was another place where the out-patient treatment was given—the Cambridge Military Hospital, at Aldershot. There Colonel Treherne had treated a large number of cases of consumption both in the early and later stages. The majority of his patients had been soldiers who were discharged from the Army on account of consumption, and he had had some very successful cures amongst them. He did not propose to go into statistics, but Colonel Treherne had reported on the subject very fully, and that report could be obtained. He felt that very great credit was due to Colonel Treherne. The majority of his cases were not extremely early cases, but those of men who had been discharged from the Army on account of consumption. The majority of these patients also were continuing their work. The majority did light work, but some of them had quite heavy duties. One was a postman, and another a photographer. But there was the fact that they were being treated and cured without becoming a charge upon the State. He would mention one other tuberculin dispensary which had been very successful, and that was at Street, a small country town in Somerset. A dispensary had there been opened by Dr. Hilda Clark, and the method of treatment was that adopted and introduced into this country by Dr. Wilkinson. The dispensary had been opened by Dr. Clark nearly a year, and she had had 120 patients. A number of these patients were cured, nearly all were improved, one or two had given up the treatment, and there was not much change in some of the advanced cases. Indeed there was no marked improvement, but as a matter of fact no one expected that tuberculin would have very much effect in very advanced cases, and he did not know that any other method of treatment could do anything for such cases. But this fact remained, that at this dispensary at Street very successful results had so far been obtained. He was particularly glad of this because the Portsmouth Corporation, wanting to get someone who was thoroughly competent and thoroughly *au fait* with the matter, had engaged Dr. Hilda Clark to be the first medical officer for their dispensary. There were also several tuberculin dispensaries in Germany, at one of which he saw from a report they treated 200 patients in 1908. One of the advantages of the tuberculin dispensary was that by a test dose of tuberculin they could obtain a definite answer to the question of whether a person was suffering for consumption or not, and that, he need hardly say, was a most important point. The early diagnosis of consumption, as every medical man knew, was half the battle, and by tuberculin they obtained this. The expenses of a tuberculin dispensary he estimated at about £600 a year, and that included the salary of the medical man and everything in connection with it. At a tuberculin dispensary they could probably treat from 400 to 500 patients a year. The actual cost of tuberculin for the patient was put down at £1. They would notice in the general estimate that the cost very much depended on the number of patients treated, as the main amount would be spent on tuberculin. The estimate he gave to his corporation was £600, but it was quite possible, if they had a very large number of patients, that they might exceed this. For £600, however, he thought they might treat 300 patients or thereabouts. One criticism had been made against them at Portsmouth, which was that the whole thing was an experiment. Well, of course, to a certain extent it was an experiment, but it was one on which they had very good grounds for embarking. Although it would be the first municipal tuberculin dispensary in the country, it was not the first tuberculin dispensary, and the results he had quoted to them were, in his opinion, quite sufficient to warrant the Town Council in the step which they were taking. Everything had to be an experiment at the commencement, and he hoped very much if he had the privilege of addressing the conference next year he would be able to tell them more about the result of the experiment they were now going to try in Portsmouth.

Dr. Lister (National Sanatorium Association) said that Dr. Fraser stated that it was admitted that tuberculin would not cure advanced cases, and he also said that £1,500,000 would not provide treatment for more than one-fifth of the consumptives in the country. Sanatoria had never been claimed to treat advanced cases, but £1,500,000 would supply treatment for three months for every first year's case in

the country provided that the cost of the sanatoria was kept down, and did not exceed £150 a bed. That was one of the great mistakes which had been made in the treatment of phthisis in the class which suffered most seriously from the disease —the class which was on the destitution line. Vast sums of money had been squandered in erecting palatial institutions in Germany and in this country for the treatment of industrial tuberculosis. They knew that the treatment of industrial tuberculosis depended on the restoration of the worker by hygienic means. When they studied the industrial statistics published by the Board of Trade they found that it was the casual labourer who suffered most from tuberculosis—in fact, they had three times their share of tuberculosis owing, no doubt, to the bad nutrition following the irregularity of employment. To secure suitable cases in a sanatorium was as great a difficulty in that regard as the selection of suitable cases for tuberculin treatment. Education was one factor and the economic necessities of the patient another. No man would deprive his wife and children of the bread that he could earn so long as he could stand, and they could not be provided for during his absence for treatment. Those were difficulties which stood in the way. The want of knowledge of the cases close to the destitution line and the want of knowledge of the disease and of hygiene was also a universal difficulty. What they aimed at in starting Benenden was to show what could be done by the combined efforts of workers in starting their own sanatoria, and therefore they had always adopted propaganda work as an essential part of their work. They had to face the inertia of the workers, but they had succeeded in overcoming it to a certain extent, and they had delegates representing over two million workers sitting on their Council at the present time. To secure early diagnosis there was one other point. They found from experience at Benenden that amongst the applicants who had not got these economic difficulties to contend with a great number were not diagnosed until too late. Although he hardly liked to say it, yet he felt that a large number of medical men who had to treat the industrial sick poor had not had the opportunities of realising the insidious nature of consumption. Another thing which he wished the conference to realise was that the quack cure of consumption, bolstered up as it was by the Press, was one of the greatest difficulties they had in securing early treatment for industrial consumption.

Mr. GARLAND (National Sanatorium Association) said he hesitated to intrude on the conference immediately after Dr. Lister, but he wanted to say something about sanatoria in connection with their scheme at Benenden. Dr. Hill had kindly complimented them on being the only body to do anything for working class consumption of late years, and as he happened to be the organiser of the society so referred to he thought it would interest the conference to be told at least some of the facts which had emerged from their experience. They had been able to deal in the past with societies and with classes of patients which would be that class of patients particularly dealt with under the new scheme of Mr. Lloyd George. They had, in fact, been dealing with the Friendly Society patient chosen under conditions which would, he took it, much resemble the conditions in which he would be chosen and treated in the future. Certain aspects of sanatoria had, however, recently been subjected to criticism, and obviously the finding of so large a sum of money was likely to lead to a good deal of healthy criticism, from which he hoped the proper methods would eventually emerge. At the same time he thought it would be a disaster if the value of sanatoria was lost sight of and its proper position in the movement at a time when it was being discussed on so large a scale. Some of the criticism which had been urged against sanatoria was, to his mind, due to the fact that in the past sanatoria had not had a proper chance. The sanatorium, to his mind, was the most important link in the general measures which must be taken against consumption, but if it was to have its best chance and do its best work it must be supported by other machinery—and that other machinery was that for the selection of the early cases, a matter which had been spoken of by every doctor that morning. Tuberculosis dispensaries, as they were understood at Edinburgh, seemed to him to offer the most likely solution of the problem of how to trap the early case. It was absolutely essential that the tuberculosis dispensary and its organisation should be supported by a considerable amount of education of the patient and of the patient's friends. The possibility and success of that education had been demonstrated in their own case. They had a very large society affiliated to their Benenden scheme—the Post Office Sanatorium Society, which had nearly 50,000 members and which had the distinction of having practically the only voluntary insurance scheme

against consumption which had ever been tried in this country. The society had spent a good deal of time and work and a fair amount of its money in educating its members upon the need of early treatment and early diagnosis. They had gone further, and with the assistance of the advisers they had upon the Council they had done their best to educate a person who appeared even from the statements of medical men there to be very largely in need of education—he meant the general practitioner to whom the patient went to get a diagnosis of his disease. They had had experience at Benenden of patients of whom it was said that there were no physical signs that they were in anything but the first stage of consumption but who had been found to be suffering from the most advanced stage of the disease with cavities in both lungs big enough to put one's fist in. That seemed to point to the need of something being done to draw the attention of the general practitioner to the necessity for earlier examination and also to the symptoms by which he could diagnose the stage of the disease in a patient whom he recommended for a sanatorium. The education which they had succeeded in instilling into their members and amongst the medical officers who attended their members in the Post Office Society had had this result—that on an examination of the cases which they got at Benenden they found that of these sent by the Post Office Sanatorium Society 72 per cent. proved to be suitable cases for treatment in the opinion of the medical officers of the sanatorium on observation, whilst in the case of no other society had they reached so high a percentage as even 60 per cent. He attributed that entirely to the educational methods which had been adopted, and he thought therefore in connection with organisations for trapping the early cases the question of educating the patient and his friends, and more especially of educating or advising the general practitioner as to the symptoms he must look for in order to diagnose consumption, must occupy a very prominent place and money must be spent upon it. Dr. Lister had told them that their experience at Benenden had convinced them that an efficient sanatorium could be put up for £100 a bed. He himself was convinced that when they had completed the institution it would be less. At any rate, if the money provided by Mr. Lloyd George was spent in the same way it would be able to produce a sufficient number of beds to deal with the whole of the first-year cases which arose in Great Britain. But in erecting these institutions it seemed from the experience of their association that certain general principles must be insisted upon, and the first of these must be that the buildings must be cheap and simple. By cheap and simple buildings he did not mean a wooden building. Wooden buildings were frequently recommended to them because it was said as soon as they became infected they could be burned down and destroyed. When they thought of the surreptitious smoking which went on there was always the danger that they would be burned down before they were infected, and under conditions they could not always control. There were other reasons for suspecting the wooden building. A cheap and simple building was not thoroughly efficient, but it had other advantages. It did not deceive the patient as to the means by which he was cured. The working-class patient did not think that his cure depended on the luxuries he enjoyed in a great palace, and he was not discouraged when he went back to his own home because he feels to his astonishment that a continuation of the treatment can be kept up at his own home. They regarded that principle as being essential, and it not only operated with regard to buildings, but also in respect of food and other matters. It was a very common experience to them when they first started for a man to say he could not possibly keep up the treatment because it would be impossible with a wife and family of two or three children to get out of 30s. a week the quantity of milk they get at Benenden, and so he thought it would be well to find some system of dietary which would reduce the cost to the smallest proportions. This was being done at Frimley, and they were doing it at Benenden. Another thing they found of great use to them were the homely lectures to patients explaining the course of the disease and the means to be adopted for curing it; the large part the patient himself must take in the treatment and the means he must adopt to prevent himself falling back afterwards. These lectures made the patient contented and happy and hopeful during his stay in the institution. Another thing which they had at Benenden, and which was absolutely essential in dealing with working-class consumption, was to aim not only at arresting the men's disease and curing him but also to make him fit and confident for his work, and they did that by a series of graduated tasks by which they gradually trained the man not only to better health but to a sort of working fitness, which enabled him to go back with the utmost confidence to take up his work at home and

so prevent in very many cases the relapse which was liable to follow. That graduated work must be part of the treatment of working-class tuberculosis in the future. The other point, and perhaps the most important—was that the sanatorium must be under the strict supervision of a capable medical man. There were too many sanatoria about taking only part-time service of doctors, which, so far as his experience went, could not possibly be successful, because the patients could not have that careful and regular supervision they required. The money to be spent in the future should be spent on large institutions of from 100 to 200 beds, where they could afford to employ the most successful medical treatment to deal with the patients. Further, they wanted to question the contention that a man could be treated at home in his own back garden. He believed that a great deal of treatment could be effected at home, but he did not believe in the majority of cases it could be successfully begun in the back garden. It required a very large amount of strength of will on the part of the patient to submit himself to the rigorous treatment of the sanatorium, and with the coddling influences there were at home to assist him in breaking down his resolution he did not believe the treatment could be successfully started. He did think, however, after a patient had undergone the routine of the sanatorium and seen the successful effect of what was being done around him and heard what could be done his will was strengthened to continue the treatment in the back garden when the time came. He thought if some of these principles were observed in the spending of this money which had been given to them under the beneficial scheme of Mr. Lloyd George they would be able to do a good deal not only towards the treatment and cure of consumption but towards the prevention of consumption which was undoubtedly causing much destitution.

Mr. PROWLE (Merthyr Union) said he spoke as a miner who dwelt amongst the poor, and he had taken a keen interest for the last three years in the subject before them. But from what they had heard that morning he did not believe they were going to do much towards prevention. It was all very well to say a man must have a shelter, but it cost £7 10s., and when they had shelter they had to get the food. He had, as a Guardian, had some experience of the cases which came under their control, and when they inquired into the facts they found the rack renting and the sweating which caused all this destitution. It was the competitive system which was causing the difficulty. They had huge monopolists and huge food trusts; they had adulterated food coming into the country. There was a case before the Courts just recently in regard to cheese, which was one of the chief foods of the poor man. It was the case of a thick imitation rind round an imitation Gorgonzola cheese.

The CHAIRMAN called the speaker's attention to the fact that sanatoria was the subject before the meeting.

Mr. PROWLE said they were in a conference to prevent destitution, and if the conference was not going to try and do something to prevent it they might as well go home. They had got to have some method whereby they could get rid of the competition amongst grocers and landlords and everybody else. They had hardly a firm to-day which could give a guarantee of the purity of the food they supplied, to say nothing of the milk supply. That was where they would find redemption, and not in listening to what doctors said.

The CHAIRMAN again called the speaker's attention to the subject before the conference.

Mr. PROWLE said they were there to prevent destitution, which was getting beyond their control. It was by the institution of a great movement and by wielding political force that they could do something.

Miss MAY YATES said the papers had been of the greatest interest, and the Government proposals make the information submitted of the greatest importance. If by that conference they could only induce the Government to combine with sanatoria tuberculous dispensary treatment they would not only help to cure but to prevent and finally eradicate this disease which caused so much destitution. The principal way of preventing tuberculosis was to strengthen the resisting powers of the human system and make the body immune against the disease, and the most efficient way to do this was to provide proper food. People should be trained to study food values and the preparation of foods. It was said that there was much ignorance amongst the working classes on this subject, but she suggested that those who studied the problem were in danger of overlooking mineral substances, which were equally essential to protein substances.

The CHAIRMAN said the food question was a very important one, but it was not before them.

Miss YATES said it had been suggested that the proper preparation of food was a means of preventing the disease. She specially directed attention to Dr. Niven's paper where he stated that in 1909 nearly one-half of the families containing consumptives were below the minimum level of nutrition. Therefore, if they wished to prevent consumption they must teach them how to nourish themselves at the lowest cost. She therefore urged the conference to direct attention to the necessity of spreading information about the use of cheap healthy food so that people might become healthy and strong and their power of resisting disease increased. Thereby they would get rid of consumption, which was one of the main factors in the cause of destitution.

Mr. HAROLD PEARSALL said he thought it a remarkable oversight that no reference had been made to what was really one of the most successful and most practical methods of diminishing disease—he referred to the Garden City movement. He hoped they might assume that everybody there knew about the movement, but the conference ought not to break up without any reference whatever to it, and its great hopefulness in enormously increasing the stamina of the population. In the one Garden City which had yet been created they had the lowest death-rate in the kingdom and the lowest infantile death-rate by a very great deal. He challenged contradiction when he said that no industrial town could show the same figures of a healthy youthful population. This was all brought about by the very simplest methods. Not by medical cures but simply by good cottages, well-designed, and plenty of sun and air-space around them, spacious factories, and country maintained round the town. These conditions were perfectly practicable in hundreds of other places, and although one Garden City could not make any marked impression on the poverty and sickness of the country, yet such enterprises, if multiplied, would undoubtedly make a huge impression on the health of the country; and he ventured to say far more than could possibly be done by any system of sanatoria, however elaborate. They had heard a great deal that day about the extreme importance of catching the early case, and he suggested that they should go one better and catch the case even before it became a case. That was the proper thing to do. He did not say anything about sanatoria, and he was delighted that a large sum was to be devoted to them; but this country was rich enough to try both methods of attack. If they had a million and a half of money for organising fresh Garden Cities it would mean a perpetual starting of new cities in the future, for the great thing, so far as the financial side was concerned, was that in the long run it cost nothing. It needed a large capital to commence, but that was spent in a reproductive manner. They could go on starting half a dozen new cities a year with the million and a half of money which they were proposing to spend on curing people after they had suffered and whose efficiency for the rest of their lives was probably very largely reduced. Therefore he hoped the conference would not ignore this most successful and hopeful of all the movements of modern times.

Mr. ELVIN (Secretary of the National Union of Clerks) said that whilst the papers which had been read and the information given from the experts' point of view had been very interesting, yet he must say he was considerably disappointed that the workers who were so very largely concerned in the subject which had been dealt with had not been called upon more freely, so that they might be able to give their point of view. It was a very remarkable thing that in regard to phthisis, as well as other medical subjects, they found the experts disagree. They had been going for each other hammer and tongs in a quiet way. They were there that morning in order to try and find out and deal with the conditions under which consumption was developed, and also to try and find out what was the best way by which it could be prevented. They had been told that the things which were primarily needed were rest and good food, and also that the workers needed to be considerably better educated than they had been in the past with regard to the prevention of consumption. He was glad to know that doctors had laid particular stress upon the point that if sanatoria were to be used much more effectively for the working classes provision must be made that their dependents should be looked after effectually whilst the breadwinner was away. They were told that sanatoria might cure cases of consumption in its incipient stage, and that the injection of a foreign matter might be claimed to cure consumption, which he had his doubts about. The same thing was said about vaccination, that if they injected small-pox into a person it would prevent

him having it, which, of course, was rubbish. (Laughter.) But what he wanted to impress on them was this, that the real factor in the matter in order to prevent consumption was to provide decent conditions of life. They had got to improve the environment of those who were the most liable to consumption so that they might be prevented from getting the disease. Statements had been made to the effect that rest was needed and good food, and that led him to the point that they must not only talk about the workers securing good food. They must not only tell them that they required so many quarts of milk a week, but they had to make it possible to obtain what it was said they required in order to build up their system and give them a regular resisting force against this insidious disease. And so what was needed was not so much to listen to medical experts but rather to social experts. That went to the root of the matter. To prevent consumption they must improve the environment of the people, and secure them that wage by which they would be able to purchase the necessities of life, and another important thing was to improve the conditions under which the workers laboured. Let him give them one or two instances so far as clerks were concerned. It might surprise some there to know that phthisis had a tremendous hold upon the clerical profession, and it might also surprise them to learn that out of every four clerks who died one died of consumption, and out of every two clerks who died between the ages of 20 and 35 one death was due to phthisis. If only time permitted he could give them case upon case in which it had been proved right up to the hilt that the reason why the clerical workers of this country were so subject to this white man's scourge was due to three things. The first was the miserable pittance they received, the second the insufficient nutriment they had owing to not having a living wage, and the third was the unhealthy conditions in which they were called upon to work. And so what he thought their medical experts should do was not so much to press upon the people the importance of providing means by which the consumptive could be cured but to see to those things by which consumption could be prevented.

Councillor SCOTT (Northampton) said the question he wished to bring before them was the need of providing healthy homes for those who were afflicted with consumption, and he would like to suggest a solution of the difficulty of dealing with those cases which could not be sent to a sanatorium but which needed treatment in some more healthy environment than was possible in the homes in which they had contracted the disease. Every doctor who had spoken and every layman had admitted that there was not sufficient sanatorium accommodation in the country for those who should be called upon to go to them, and even if there would be sufficient accommodation when Mr. Lloyd George's measure was passed there still remained the question of maintaining the dependents of the consumptives. He thought there might be a solution to some extent in this direction: the Public Health authorities had the power of designating any building as a hospital and they had the power to appoint nurses and to maintain those nurses, and in the hospitals they had the power to supply the patients with all the necessaries of life. There was no reason, he thought, why when a consumptive was found to be living in a very unhealthy house—and he had in his mind at the present time the case of a man and wife and five children who were living in a four-roomed house, no room of which was more than about ten feet square—why the Public Health authority in the absence of sanatoria should not hire a healthy, commodious house, and transfer the whole family to that house, appoint the wife as a nurse, pay her a weekly wage to maintain her in health while the patient was under treatment, and at the same time supply the patient with all the necessaries for cure, including the best food and any medicine which was required. If this were done there could be adequate treatment for the family in which the disease had made its appearance, and it would be unnecessary to build an expensive sanatorium. If there were not comfortable houses in the town suitable for the treatment of the disease then there could be some built by the local authority. These would not be useless, but would be a source of income after they had served their particular purpose, because being well built, healthy homes they would be greatly sought after by the inhabitants of the town. In Northampton this precise course was adopted in regard to the treatment of particular cases during an epidemic of scarlet fever. The hospital was full, and the cases had to be treated somewhere, and the authority decided to look on the home in which the man lived as a hospital. They sent a nurse there, and paid her; they furnished a room for the nurse, and supplied the patient with everything he wanted, and made provision for the man's family while the home was used as a hospital. What had been done in one case

could be done in every case if the public authority wished. So there was really no bar except the question of expense to efficient treatment in healthy homes for every consumptive in the country at the present time. He would like to refer to the question of expense because it was always thrown up at these conferences at the reformers who wished to deal with the matter of consumption in a satisfactory and thorough way. He had tried to work out a balance sheet showing what the expense of treatment would be and what was saved as the result of the treatment. In the first place they had to find a man with the necessaries of life for a few months, and also his family, and if the plan he suggested was adopted and a nice house was rented the expense would not amount to more than £30 or £40. On the other side they had the man who was a ratepayer, and if he lived and became healthy he would take a house and pay rates, and if he lived for twenty years he would pay in rates for all he had had. If the man was allowed to die and he had a family dependent on him they could not let that family starve, but they were compelled to pay something towards their maintenance, although he was bound to say that the Guardians to whom these unfortunate people had to go had not a very high ideal of what was necessary. He had known a family of five which had had to be content with 10s. or 12s. 6d. a week, and that was absolutely absurd. At any rate, if this family did come on the rates and had to be kept for five or six years at 3s. or 4s. a week per head there was another £60 a year the community had to provide. He asked Dr. Goss a question with regard to the effect of the farm colony at Edinburgh, but he was unable to give any definite answer. He, personally, believed very strongly in the provision of farm colonies all over the country combined with workshops in which hand labour could be performed as a means of maintaining the physical efficiency of the people who had been treated in sanatoria. When a man had been treated in a sanatorium and had to go back to the factory—assuming that he could get a job at all—in a short time he was reduced in strength so that he became a victim to the disease again. If he could have a really healthy situation with light labour then that relapse would be avoided and he would get stronger and stronger, and the question so far as that man was concerned and of other consumptives treated in the same way would be settled.

Dr. Templeman (M.O.H., Dundee) said he was one of the experts so much despised by Mr. Elvin. The question of housing and environment had been tackled by the municipalities. With regard to tuberculous dispensaries he regarded such a dispensary as one of the most effective and important weapons they had in attacking this disease. He came from a town which, he believed, was the first in Britain, and certainly the first in Scotland, to set up such an institution as a municipal institution. He thought those dispensaries should be municipal institutions controlled and directed by the municipality either by the Public Health Department or in intimate contact with it. As the result of their experience they found year by year they were getting a much smaller number of advanced cases coming to the sanatorium and a very much larger number of cases coming in the incipient stage. These cases were kept under observation and received proper treatment. They had also found that the visits of the nurses to the homes and the instructions they gave there were of the very utmost importance, both from the points of view of prevention and of cure. He had not been able to persuade his corporation to adopt compulsory notification, but they had a voluntary system which had been a failure. In Scotland they were a good deal in advance of England, because their Local Government Board had officially declared that tuberculosis could be dealt with as an infectious disease. Notification gave them the information of where the disease was to be found, but the primary object was to bring the patient into intimate contact with the Public Health Department, so that he might have the benefit of the resources of a great public department.

Dr. Savage (County M.O.H., Somerset) wished to emphasise the importance of examining the contacts of cases of consumption in their homes. That could be done now with a great deal more thoroughness than in the past, and could be followed up with great success. In the first place subsidiary methods for diagnosing these very early cases of tuberculosis had been very much improved within the last few years and were really very valuable methods so that a great deal of success would crown their efforts to get at these early cases. The other reason why they had found they could do more was that a good many of the cases were those of children, and now that they had a complete examination of school children they could be kept under observation very much better. They could be supervised very much better in

school than was the case in previous years. For that purpose one must welcome the tuberculosis dispensary as the fundamental process for getting at these cases. The other point he wished to touch on was that of compulsory *versus* voluntary notification. Like the last speaker, he was of opinion that voluntary notification was a failure. He thought it must always be a failure. In the cases of Manchester and Brighton it had on the whole been a success because it had not stood alone, but had been followed up by something being done for the sufferer. But when voluntary notification stood alone as in so many places in England and was merely used to tell the sufferer that he was to carry out certain precautions it had been a failure, and he thought the time was certainly ripe for compulsory notification all over the country. Education as to the cause of the disease had spread very extensively, and he did not think that any hardship would be inflicted, but that it would be generally welcomed by the public. Of course, compulsory notification was a valuable educative factor in itself. An important factor also had been the tuberculosis exhibition which had been touring the country. He had been asked on two occasions to go to the exhibition and lecture, and had been surprised at the large audiences which attended them and the immense interest which was displayed in the subject and the really intelligent questions which were put.

Dr. NASH (M.O.H., Wimbledon) most strongly approved of tuberculous dispensaries, and supported the idea that they should be under the control of the municipality. They ought not to be left to voluntary concerns, for the day was too late for voluntary effort to tackle the problem. Tuberculin treatment was used in all their sanatoria and was not a peculiar perquisite of Dr. Wilkinson. He strongly objected to the setting up of an institution to deal with the question which was wedded to one form of treatment, because it got too much on the lines of the quack. He thought they must conduct those institutions with an open mind and be ready to take advantage of anything which would help the cause they had at heart. Tuberculin should be a part of the treatment used, but a dispensary should not be labelled for that alone. As to sanatoria, he thought it was a mistake to put them away in beautiful country because it led the sufferer to believe that he could not be cured in the place where he lived. If they took the man away to the country he thought it was the country air and the surroundings which effected the improvement. He felt very strongly that if they put up small sanatoria in their localities they would do far better because the people would then realise that it was their own efforts and not the result of the country air and situation by which they had been cured.

Second Day, Wednesday, May 31st.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was taken by Sir T. Clifford Allbutt, and the subject of discussion was THE WORK OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH AUTHORITY IN RELATION TO BIRTH AND INFANCY. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Control of the Ante-natal Factors in Infant Mortality.*
By Dr. C. TEMPLEMAN, Medical Officer of Health, Dundee.

2.—*The Working of the Midwives Act.*
By Dr. G. H. FOSBROKE, County Medical Officer of Health, Worcestershire.

3.—*The Prevention of Blindness from Ophthalmia Neonatorum.*
By Dr. GEORGE REID, County Medical Officer of Health, Staffordshire.

4.—*Infant Consultations.*
By Dr. G. F. MCCLEARY, Medical Officer of Health, Hampstead.

5.—*The Nursery School.*
By Dr. LESLIE MACKENZIE, Medical Member of the Local Government Board of Scotland.

The Control of the Ante-natal Factors in Infant Mortality.

By C. TEMPLEMAN, M.D., D.SC.
(Medical Officer of Health for the City of Dundee; Lecturer on Forensic Medicine and Public Health University of St. Andrews.)

IN opening this discussion on the Control of the Ante-Natal Factors in Infant Mortality, I take it that it is unnecessary for me to produce any statistical evidence as to the importance of these, both as regards their influence on the health of the mother and infant, and on the condition of distress and destitution to which they so largely contribute.

The fact that in an industrial community such as I represent here something like one out of every eighteen children born die as a direct result of ante-natal conditions, emphasises the great necessity for a careful study of these, and of the measures which promise most successfully to influence them for the better. This, of course, does not include abortions and still-births, but only those children who were born alive but not endowed with sufficient vitality to enable them to

accommodate themselves to their new environment and to carry on their life processes when they came into existence as independent entities. With a steadily declining birth-rate, and a population not showing that expansion so necessary for healthy national life, it is a matter of national importance to conserve our infant life as far as it is possible.

I do not intend to traverse the whole field of ante-natal pathology, but to confine myself to the aspect of this subject which more immediately concerns this Congress, namely, the influence of these ante-natal factors in contributing to destitution and the best means by which they can be prevented or controlled.

Consider the strain thrown on the resources of families hovering about the poverty line by the occurrence of pregnancy in the mother—the extra calls made upon her physically by her motherhood. She has not only to obtain and assimilate sufficient nourishment to replace the waste going on in her own tissues, but has also to provide for the development and growth of the new life. This, along with the necessity for extra rest, more especially during the latter months of pregnancy, entails increased expenditure, if justice is to be done to the mother, and this in many cases the family is unable to provide for.

First of all we must determine what these ante-natal factors are. Naturally they are to be sought for in the parents. One cannot expect healthy offspring from diseased or enfeebled stock, and the physiology of pregnancy has taught us that the health of the infant is largely determined by the health of the parents, and more especially by the nutrition of the mother. While centering our attention on the mother we must not overlook the grave responsibilities which her pregnancy entails on the expectant father. This a factor which does not receive the attention it merits. It is his duty to see that those special precautions necessary under such conditions are made possible for her, and where, from laziness, dissolute habits, self-indulgence, or any other cause over which he has control, he shirks these responsibilities, then some means should be devised to compel him to make adequate provision for his pregnant wife. If his conscience cannot be awakened to realise his duty in this matter by the force of public opinion then some provision should be made for invoking the aid of the law. The knowledge that such means existed would have at least a persuasive effect on many who could not afford to run the gauntlet of public reprobation. It should be clearly recognised that whatever provision may be considered necessary for the assistance of the pregnant wife, nothing should be done in any way to relieve the husband of his responsibilities when he is able to discharge them. One great practical difficulty, however, is to discover such cases of neglect. Many wives are so long-suffering and uncomplaining that it is impossible to get them to admit neglect, while others seem to accept such treatment complacently as a matter of course. We find that these ante-natal factors are mainly syphilis and alcoholism on the part of either of the parents—ill-health, inadequate nourishment, overwork, and ignorance on the maternal side, and on the paternal side indifference to or neglect of the wants of the mother. The practical question now arises—How far do these factors come within the range of practical prevention and along what lines are these preventive measures to be sought for? As regards syphilis, which is recognised to be one of the most important of these, it is difficult to say what effective measures should be employed to bring it under control. It has been suggested that the time has now come when this disease should be made compulsorily notifiable and should be handed over to the Public Health Authorities to be dealt with on the lines of other infectious diseases. I think there is no doubt that some such measure would have a decidedly beneficial effect in diminishing

this terrible scourge, the seriousness of which is not fully realised by the public.

With regard to alcoholism, the measures promulgated or suggested for its control are so numerous that they would provide sufficient material for the whole of the time of a Congress such as this. I cannot now even enumerate these, but I think that the imposition of more stringent measures for the control of the habitual inebriate, and the more decided public reprobation of any degree of intoxication would have a decidedly beneficial effect in reducing its prevalence. Were this eradicated, we would have got rid of one of the most serious factors in ante-natal mortality. This has both a direct and an indirect effect—directly through impairing the health, and especially the nutrition, of the mother; it affects the vitality of the child: and indirectly by using up the family resources which should be utilised for food and other comforts for the expectant mother; it aggravates the state of poverty, if indeed it does not create it—while drunkenness on the part of the husband very frequently leads to indifference and direct cruelty both mental and physical. Where this is the cause of the husband's neglect to provide for the necessities of his pregnant wife, I do not think any measures the law can enforce are too strong to meet the necessities of the case. In dealing with the maternal factors we recognise that the well-being of the infant is to be influenced mainly through the mother. Her physical requirements at such a time are well defined. They are largely sufficient and proper food and freedom from overwork and worry.

Many women are hopelessly ignorant of the most elementary and essential facts concerning the hygiene of pregnancy. They do not realise the strain which this throws on their own physical resources or the extent to which their own health may adversely affect the health of their infant. They do not appreciate the virtues of fresh air, of cleanliness, of adequate sleep, of rest, which are so especially necessary at such a time. To dispel this ignorance which is very widespread, much good work is being done by health visitors. The work of the health visitor is having a very practical effect in the reduction of infant mortality by the advice which they give on the feeding and management of infants after birth. In their house-to-house visitation they meet with many expectant mothers, and when they take the opportunity of talking to them on simple matters of personal hygiene their advice is specially valuable and helpful at such a time. With regard to feeding, everyone must recognise the supreme importance of a proper supply of food to the expectant mother—proper both as regards quantity and kind. In many cases it is not so much the quantity as the kind of food which is at fault. Many women are altogether ignorant of the food value of the ordinary articles of diet, and a vast amount of money is squandered on food of little nutritive value, but easily prepared or requiring no preparation at all, when the same expenditure (or often less) would provide an ample and highly nutritious diet if laid out judiciously on some of the simpler and cheaper foodstuffs which, however, require to be cooked. One might have expected that with our system of compulsory education, and with cooking as a subject of instruction in so many of our schools, some knowledge of the food value of the simpler articles of diet and of the modes of cooking them so as to make them tempting and palatable would by this time have permeated even the poorer classes of the community. This, again, is a field in which the health visitor may do much valuable work. When we come to consider what assistance, if any, is to be given to the expectant mother who is in necessitous circumstances, we find that in all cases this necessity has not arisen from the same cause, and the treatment demanded is not precisely the same. Thus we have to deal with the mother who is herself a worker—

possibly the chief wage-earner for the family—who has not been able to make adequate provision for her pregnancy, and the loss of whose wages through her being compelled to cease work is the main cause of the family distress or destitution. This is a case which it seems to me ought to come within the scope of the sickness and invalidity scheme of the Government. The scheme, as unfolded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, is, in my opinion incomplete, inasmuch as it does not provide for invalidity pay during the latter months of pregnancy. The cessation of work during at least the last two months should be made obligatory on all workers, and during that time invalidity pay should be paid to the expectant mother. It certainly does make provision for proper skilled attendance at birth in the case of the working mother, and the wife of any of the insured employees, and as it includes medical attendance in the case of the worker, it will ensure medical advice being obtained for her whenever required during the course of the pregnancy. In this way much will be done to control or prevent some of the ante-natal factors in our infant mortality as far at all events as the regular worker is concerned. The expense will be provided by contributions by the worker herself, by her employer, supplemented by a grant from the State. In the case of what are known to be specially dangerous occupations such as workers in lead, phosphorous, arsenic, etc., special provision requires to be made for ceasing work at the commencement of pregnancy, and if the work of married women is absolutely necessary in such occupation, I think it is right that the trade may reasonably be handicapped to the extent of being required to make special provision for them in the case of pregnancy. We may reasonably look to the Government measure to deal with the working mother, but what about the mother equally necessitous, who will not be included in this scheme, whose distress is due to the low wages of her husband, to the irregular or casual nature of his employment, to illness or want of work? The benefits of the Government scheme are not in the meantime to be extended to the casual labourer. Here, again, we have two classes to deal with. One class in whom their poverty does not arise from alcoholism or laziness, but where we have the father realising his responsibilities, but quite unable to discharge them from one or other of the causes mentioned. Is it the duty of the State or the municipality to assist such, or must they rely on help from some of our philanthropic societies? Our charitable institutions can only help a very small proportion of these, only a comparatively few of them come under their notice, and not infrequently these are neither the most deserving nor the most needy, while help of this kind is always apt to be fitful and uncertain. We have here a woman who, in the performance of a function of the most vital importance to the State, indeed necessary for its very existence, brought to such a condition that her own health and that of her unborn child are in danger. She is not to become a permanent burden to the State or the community; she only requires assistance till she is able to help herself. Who is to do it? Has the State any obligation to the expectant mother who is about to perform a signal State service? Is it in any way concerned to see that the child soon to be born is cared for so that it may come into the world in a healthy condition and be likely to survive? I think it is. What form should such assistance take? Should it be financial help given by the municipality to expectant mothers where the income is below a certain figure or by seeing that she is provided with a sufficiency of wholesome and nutritious food? No doubt some will tell you that the proper solution of this problem would be that the State should see that every man gets a living wage—a wage on which he can live decently and bring

up a family respectably, and that it is the duty of the municipality to see that he is decently housed and provided with a healthy environment. I am not to discuss this great and thorny economic problem of wages. Undoubtedly this would do much to help to prevent many of those factors which contribute to our ante-natal mortality, but I fear that even with these conditions fulfilled the problem would not be entirely solved. The question which I am considering to-day is, What can we do under existing conditions? In Dundee we have been doing something for the last few years on the lines of feeding the expectant mother. This has been carried out at our restaurants for nursing mothers. These are primarily intended for mothers who are actually suckling their infants, and their principal objects are—first, to encourage breast feeding; second, to get the mothers to refrain from working; and third, to act as an educational centre to mothers. But we have always on our list a number of expectant mothers, who are able in this way to secure at least one good nourishing meal a day. We have four of these restaurants carried on, two by the municipality and two by the Dundee Social Union. Our industrial conditions in Dundee are somewhat abnormal. We have in our mills and factories an unusually high proportion of women workers, many of them married women, and a large number of men whose weekly wage does not exceed 14s. or 15s. Many of these are married and have families. In such cases the mothers' work is taken for granted as an element in the economic problem, and where this factor is compulsorily excluded by pregnancy, she is obviously unable to obtain sufficient nourishment and the other comforts so doubly necessary at such a time. Many of these cases apply at the restaurant for their dinner, and the number on our list is only restricted by financial considerations and the limitation of our resources. Where the circumstances are such that the applicant can pay the small sum of 2d. which is demanded, she is expected to do so, but where she is unable to do this she is put on the free list for a month or six weeks before her confinement. Every case is considered by the Committee of Management at their monthly meeting, and they determine whether the case is one for the free list or not, but the Superintendents of the restaurants have power to supply free dinners to those cases they believe to be necessitous till the circumstances have been considered by the Committee. Our feeding of the nursing and expectant mothers is not a matter of serious expense. For the sum of 2d. we are able to give them a good wholesome and nutritious meal, and we have the testimony of those who have experienced this that their own condition and that of their infant are decidedly better than on any previous occasion, and that as a result of this feeding before confinement many have been able to suckle their infants after birth which they had not previously been able to do. The expense incurred in carrying out this work cannot be met out of the rates. The Dundee Town Council have most generously given a grant of £250 a year out of the Common Good for the carrying on of the two restaurants under municipal management, and also granted £50 to assist those carried on by the Social Union. I have been associated with this movement since its initiation in 1906, and I have no hesitation in saying that it has been of immense value both to the expectant and nursing mother, and also had a most beneficial effect in the saving of infant life. These dinners also afford a favourable opportunity for short talks with the mother on points regarding the hygiene of pregnancy which are of considerable service. Where some such scheme of relief is not available at this time a considerable number of cases are added to the list of the destitute, both then and later on. I think that municipalities should be empowered to adopt such a scheme as this is and to finance it out of the rates. I know that in making

such a suggestion for the assistance of the wives of the casual labourer or the man with low wages one lays oneself open to the imputation that by doing so he is breaking an important principle in economics and merely compelling the community to make an indirect contribution to wages, thereby tending to depress them below the living wage line. Be that as it may, I think we cannot stand idly by and see thousands of infants sacrificed or brought into the world with such enfeebled vitality that they cannot survive, without seeing that some effective help is rendered at the most effective time. In those cases in which the inability to make proper provision for the emergency is not due to want of will but to want of power, I think you will agree that it is not only a duty but in the interests of the State itself to provide that amount of nourishment and skilled assistance which is absolutely necessary for the health of the mother and child. Then what about the mother whose destitution is solely or largely brought about by the misconduct of herself or her husband? I have already considered the necessity of dealing more stringently with the latter to compel him as far as possible to do his duty. As regards the undeserving mother, as our efforts are largely directed to the saving of infant life, I do not think that even she can be excluded from any scheme for providing her with sufficient food for the wants of herself and her unborn child, unless, indeed, one is prepared to advocate a confinement of nine months' duration in the case of the drunken mother.

I am convinced that work of this kind, coupled with the visitation of the homes by tactful women able to advise and guide the expectant mother in her doubts and difficulties, would do much to control those ante-natal factors which loom so largely in the question of infant mortality.

In Scotland we have not had the benefit of the Midwives Act extended to us, but in the large towns, at any rate in the City of Dundee, no person need want for skilled attention at birth. Some 20 per cent. of the cases here are attended by nurses from the Maternity Hospital, and, if necessary, these cases can obtain the services of our best specialists free of charge. In the case of many of those women when they present themselves at the Maternity Hospital some time before confinement is expected, the hospital sister, where she thinks the mother is being insufficiently nourished, refers her to the superintendent of one of our restaurants for assistance, and in this way many of those cases are brought to our notice.

There is one class of case, however, for which very little provision has been made—that is the expectant mother who is the subject of heart or kidney disease. In such cases pregnancy makes a greatly increased demand on the mother, who is less fit than another for the strain of her ordinary household duties. For such cases there is practically no provision at present. Maternity hospitals will not, as a rule, accept them until close on confinement, and general hospitals will not admit them during the last month or so of pregnancy. In France some provision has been made for the institutional treatment of women who, owing to disease or other conditions, require to rest during the last month of pregnancy. Dr. Ballantine has suggested the establishment of pre-maternity hospitals for this purpose and also for the careful study of ante-natal pathology. Such a scheme would undoubtedly meet a decided want. By these measures I think we may reasonably hope to reduce the contribution which pregnancy directly and the birth of debilitated children indirectly make to the general mass of destitution.

The Working of the Midwives Act, 1902.

By G. H. Fosbroke, D.P.H., Camb.

(County Medical Officer of Health and School Medical Officer for Worcestershire.)

The "Midwives Act, 1902," which was passed, in order to "secure better training of midwives, and to regulate their practice," as is well known, came into force on April 1st, 1903, and has without doubt successfully fulfilled many of the aims of its promotors. That it has imperfections, is not surprising: for I do not suppose that anyone expected, as it was the first enactment of the kind, that it would be otherwise.

Unquestionably the Act has raised, and is still raising, the standard of the midwives, who are called upon to attend at least 60 per cent., or even more, of the births in England and Wales, for it requires that after April 1st, 1910, no midwife shall "habitually and for gain attend women in childbirth, otherwise than under the direction of a qualified medical practitioner, unless she is certified under the Act."

Before this law was made, objections were raised to women being "certified" unless they had passed a qualifying examination. No doubt a good deal could be said in support of this objection; but fortunately Parliament set it aside, and gave women who had been in *bonâ fide* practice, prior to July 31st, 1901, an opportunity to enrol, and subsequently to be educated, or I should say, partially educated, by the inspectors who supervise them. The majority of such midwives were unquestionably ignorant of the proper way to treat lying-in women; but even so, the plight of many parturient women would have been a sorry one without them; for the shortage of midwives in many parts of the country would have been even greater than it is now.

Before making some suggestions for Amending the Act, I wish to say a few words with regard to the shortage and training of midwives. Except in one sparsely-populated locality, there is no shortage of midwives in Worcestershire. For that reason the local supervising authority thought the decision of the Privy Council to extend the period of grace from April 1st, 1910, to September 30th, 1910, in order that untrained women might gain admission to the roll, was a retrograde step.

Although Worcestershire is in a fortunate position, there is no doubt that the scarcity of midwives in some parts of England and Wales is a matter of serious import. How, then, can this shortage be met? There are three ways in which I think an adequate number of midwives can be provided. Firstly, wholly at the cost of the rates. Secondly, by associations supported by voluntary contributions, or thirdly, by a combination of these two methods. In my opinion, the time has not yet arrived for establishing rate-paid midwives; and I hope it will be long before it does. Nor do I think that parturient women, who are not destitute, as a rule would like to entirely depend upon charitable institutions.

The method I suggest is that local supervising authorities should train women, and that they, as well as destitution authorities, "approved societies" and "Local Health Committees," to be constituted by the "National Insurance," should subsidise nursing associations, who in return should allocate district nurses, who have passed the examination of the Central Midwives Board to localities where there is scarcity of midwives.

This is no theoretical scheme, but one which has been attended with much success in Worcestershire, where the local supervising authority have trained thirty midwives (at a cost of £600), several of whom have been put on the staff of the County Nursing Association. In 1903 only 7 per cent. of the Worcestershire midwives were trained, but at the present time 33 per cent. are trained.

The local supervising authority trained these women by means of grants made by the Higher Education Committee; but as it is possible that these committees may not always be disposed to make such grants, it is gratifying to find that the "Bill to amend the Midwives Act, 1902," laid before Parliament by the Lord President, contains a clause (13) by which local supervising authorities can pay for training midwives without appealing to education authorities for funds to enable them to do so.

The whole of the midwives trained by the Worcestershire authority were not put on the staff of the County Nursing Association; for some did not expect, or wish to wholly make their living by the practice of midwifery, as they either were married or had some vocation which did not fully occupy their time.

In urban districts I think the supply of midwives will, as a rule, be equal to the demand, and that qualified midwives, who are suitable to local requirements, will be able to entirely support themselves; but I do not anticipate that this will ever be the case in sparsely-populated places, for I have known several competent midwives who failed through no fault of their own, and had to leave the neighbourhood in consequence. In my opinion scarcity of midwives in rural districts can best be met by county nursing associations, in the way I suggest, provided these nurses do not expect higher fees than the local working classes can pay. The destitute, of course, cannot pay any fee; but in such cases Poor Law authorities can give "orders" for a doctor, or subsidise county nursing associations for their nurses to attend without cost to the lying-in women.

The objects of the Worcester County Nursing Association are to improve the nursing of the sick poor in their own homes:—

(*a*) By encouraging the formation of affiliated district associations.

(*b*) By training nurses and midwives.

(*c*) By supplying trained nurses and midwives to affiliated district associations.

(*d*) By regular periodical inspection of their own nurses.

And in the second place to provide skilled nursing for the sick, generally throughout the county:—

(*a*) By maintaining a staff of nurses to attend private cases.

(*b*) By maintaining a home hospital for the reception of patients for operations or special nursing treatment.

This Association is under the control of a general Committee, who have appointed an experienced lady superintendent to supervise all their district nurses and midwives; to inspect them from time to time, to select and train such women, and generally to manage the institution and the staff.

The association has two grades of district nurses on their staff:

(1) "Queen's Nurses," who cost about £100 per annum to maintain, and

(2) "Village Nurses," who cost £60 or £70 per annum.

The qualifications of "Queen's Nurses" are well known. Those of the "Village Nurses" are, that they have had at least a cottage hospital training of two years, and possess the Central Midwives' Board Certificate.

"Affiliated district associations" are formed in localities where district nurses and midwives are wanted, and although these do not as yet cover the whole of the

county, there are already sixty-six in existence, and the number is increasing rapidly. One of the reasons for this is that the associations are able to place trained midwives in sparsely-populated localities.

These affiliated district associations are supported by twenty Worcestershire Boards of Guardians, by honorary members, and the quarterly subscriptions of persons for whose benefit they are formed. In order that labourers, artisans, small tradespeople, and small farmers may secure the services of the nurses for sickness (non-infectious), or accident, the subscriptions vary from 2s. to 10s. per annum, according to their earnings. Subscribers of less than 5s. per annum can engage the nurse as a midwife for a fee of 5s., and the district associations sometimes arrange that if this low fee cannot be paid, it is either advanced on loan or remitted.

District nurses of the class I suggest can also be employed as health missioners in order to grapple with excessive infantile mortality; and furthermore, they could be retained by the local sanitary authority to treat—under medical supervision, of course—cases of "Inflammation of the eyes in infants (Ophthalmia Neonatorum)," a disease which certainly ought to be notifiable, and I am glad to say, on my suggestion, has been scheduled as notifiable by most of the local authorities in Worcestershire.

The Worcestershire County Council appointed their first health missioner in 1897, and now employ seven—six of whom are whole time officials. These ladies have materially helped to educate ignorant midwives, and have induced many of them to appreciate the value of cleanliness in its widest sense.

They not only regularly visit the midwives in order to see that obstetric bags and appliances are kept as they should be, but also interview lying-in women attended by midwives within a day or two of confinements. They are able to do this so promptly, as all births in the county are notified to me within forty-eight hours, in consequence of the County Council having adopted the "Notification of Births Act, 1907."

Leaflets giving advice to midwives and mothers as to the feeding and management of infants, and also containing instructions as to infants' eyes, are sent from my office to all lying-in women *attended by midwives* (but not to those attended by doctors), the day I receive notifications of births.

The Worcestershire Health Missioners are on my staff, and each is paid a salary of £2 per week, by means of annual grants also made by the Higher Education Committee.

As there is every probability that the "Public Health (Health Visitors) Bill, 1911," now before Parliament, will become law this session, the anomaly of education authorities being asked to pay public health officers will be removed. I regret to say that if it is passed as it now stands, its powers will be confined to districts, the authorities of which have adopted the "Notification of Births Act," for many authorities need, and probably would appoint, health missioners, without adopting the "Notification of Births Act."

Although the Worcestershire missioners do excellent work under the Midwives Act, at attempt to utilise their services as school nurses made them so unpopular with numbers of parents whose children were verminous, that work under the Education Acts had to be dropped.

The adoption of the "Notification of Births Act" in Worcestershire led to the discovery of numbers of women, practising midwifery "habitually and for gain," who had not previously been heard of: a result of which was that they were required to desist.

As two of these women refused to give up their illegal practice, they were proceeded against and fined; and as they had sent me several "Notification of Birth" cards, there was no difficulty in *proving* that their practice was "habitual." When these "proceedings" were taken, the mothers referred to on the notification cards were subpœnaed to give evidence that they paid their pseudo-midwives, and consequently it was easily proved that they were attending lying-in women "for gain," and not "rendering assistance in case of emergency."

Adoption of the "Notification of Births Act" also had another beneficial effect, inasmuch as it has led to the detection of many "still-births," which would not otherwise have been heard of. For instance:—

	Still-births notified in Worcestershire.					
	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.
By Midwives	57	79	78	90	123	253
By Doctors and Parents	—	—	—	—	79	125
Totals...	57	79	78	90	202	376

If any midwife attends many "still-births," special inquiry by the "Midwives Act" Medical Inspectors are made.

Through the notification cards, I learnt that the body of an infant who lived three days had been buried as "still-born."

The offence was admitted by the midwife, and the illegal interment was reported by the local supervising authority to the Registrar General: the only result of which was that he "seriously warned" the midwife as to her future conduct, and expressed the hope that this would have the effect of preventing any further irregularities!

"Still-births" ought certainly to be registered as births and deaths are; and I hope it will not be long before the recommendation of the Departmental Committee, who reported on the "Midwives Act," that "statutory provision should be made for the registration of still-births" is acted upon.

On March 17th, 1909, I had the honour of giving evidence before the "Departmental Committee appointed to consider the working of the Midwives Act, 1902," and then suggested certain amendments, several of which are included in the "Midwives (No. 2) Bill," now before Parliament. As this "Bill" may even yet be altered, I think it advisable to refer now to some of the points I raised, viz.:—

(1) That delegation of powers to district councils was most undesirable (Act S. 9).

Section 14 of the "Bill" repeals this.

(2) The stipulation in Section 1 (2) which prevents unenrolled midwives attending "habitually and for gain," otherwise than under the direction of a qualified medical man, needs defining; for it is not clear whether the medical man must be actually in attendance. Some midwives consider that they are acting under the direction of a qualified medical practitioner if their patient has engaged a doctor, or is in a "doctor's club," and an understanding exists that the doctor is not to be called unless the midwife considers it necessary. In a large number of cases, the doctor does not come until after the birth of the child, or may not come at all.

It should be made clear what constitutes "practising" (as a) "midwife," for even yet there is considerable confusion as to this.

The Central Midwives' Board have informed me that the "Midwives Act" in no way applies to "monthly nurses," as, in their opinion, there is a distinction to be drawn between holding the status of a midwife, and practising as a midwife.

They say, if a woman being a "midwife" within the meaning of the Act does not practice as such, but practises as a "monthly nurse," she is under no obligation to conform to the rules. Difficulties arise from time to time in the case of midwives who practice sometimes as midwives, and sometimes as monthly nurses, but as the Act stands at present this appears to be unavoidable.

Dr. Handford, County Medical Officer for Nottingham, has made the suggestion that a female who attends a woman through all the three stages of labour, and conducts all the necessary operations is a midwife, and cannot honestly be understood to be acting "under the direction of a qualified medical practitioner."

Section 11 (1) of the "Bill" probably may to some extent lessen the difficulty; for it requires any "certified woman" (and many "monthly nurses" are "certified") who has not given statutory notice to the local supervising authority of her intention to practice, and who attends any woman in child-birth in any capacity other than that of a midwife, and a duly qualified medical practitioner is not present at the time of the birth, to give notice to the local supervising authority within forty-eight hours from the birth, of the fact that she so attended.

(3) Before the name of a midwife who has been removed from the roll, is restored (Act S. 3, V.), the acquiescence of the local supervising authority should be obtained, because the local supervising authority must be better acquainted with the character of such a woman than the Central Midwives Board could possibly be. I understand that there has never been a case of "restoration to roll," except under very special circumstances, and the Central Midwives Board have passed resolutions directing notice to be sent to the local supervising authority upon any application for restoration. But, even so, I contend that there should be a statutory proviso giving the local supervising authority a voice in this matter.

The clause in the "Bill" (16) requiring the Central Midwives Board to give notice of the removal from the roll of a woman's name, does not go far enough; but it is satisfactory to see that the "Bill" (S. 10) will empower the board, when a midwives name has been removed from the roll, to prohibit her from practising in other capacities, and also to require her to give up her certificate.

(4) The contributions of the local supervising authority which may be required toward the expenses of the Central Midwives Board (Act 5) should be based upon the population of the county, and not in proportion to the number of midwives who have given notice of their intention to practice; otherwise local supervising authorities who were most active in seeing that all midwives were duly enrolled will be penalised for their activity; while local supervising authorities who have been inactive will be liable to small contributions.

The "Bill" alters this, and by it contributions "will be in proportion to the population" (3), instead of "in proportion to the number of midwives."

(5) The Central Midwives Board should have power to compel a supervising authority to make the supervision thoroughly efficient; and to send an annual report of the work they do to the Central Midwives Board. "General supervision" should mean that each midwife is visited by the inspecting officer at least twice a year, and oftener in special cases.

The "Bill" does not strengthen the hands of the Central Midwives Board in this way: and although it requires (S. 6) the Board to make an annual report to the Privy Council, the Board cannot require an annual report of local supervising authorities This, however, is to some extent, met by the "County Medical

Officers of Health (Duties) Order, July, 1910," which obliges county medical officers to make an annual report to the county council, a section of which is to be on the administration within the county of the Midwives Act, 1902, and to send copies of that report to *the Local Government Board*. It ought also to be obligatory to send these reports to the Central Midwives Board, and not as a matter of courtesy.

(6) It has long been felt that a local supervising authority should be able to temporarily suspend a midwife for negligence or misconduct (and misconduct should include falsification of the "registers" midwives are required to keep), and not only to be able to do so when "necessary in order to prevent the spread of infection" (Act S. 8 (3)). The "Bill" (clause 8 (b)) will give this power; and it will also empower the Board to suspend her, until the case has been decided, in lieu of, as hitherto, being obliged to strike her name off the roll.

(7) Medical men justly complain that the "Midwives Act" did not provide for paying their fees when summoned to difficult cases on the advice of midwives, and have urged that local supervising authorities should be required to make such payments.

I have always held that destitution authorities are the proper ones to pay these fees, because they have special facilities for ascertaining whether or not the fees paid ought to be recovered, and have officials to collect repayments.

The "Bill" (S. 17) arranges for boards of guardians to pay medical men for attendance in such cases; but as the "National Insurance Bill," just laid before Parliament, proposes to allow benefits to lying-in women to the extent of 30s., and possibly to arrange for medical attendance also, probably the proposals in the "Bill" may be modified.

(8) I am glad to say that the "Bill" requires (S. 9) local supervising authorities to provide midwives with all forms and books gratis. The Worcestershire Local Supervising Authority have done this for the past two years, and it is much appreciated by the midwives.

(9) Either by amendment of the "Midwives Act," or of the rules of the Central Midwives Board, now in force, midwives should be required (subject to conditions) to remain at home when asked by the local supervising authority, and should not be able to refuse the inspectors' admission to their houses, as some of them now do.

In conclusion, it may be of interest to some persons to know that the arrangement obtaining in Worcestershire, by which the assistant school medical officers act as inspectors of midwives, has been entirely satisfactory.

It has the advantage that the midwives are instructed by medical officers (two of whom are ladies) who also hold inquiries necessitating medical knowledge.

To a great extent this supervision is undertaken between "school sessions," and curtails travelling expenses.

The Prevention of Blindness from Ophthalmia Neonatorum.

By George Reid, M.D., D.P.H.
(County Medical Officer of Health for Staffordshire.)

I have been asked to give an account of a recent movement with which I have been associated for preventing blindness, the result of ophthalmia neonatorum, inflammation of the eyes of the newly-born. A conservative estimate has attributed to this cause one-third of the cases of permanent blindness in the country, and I have no hesitation in saying that, were it not for ignorance and neglect on the part of midwives and others in charge of lying-in women, blindness from this affection might be practically abolished. No doubt in time, through the operation of the Midwives Act, the number of cases will gradually diminish, but it must be remembered that the majority of midwives still practising come under the category of bona-fides or untrained women who were enrolled as midwives by reason of having been in practice twelve months previous to the passing of the Act. To these we cannot look for help.

Now with intelligent care of the infant such cases need hardly ever occur, and when they do occur simple treatment, if employed early enough—and that is of the utmost importance—should effect a cure practically in every case. As we cannot, under existing circumstances, expect that the care needful to prevent the occurrence of the ailment will be generally available, at any rate for working class families, and as the essentials of treatment are outside the ken of the ordinary midwife, some plan must be devised, first for getting early knowledge of the cases, and secondly for supplying the simple though essential treatment. In other words, the notification of such cases to the Health Authorities must be made compulsory, and steps must be taken to ensure that medical attendance, and, if need be, skilled nursing are provided.

Having regard to the serious consequences which follow the unskilled treatment of such cases, one may well ask why, seeing that the preventive machinery has now been proved to be so simple and inexpensive, local authorities have hitherto been content to let things alone and thereby needlessly incur a very large expenditure in educating blind children in order that they may secure what, at best, can only be a precarious livelihood. You must not suppose that I am accusing local authorities of being dilatory in this respect, because until lately their expert advisers have not brought forward any specific proposals for dealing with the question. These experts, therefore, must accept what blame there may be, and salve their consciences with the knowledge that usually it is the other way about.

Perhaps I may be excused for mentioning that the first practical proposals for dealing with this question originated in Staffordshire, the credit being mainly due to the late Mr. Greatbatch, Chairman of the Deaf and Blind School, Stoke-on-Trent, whose lamented death occurred quite recently. The circumstances which led to his moving in the matter were as follows: The question of increasing the accommodation at the Deaf and Blind School was under consideration, and, in reply to comments by Mr. Greatbatch regarding the large expenditure which would have to be incurred, Mr. Folker, the Consulting Ophthalmic Surgeon of the institution, said that there would be no need for any enlargement if measures could be devised for providing proper treatment for ophthalmia neonatorum

cases. This impressed Mr. Greatbatch very forcibly, and, accordingly, he approached the County Council and the local authorities in the county, with the result that conferences were held and a scheme formulated which is now in successful operation. No scheme with which I have been connected has ever been launched with such little trouble, the reason no doubt being that the arguments in favour of it, both humanitarian and economic, are so obvious and convincing.

For a trifling expenditure, as I shall show presently, this cause of permanent blindness may be practically abolished, and as it costs £500 to educate a blind child, compared with £30, the cost of educating a normal child, the financial gain is very considerable. But this by no means represents the total economic gain, for a blind person is of much less value to the State than one who possesses his sight.

Now with regard to the scheme. In the first place, the public health staff must receive early notification of the cases, and this is provided for by including the affection among diseases which are notifiable under the Compulsory Notification of Infectious Diseases Act. In addition to this it is desirable, although not essential, that the Notification of Births Act, 1907, should be adopted, as the health visitor appointed under that Act is then available for following up the cases after the completion of the treatment in case of relapse, and for the discovery of cases which may not have been notified—emergency cases, for example, not attended either by a doctor or midwife.

In the second place, provision must be made for the medical treatment and skilled nursing of the cases under Section 133 of the Public Health Act, 1875.

Let me sketch, shortly, what the procedure is. On receipt of a notification, say, from a midwife, the Medical Officer of Health causes inquiry to be made into the circumstances, and takes steps to ensure that medical help is at once obtained, informing the medical man at the same time that, if required, the authority will provide nurses for the case. If, on the other hand, the case is notified by a medical man, he is at once asked whether he desires that nurses shall be supplied.

Of course, the majority of such cases occur among the poorer classes, and, as a rule, they are not in a position to pay for skilled nursing, even for the few days that such is usually required. This being the case, it is essential that the authority shall supply and pay for nursing help in cases which require it. Among the very poor, however, the home conditions may be such that removal of the cases to the workhouse infirmary may be necessary, in which case the Poor Law Authority must defray the cost of treatment. Apart from such cases, it is most desirable, for obvious reasons, that the needful treatment shall not involve the removal to an institution of the mother and child.

So far, I believe, with two exceptions, no difficulty has been experienced in inducing parents to avail themselves of the advantages of the scheme, but no doubt cases will occasionally be met with in which the action of the authority may be resented, and to meet such cases it may be necessary to institute proceedings under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act. One such prosecution, however, would probably have the effect of breaking down all subsequent opposition to the scheme.

I believe all the authorities in whose districts the scheme is in operation at present have assumed the responsibility of providing and paying for the nursing assistance needful, but, so far, in one district only has the provision been made for defraying the cost of medical treatment also. No doubt experience will ultimately show that such provision is essential to complete success; medical men

should not be asked by a public authority to undertake the treatment of this or any other form of illness unless the request carries with it an obligation to pay for such services. If it should happen that the family is in a position to refund all or a portion of the cost, then the authority has the power to recover, but the medical man should be relieved of all responsibility in that respect. Sooner or later the basis of payment for such services will have to be fixed, and, whatever sum may be agreed upon, it is desirable that it should be uniform throughout the country and inclusive. In the one district where such provision has been made the fee paid is £1 1s. per case, and probably that may prove to be a reasonable one. No doubt in a certain number of cases that sum would be but poor remuneration for the services required; on the other hand, there are many mild cases which require little treatment, and these must be regarded as a set-off against the serious ones, which call for more prolonged treatment.

Now as regards results. I have a good many returns from different districts in which the scheme has been in operation for varying periods, but time is required for all new schemes to get into effective operation, and, for that reason, I propose to utilise certain figures which the Medical Officer of Health of Stoke-on-Trent has been good enough to supply me with, extending over a period of six months ended March 31st, 1911, and subsequent to a period during which every effort was made to perfect the machinery.

The population of Stoke-on-Trent is 249,249, and during the six months the number of cases of ophthalmia neonatorum notified was sixty-eight, representing a rate per annum per thousand of the population of 0.54, and per thousand registered births of eighteen.

In seventeen of the sixty-eight cases, or 25 per cent., day nurses were supplied by the authority, and in three cases, 4.4 per cent., both day and night nurses were supplied; the percentage of cases in which nurses were supplied, therefore, was 29.4.

The average numbers of days during which the day nurses and night nurses attended were 9.4 and 7 respectively, and the mean cost per case in which nurses were supplied amounted to £2 12s. 6d., representing an average cost per case notified of 15s. 5d. In other words, the cost of the scheme as regards nursing, calculated per thousand of the population, only amounted to 4s. 2¾d., and if medical attendance at £1 1s. per case were included the cost would be 5s. 10½d., by no means a large sum having regard to the results which may be looked for, and representing a cost per case of only half that of isolating a case of scarlet fever in hospital.

Now it is impossible to say how many cases would have resulted in permanent blindness had this scheme not been in operation, but, as a fact, disregarding four cases of premature birth which died, and two cases in which the diagnosis, by midwives, were not verified, among the remaining sixty-two cases only one terminated in blindness, and in one other case, in which both eyes were seriously affected, the sight of one eye only was lost.

In all probability even the one failure and the partial failure might have been avoided had it not been that needless delay occurred between the onset of the symptoms and the provision of the nurse, namely, in the case of the total blindness, eight days, and in the other case, four days.

I think, then, it may be said that experience has proved the scheme to be a phenomenal success, and there is no reason why it should not be equally successful wherever adopted. Of course, having regard to the comparatively small number of cases, it is impossible to predict from those I have recorded that equal success may

always be looked for, but with prompt notification of all cases, however slight, and the immediate supply of nurses when needful, I am confident that wherever adopted such a scheme will amply justify the trifling expenditure it entails.

Infant Consultations.

By G. F. McCleary, M.D., D.P.H.
(Medical Officer of Health, Hampstead.)

The continuance of an excessively high rate of infant mortality during the closing years of the nineteenth century stimulated public health workers not only to develop more energetically the preventive methods that were then at work, but also to cast about for other and more effective measures. It became evident that the problem in the main was one of personal hygiene. Sanitary improvements, though important and essential, are not enough to do away with infant mortality. If babies die it is chiefly because they are not properly cared for, and the authorities charged with the protection of the public health cannot be said to have fulfilled this supremely important duty until they have taken all practicable steps to ensure that all babies within their areas are fed and tended in the right way. With the realisation of these facts there came a widespread movement for the popularisation of infant hygiene, chiefly by means of advisory leaflets and the teaching of health visitors; and some workers went for guidance to France, where for a long time infant mortality had been widely regarded as a grave national danger. In France it appeared infant mortality was being attacked mainly by the establishment of preventive agencies known as *Consultations de Nourrisons*, the objects of which were to instruct mothers in infant hygiene, to keep the infants under systematic medical supervision, and to provide food for those infants who could not be fed naturally.

The honour of establishing the first infant consultation belongs to the late Professor Budin, who had his consultation at work at the Charité Hospital, Paris, in 1892. This consultation was restricted to the infants born in the hospital. The mothers were encouraged to bring their babies weekly to the consultation to be weighed and medically examined. Every effort was made to encourage breast-feeding, but when this was impossible the mother was supplied with artificial food for the baby in the form of sterilised milk in separate bottles, each bottle containing sufficient for one meal. The supply of milk, however, was only a subsidiary feature of the work, the chief object of which was the regular medical supervision of the mother and the baby and the encouragement of breast-feeding. The infant consultation rapidly became popular in France and soon spread to other countries. In England it was introduced as a part of the work of the Infant Milk Depôts that were established by several sanitary authorities in the early years of the present century, but consultations were afterwards started without the supply of milk forming part of the work. This year the establishment of infant consultations has been stimulated by the formation of the Society of Infant Consultations, the hon. secretaries of which are Dr. Ronald Carter and Dr. Lane-Claypon.

I have been able to collect information of twenty-five infant districts in Great Britain in which infant consultations are at work. My chief source of information, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Ronald Carter, consists of the replies to a series of questions addressed by the Society of Infant Consultations to 500 Medical Officers of Health, and further information has been gathered from Mr. I. G. Gibbon's valuable report on Schools for Mothers, which is published by the National League for Physical Education and Improvement. It appears that at the present time there are at least twenty-five districts in which infant consultations, with regular medical supervision of the infants, have been established. In thirteen districts the infant consultations are municipal institutions, forming part of the work of the Public Health Department, and in most of the other districts the consultations, though under voluntary management, work in co-operation with the sanitary authority, and are more or less under the supervision of the medical officer of health.

For the work of an infant consultation no elaborate equipment is required. A French writer has observed that three things only are necessary—a weighing machine, an apparatus for sterilising milk, and the devotion of a doctor; and some would say that the second may be dispensed with. There should be two rooms—a waiting-room and a consulting-room; appliances for weighing the babies, cards or books for taking a proper record of each case and means for maintaining the rooms at a suitable temperature. No drugs of any kind are given. The advice is directed to regulating the diet and general hygiene of the baby. If the child is ill the mother is urged to consult her own doctor. Milk may be supplied for the infants who cannot be fed naturally. At the municipal consultations in Sheffield and Barking dried milk is supplied in cases of this kind.

This afternoon we are discussing the work of public health authorities in relation to birth and infancy, and it will be useful to consider what place the infant consultation takes in that work. It is now an accepted principle that the protection of infant life is mainly a matter of personal hygiene, the hygiene of the mother as well as the child, and that it is the duty of public health authorities to do what they can to instruct mothers in the things that are necessary for the successful rearing of babies. The Notification of Births Act, which should now be made to apply to the whole country, gives the authority the knowledge required for preventive work, and in many districts the popularisation of infant hygiene is carried on by the distribution of advisory literature and the personal teaching of health visitors. But health visiting, valuable as it is, has its limitations, which it would be unwise to ignore. Health visitors can only teach the general principles of infant hygiene. This, to be sure, is highly important work; if a health visitor has done no more in her district than abolish the long-tubed bottle, the dummy teat, and the taking of stout by nursing mothers, she has achieved results of which she may well be proud. That such things should be abolished is a general rule which admits of no exception. But the teaching of general principles needs to be supplemented by the advice of a skilled physician in applying the principles in certain cases. Every baby is a separate individual, and may from time to time need an individualised regimen both of diet and general hygiene. In cases of this kind medical advice and supervision are necessary. For instance, it is a good general rule that a baby should have nothing but mother's milk for the first nine months, but in many cases this is impossible, and it becomes necessary to take the responsibility of advising the mother to have recourse to artificial feeding. That responsibility is so great that it should only be taken by a doctor. In all such cases the infant consultation is an invaluable

help to the health visitor, and health visiting becomes much more effective when carried on in conjunction with a consultation.

It should be clearly understood that the infant consultation is not a dispensary or something like the out-patient department of a children's hospital. Its object is not to cure disease but to prevent it, and if a child is brought to the consultation suffering from any condition that cannot be remedied by dietetic or hygienic treatment the mother is advised to consult her own doctor. The work of the consultation is essentially educational and preventive; it instructs mothers in mothercraft, keeps the infants under systematic medical supervision, and varies their regimen as occasion requires, and refers cases of disease to the proper agencies for treatment. This work is sufficiently important to employ the trained faculties of a skilled physician.

One advantage of the infant consultation is that it can be readily coordinated with other departments of preventive work. Its relation to health visiting has already been indicated. One of the duties of a health visitor should be to search out cases that need to attend the consultation. It can co-operate with the various agencies that have been formed for supplying food for nursing mothers or infants for whom artificial feeding is necessary. In many districts arrangements have been made, usually by philanthropic agencies, but in at least one town, Dundee, by the sanitary authority, to supply necessitous nursing mothers with cheap dinners and other forms of food. The cases where this kind of assistance is needed should be selected by the doctors at the consultation, and it should be made a condition that the baby should be brought regularly to the consultation.

In conclusion, I would urge that the work of the infant consultation should be regarded as an extension of the principle of the public medical inspection of children, which in the case of school children has been applied in practice on a large scale by the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907. The case for medical inspecton, strong as it is in regard to school children, is even stronger in regard to infants, for they are peculiarly subject to adverse influences, and are in many cases most inadequately protected against such influences, as is shown by our infant mortality figures, which although reduced from what they were, are still far too high. To provide for the medical inspection and supervision of infants is, in my view, part of the work of public health authorities in relation to birth and infancy, and no public health department should be looked upon as completely equipped without the services of a sufficient number of doctors skilled in the special needs and ailments of babies.

The Nursery School.

By W. Leslie Mackenzie, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P.E.
(Medical Member of the Local Government Board for Scotland.)

France, in the year 1897, had 2,509 public Ecoles Maternelles, with 454,474 children of 2 to 6 years; 3,350 private Ecoles Maternelles, with 283,095 children —a total of 5,859 such schools with 737,569 children.

Belgium, in the year 1905, had 2,771 Ecoles Gardiennes, with 258,149 children out of a population of 446,084 children of 3 to 6 years.

These figures indicate what two foreign countries think of the Nursery School.

The whole question has been fully investigated from the English standpoint—I say English, because the difficulties of the 3 to 5 year old children have been more considered in England than in Scotland—by the Consultative Committee of the English Board of Education. That admirable report contains nearly everything that is worth knowing on the Nursery School. It costs 1s. 5d. What I have to say here is simply an introduction to that report, which every person concerned with the administrative problems of the Nursery School ought to read in detail. It is a practical guide to the education of early infancy.

The problem of the Nursery School is the problem of how to make the inadequate home of the poor adequate for the primary purpose of a true home—namely, the floating of a child into life. For it may be taken for granted that there are homes among the poor where the inadequacy for child culture is too manifest to need proof. This proof, however, may be found in the report of the Consultative Committee, if anyone here has not had experience enough of the obvious merely from the summing up of his own casual memories of visits to the homes of the poor. To me the case is not worth proving. Twenty years in the Health Service have made statistics superfluous. It is enough simply to remember the smell of the one-roomed or two-roomed house of the slums, or the crush of the one- or two-roomed house of the better streets, the crowd of young children, the haste of life in the hot-houses and in the over-grown gardens of human beings. It would be easy to make the impression objective by filling the pages with tables of figures that should prove the cubic space too small for babies, the washing accommodation too meagre for a family of two, not to say seven, the bed accommodation too narrow for the sound sleep of two infants, not to speak of five children and at least two adults. Or you may have pictures by the score of single-room houses among the miners' rows, where the active life of the hardest working and hardest playing workmen, and the most robust and motherly women flows into moulds that leave no space for the expansion of the body or the soul, and fit the child grown there only for a flower-pot in the same garden. Think of thousands of these one- and two-roomed houses, and understand that a richly endowed life is possible there, but a clean civilisation is not. If once in a way fine character and fine habit emerge, it is only a chance among chances, not a foreseen result among results. Think, too, of the homes one room larger, where persons one stop better grow and emerge. The children are a degree cleaner, and the mothers are a degree more human, and the fathers are a degree more foresighted. But the struggle towards full and good life is still too hard for all but the robust-minded and the strong-bodied, for those whose will is not clogged with the needs of the moment, whose feelings are yet too young to be warped by the terrible stresses of industrial duty. But even they come out maimed or twisted.

If you wish more models of the inadequate house, you may find them by the tens of thousands in any great town, and by the hundred in any village, and by the twos and threes in any hamlet or farm. The myth that the child can educate or amuse himself on nothing in solitude is less a myth in the country, because nature seems to fill his capacity for reaction with flowers and fruits, and in this there is occasionally some truth. It is a view that appeals to the people brought up in the good middle class quarters of the cities, but it appeals less to those

brought up themselves in the country, where the fertility of still nature is counterbalanced by the sterility of human ideas. For there a child may live years by the sea and not know anything of its life, or among the hills and learn nothing of their mystery, or among the animals and harvest fields and lose everything of their capacity to feed his imagination or his after years of feeling. The life in the country may by the ignorance and exhaustion of parents be as barren as the life in the meanest of mean streets, and, though the need for the nursery school is less obvious, it is only because the need is masked by the kindlier wealth of organic nature. But, in the rows of the collier villages, even the flowing beauties of nature are wanting, and you have nothing for the infants of 2 to 5 to wade among but the filth and nastiness of a life that has never been brought up to resent familiarity even with the major indecencies.

Is any further argument wanted to point the need for the extra nursery—the Co-operative Nursery School? Every farm, every hamlet, every village, every colliery barrack row, every street in the city, each needs its nursery school; for wherever there is but one or two rooms for the family of more than one, there is need also for a nursery school, and nothing but the Nursery School will in some little degree make up to the budding rose the want of space to grow and to flower.

But you doubt the value of the Nursery School educationally? You are ready to say that the child is better running wild than playing with children of its own age in a room sheltered from the killing wind and the death-dealing rain and snow. How little you can have studied the actuality, and how little you can recall of your own nurture and the dark patches of pain it left on your mind. Surely you do not suggest that for a child to knock casually about the streets of a dirty town—and all towns might be cleaner—is better than for him to look in for a few hours at the infant club and see what is doing for the day, and fall asleep if he is not interested, and take no harm before he awakens. And if you think that he gets no educational good from the experience, then we are to accept your curious view that the dirty starved environment of the over-filled one-roomed or two-roomed house is better than the fairy-land of the Nursery School, that system of any sort is bad for the infant even when it is a system fitted like a garment to the play of the infant mind, that life in the wild street is the only life that suits the running active child, who hourly seeks something fresh to build into his mind, but cannot run long without a rest. You cannot remember the need for heaps of sand when you were young, and the need for things to knock down and put up again, and the need for talking to yourself about something always new and to your fellow men about everything old. For, as soon as the child achieves his yesterday, life is already old, and the need for company, for talk, for ideas, for direction, in a word for education, is imperatively felt. It is the search for it that redeems the solitary child from destruction, and the satisfying of this need that justifies the provision of the infant club, which is the Nursery School. The club may be wisely or unwisely furnished. As with the adult house so with the infant club; it takes a genius to furnish it with the right furnishings and fittings. But the genius appeared over a century ago when Pestalozzi (1745) and Frœbel (1782) were born, and here and there the burgess mind has taken kindly to their ideas.

But possibly you wish a still more fundamental justification for the Nursery School. Know then that for the young child no house is big enough or good enough that does not have in it other children for company. The solitary child, whose only company is an occasional adult, suffers from emotional atrophy, and

will never get to his full growth, or get there only at the expense of some twist in his final stature. The necessary company is what the Nursery School offers. If you doubt this, go to a kindergarten in the slums of some city and see for yourselves what the re-action in each individual case is, or go to the Pestalozzi-Frœbel House in Berlin, or to an Ecole Maternelle in France. The photographs, which are innumerable, give you a fair impression, but they do not convey the perpetual movement of the perpetual dream freshly constructing its masterpieces over the plain earth. The children in their little groups are filled to overflowing, each with his own ideas, and the need for expressing them in some movement, or some touch, or some model, or some other objective creation that for the moment he finds beautiful and satisfying, and then destroys, to re-create a hundred times on better lines, as the free architect of his own expression of life. To get these results each child needs the stimulus of the imitation of others. He needs hints from someone, for the perpetual artist in him is continually looking for subjects, and he will use whatever comes to hand in the gutter if he does not find something more attractive in the well-placed infant garden.

And the reaction of the parents is no less striking than the reaction of the children. Their minds are opened to new interests. Their homes grow clean and bright. They fill window boxes with growing flowers, and ask you, not without a shy pride, to come and see *their* children's garden.

How does the Nursery School prevent destitution or tend to prevent it?

Let it be said at once that the need for the Nursery School is only one of the needs that, if left unsatisfied, make for destitution, but it is a real need. How does it arise? Simply enough. Take a typical working man's family of five. Two are over 5 years old, and at school. Three are under 5 years, and at home. Of the three, one is 4 years old—just old enough to be getting every hour of the day into "mischief." "Mischief" is an ethical term invented by incapable and overdriven mothers to justify them in punishing their children for exploring the immediate environment—the coal-hole, for instance, or the ash-pit, or the gutter. Biologically, mischief-making is the best presage of fitness to survive in the struggle for existence, when that struggle happens to require initiative and enterprise. But in these super-sensitive days, there seems to be a growing tendency to regard all the innocent trickeries of children as proofs of Mendelian sin. If an infant yells with delight when an old meat tin gets kicked down a staircase, to the alarm of his elders, he is an incipient "hooligan." In reality, what he needs is a place to kick the tin in and yell to his own little heart's content, and then sleep when he is weary. The Nursery School is just the right place—if it is in the right hands.

But there is another child of $2\frac{1}{2}$, easily led, but not easily kept. And there is a baby of six months on the breast. Given that the mother must cook, wash, scrub, shop, and mend, she has not too much energy left to suckle the one infant and to supervise the free kindergarten studies of the other two. And, if to her overwork *at* home she adds several hours' work a day *from* home, the baby may or may not die, but the other two will go on exploring the environment and gather the seeds of the rich harvest that is reaped in after years by the sickles of the Poor Law, the Criminal Law, the Vagrancy Law, and the other after-the-fact laws for handling the ethically unfit.

In the middle-classes, a family of five children needs at least a cook, a housemaid, sometimes a house-table-maid, a nurse, and a nursery governess. The washing is always sent out, and a charwoman occasionally comes in. The

mother counts, of course, but she delegates the supervision to her elaborate service. To imagine that the results will be as good if the functions of cook, housemaid, charwoman, washerwoman, nurse, and nursery governess are all discharged by the mother is to betray a woeful inexperience of facts. The Nursery School is an effort to relieve the over-driven mother of some of her work in order that she may have energy left to make her small home more efficient. *That* is how the Nursery School helps to prevent destitution.

But there are dangers.

1.—Parental Responsibility.

The danger of impairing parental responsibility is the least of all. So far as increased tension of parental responsibility is a preventive of destitution, the obligations created for parents by the Nursery School must be counted on the preventive side. The parent's energy is economised by the provision of a safe and suitable place for the children she is unable to look fully after during the day. The privilege of having such a place stimulates the parent's interest in procuring for her child the advantage of adequate and reliable supervision, suitable feeding, suitable working, safe conduct out and home. The stimulation of her interest is increased by the increased interest of the child itself, by the need for preparing it in the morning, by the expectation of its return in the evening, by the increased intercourse of mother and child with other mothers and other children, and, above all, by the increased intercourse of school and home. The school at any stage of the child's life is simply a specialised part of the home; but the Nursery School aims at being a genuine home, where the home atmosphere is the main condition, and the evolution of the natural home life the main object.

So far from diminishing social responsibility, all day schools, like all hospitals for children, really increase the normal parent's feeling of social responsibility. Responsibility is revealed to the mother by the new outlet for advancing the child's welfare.

Anyone that has watched the effects of a small kindergarten, as in the Edinburgh Canongate, will not readily raise the question of parental responsibility. The kindergarten life intensifies a thousandfold the interest of the mothers in their children. In at least two places known to me in Edinburgh, the effect of the kindergarten or nursery school has been a progressive transfiguration of parental interest.

There is a paradox I do not understand. Every year sees the parent saddled with some new duty to his child—some new and more complex responsibility; yet, at every social science congress or conference I have attended or read about, for at least twenty years, some strong man, usually over middle age, has declared that parental responsibility is being steadily undermined. At our next conference we should have an Ethical and Psychological Section, where this paradox can be resolved—historically, economically, psychologically, sociologically, ethically!

2.—Infection.

The danger of infection is very great and very real. The age of 3 is a very susceptible age. The massing of children increases the explosive infections potential. But the remedy surely is—small schools, carefully supervised by a medical man. The Consultative Committee disadvises any Nursery School of

more than thirty children. In France, I have seen an Ecole Maternelle of 160, and from all one could gather at a single visit the danger of infection was not a discouragement. It is certain that this danger has not prevented the establishing of Nursery Schools in France.

In the present stage of health administration, the parent takes certain diseases for granted as necessary incidents of childhood. This ignorance and indifference it is very difficult to dispel. But, as the medical inspection to schools goes forward, and the public health machinery gets specialised to the right degree, the health authorities will find it profitable to give minute attention to every collection of young children, and will thus get much closer to the home.

3.—Ventilation.

It is disappointing to learn that ventilation is one of the main difficulties in all schools, not least in Nursery Schools. But this is a passing phase of school construction. There is no need to despair of a reasonable quantity and quality of air. If the Nursery School is well placed for sunshine, well warmed, well lighted, and fitted for cross-ventilation, I cannot see why it should not be better than most houses of one and two rooms. All schools with windows on one side only, should be condemned. But details of structure I have no time to discuss. I merely remind you of the fundamental principle. Men imagine that schools are ventilated by air. It is not so. Schools are ventilated by brains.

4. The Economic Danger.

It is said that, by providing for the child, the Nursery School makes it easier for the mother to go out and work, so lowering the general wages and increasing destitution or the contributory causes of destitution. The answer seems plain. If the Nursery School does have this effect —and it is a question for economic analysis —then the problem simply is, which is the greater evil—the under-paid casual labour of the mother, or "the sacrifice of the child's future?"—to use Sir John Simon's phrase. The sacrifice of the child's future does not seem a satisfactory solution for the over-work of married women. And remember that the Nursery School is not a new social structure. It is really a functional substitute for a home attendant or home "minder." If the mother stays at home, the mother and child may both starve. If the mother must go out in order to escape destitution, she will not be prevented from going out by the necessity of leaving her child at home. She will find for it an attendant, good or bad, or send it to the Nursery School instead. What the home-attendant does casually for some pay or none, the Nursery School does systematically. It is, in fact, a method of decasualising labour. Indeed, the discovery that, in our present conditions, many mothers, in order to earn a living, had to leave their children at home, was one of the reasons for starting the Nursery School.

Whatever turns out to be the passing method of re-organising married women's labour, the Nursery School will find a legitimate place, for the Nursery School is the necessary school-room of the one or two-room dwelling. What cannot be supplied by the single house can be supplied by the house-group. The rent of the one-room house does not "run to" a school-room, or a nursery governess. But, if ten houses provide twenty infants of 3 to 5, the combination might "run to" a common nursery. And if, as the Consultative Committee suggest, the room be a room near an ordinary elementary school, the extra expense of room and "minder," not to say teacher, should not be a heavy burden on the school

fund, and the relief of duty to the individual mother would be out of all proportion great. And if you wish to see what an unspeakable difference the presence of a Nursery School makes to a big block of houses, visit some of the new buildings set up by the Spar-und-Bau-verein of Berlin. There you will find building blocks designed from the first to provide playgrounds and kindergartens. The rents are adjusted to include a trained kindergarten teacher. It would take too long to describe details, but the impression I got from three of those house-groups, two in Berlin and one large group in Charlottenburg, entirely confirms all I have seen elsewhere and all I have said here. Those buildings are worked somewhat on the "co-operative tenants" system. A visit to one of their schoolrooms or one of their courts dispels the idea that German children do not know how to play. The new Rothschild buildings in Paris offer another superb example of what common service can do, on economic conditions, to provide a crèche and a nursery school as one among many necessary specialisations of the functions of the home.

Discussion.

Alderman B. Broadbent (Huddersfield), having congratulated the authors of the papers, said he would like to make a few remarks of rather a general character. He would like it firmly established in their minds, as it had been in his own for a very long time, that the chief aim and object of any attempts to control infantile mortality was to prevent the production of the unfit, who ultimately became the destitute. It had always been obvious to him since he commenced his work in this movement that if they had an unhealthy baby they had an unhealthy child; if they had an unhealthy child they had an unhealthy boy or girl, and so on, and it was this that produced the destitute. He would begin even before Dr. Templeman began with the hygiene of the unborn. He would begin with the hygiene of those who within the next five years would become the parents of children and who within the next ten years would become parents of children. He would begin with the boys and girls in the elementary schools who were approaching the age of leaving. Let them have every possible factor brought to bear for doing this work. There was one thing he intensely objected to being considered, and that was as an expert. He had never been an expert in any way whatever. They were in the position of people who saw an emergency and who saw circumstances of difficulty, and although they might be described as those people who rushed in where angels feared to tread, yet they did rush in and they could not help rushing in when they saw the children die and knew the things which produced those conditions. How could they help doing their utmost to alter these conditions? They did not sit in their studies and gather statistics. They knew the babies and the homes and the parents, and they dealt with those. They dealt with the things which came to their hands as best they could. They could not stand by when the house was on fire. Even if it was only a bucket of water they must use it; they must try and organise the rest into some sort of effort to stop the fire. When they saw a destructive agency at work destroying their members they could not postpone action, although they might be ignorant of what they might call the scientific basis of all these works. No, they tried to do the utmost which lay in their power. In an emergency they used the first thing which came to hand, and the thing which came to hand with many of them there was municipal organisation. How could they best use their municipal organisation? But he found to his surprise, and to the surprise of other people, when he came to

use municipal organisations—the medical officers and the Health Committees—for stopping infantile mortality that the organisation had been made for the very purpose for which they wanted to apply it. From the Local Government Board right away down they had the most admirable instrument for preventing this source of destitution by preventing children growing up unfit. They wanted fit and healthy children to grow up, and in their municipal health administration they had the most favourable means of producing this good thing. He asked them to use it to the utmost. They had a Local Government Board always ready to support anything for this object, and he was delighted to see the Insurance Bill come in and to see that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was prepared to spend a million and a half of money on the object they had in view. A million and a half was a big sum of money, and his only fear was that being so big a lot of it might be wasted. He thought it would be one of the functions of all those interested in this particular line of the prevention of destitution by the raising of healthy individuals to see that the many calls were put in a right shape for effectively accomplishing the most desirable end they had in view. He did not despair of seeing the calls on the fund put in such a shape that they would be entirely beneficial to the work they had in hand.

Miss Amy Hughes (Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses) said they had heard of many ways in which infantile mortality and the education of mothers was to be dealt with, and having obtained an intimate knowledge of the way these people lived from the experience of twenty years as a district nurse she could thoroughly endorse what had been said about the conditions of the homes. With regard to the problem of dealing with those questions which affected the unborn children and the mothers, she came that day to suggest that those interested should remember that they had to their hands an army of women who were prepared to co-operate and to help as far as possible in this great national work. They were an army of women who were trained nurses, who were qualified women from the technical point of view and who in addition had special experience in supervising and dealing with the people in their own homes and who had had their attention directed to this special problem. A large proportion of these women were widows, and many of them held a certificate. They did ask when these great efforts were being made that instead of ignoring the experience and the work of these women the authorities should, whenever possible, take advantage of their experience and expert knowledge. There were now some 2,000 Queen's nurses working in the United Kingdom, and in connection with country associations another 1,000 working as village nurses who had been described by the Medical Officer of Health for Worcestershire. They had some twenty-two affiliated county associations, Staffordshire and Worcestershire amongst them, and throughout the whole of England and Wales this large army of women were prepared to help. Might she point out that with all this increased effort in the homes of the people they were a little inclined to forget that after all the unfortunate mother was a little bit inclined to be over-inspected and over-visited. She might even also say the unfortunate father, but she had not much sympathy with him. (Laughter.) She would plead that in the smaller places the experience and qualification of these existing district nurses should be utilised. After all, they only wished to be health missionaries, as the great founder of the district nurses, Florence Nightingale, wished them to be. They did not wish to usurp the functions of the sanitary inspector or to intrude themselves beyond their proper province as workers to carry out the orders of the medical men. But as women who had had their attention directed to the needs of the people everyone of them could amplify and speak with authority of the cases which had been touched upon by the writers of the papers. She asked that they should be considered. That was her excuse for speaking that afternoon, because it had been pointed out that all this work needed money. Here they had an association in existence supported largely by grants from educational authorities and Boards of Guardians. Would it not be wise instead of multiplying municipal visitors and municipal agencies to make use when possible of these women who were already the friends of the people, and only employ extra people in districts where they did not exist?

Councillor Palin (Bradford) suggested that if there were any more societies which desired to set out their aims and objects at length they might send them in print to the delegates when they got home. They really already knew all about these societies.

Dr. Bygott (Medical Officer of Health, Barking) said he followed Miss Hughes with great pleasure, and although the last speaker might consider his remarks

out of place, he was going to emphasise some of the points she had made. It had been a great pleasure to him to work for many years with district nurses, and he would like to point out two facts. He was inspecting schools in Hampshire two or three years ago and noticed a particularly clean school, but there were two children whose heads were very dirty. He noticed on the card that their mother was a nurse, and when he asked the mistress what that meant she said it was the village nurse who had given her a tremendous lot of trouble. He found out that the mother was an exceedingly ignorant woman. He gave the woman a severe talking to, but she preceded him to the rectory and he received severe censure from the rector's wife for interfering with the woman. He bore it very patiently and was informed that she was the cheapest nurse in the vicinity. In another part of Hampshire he was inspecting a school and there was a fine looking woman who had a piece of bronze attached to her neck, which meant that she was a member of the Queen Victoria Nursing Institute. That woman was a midwife and knew everybody, and she talked to the people and gave them all the information she could and went afterwards and saw that instructions were carried out. He made inquiries about the nurse and found that she exercised great influence in the place, and that she was a great and good factor in the life of the district. Now they heard from all sides a great deal about the dearth of midwives and nurses in the country, and it was proposed in the Health Visitors Bill now before Parliament to turn loose a number of women such as he had described in his first category and to call them health visitors without training. He considered that was a disgraceful state of things. If a man or woman had to do surgical work in the country he had generally to do it without assistance, and they did want a very good head on their shoulders, and if they could not pay for good material let them have no material at all. If they had a district so sparsely populated that there was no room for a skilled person it would be much better to impart a sufficient amount of information to the mothers of that district to enable them to render assistance to one another like people did in the colonies than to put on the market a quantity of this cheap labour. There should be one standard of village nurses and that should be the standard of the Queen Victoria Nursing Institute. He wanted to say a word on the subject dealt with in Dr. Reid's paper. Personally, if he was a villager and his wife had to be confined he certainly would not have liked to have had the lady of the nits to nurse her. It was exceedingly difficult with these raw untrained women to get them to carry out instructions, and as an inspector of midwives and a medical officer of health, one made the discovery that the ordinary midwife and many of the ladies' committees who employed her looked upon this *ophthalmia neonatorum* as a sort of dreadful disease which they would get into trouble over if they neglected. He would like to have that name struck out of ordinary conversation, for it simply meant inflammation of the eyes of a comparatively new-born child. The rules of the Central Midwives Board stated very clearly and distinctly that if the nurse discovered any inflammation of the eyes, however slight, it was her duty to draw the attention of the parents to it and obtain medical aid. That had a very important bearing on the subject, and having had a very large midwifery experience, for he attended for over seven years to the bad cases out of about 2,000 births annually, he knew it was a comparatively common thing to find a slight inflammatory condition of the child's eyes. Many of these inflammatory conditions get perfectly well if let alone or treated by some simple treatment; but some did not. The last case he ever handled was where an apparently slight inflamation in the eyes was discovered a few days after birth. He was examining them when the child's eyeballs burst and some of the liquid got into his own eye. It was a very terrible thing to look on a child like that and to know that it would never see, and to think that something might have been done to prevent it. It was impossible to tell when they saw inflammation of a child's eye like that whether it was going to be a simple matter which might be treated easily or was going to be a serious inflammation such as he had described. Therefore it was absolutely necessary that all district nurses and those who had anything to do with these matters should see that the midwifery requirements were carried out. There was this practical difficulty in many cases—the midwife was to a certain extent in opposition to the doctor. She was taking cases which he might reasonably expect to get, and the consequence was that the midwives liked, if they could, to do without the doctor, and the result was that if many of them could get through the treatment of eye inflammation they would. That was a thing which must be put an end to. That a midwife should attend a case of that sort, however slight the inflammation of the

eyes, must be made impossible. He was often told that the ordinary doctor knew very little about eyes and would not treat the eyes so well as the midwife, and there was a great deal of truth in the statement. But the doctor was the person who was empowered by law to deal with such cases and he must deal with them and take the responsibility.

Dr. J. F. Sykes (M.O.H., St. Pancras) said he had always been struck with what Sir Samuel Wilks said at a staff dinner at Guys'—"You have been talking all the evening about the hospital but you have never mentioned a word about the patient." He ventured to say they had talked too much about the children, and he wanted to know what the children would be without the mothers. He was perfectly certain that the success of that movement lay in helping the poor mother to be a true mother, and if her economic burden was lightened ever so little he was certain her natural duty would be done. They ought to begin with the mother before she was married. He believed that the hygiene of the mother and the child was the bed rock of public health in the future.

Lady Meyer (Women's Industrial Council) said she desired them to consider two points. They might take it they were all agreed as to the absolute necessity that the notification of births should be made compulsory all over the country. What was necessary then was that it should be made possible for the mother of the household where the child was born to give the child the very best attention, and in order to do that there must be sufficient women to go into the homes and render the assistance. Here she agreed with both Miss Hughes and the speaker who talked about the duty of untrained nurses. They must not create a new class of unqualified women to go out and do this work, who would grow up with a class which had a kind of vested interest, such as the untrained midwives had at present, and whom it would be difficult to deal with justly when they had once established a footing. The President of the Local Government Board had introduced a very small Bill, but it was one of those small Bills which could do a great deal of harm. Doubtless Mr. John Burns had very good reasons. He always had very good reasons. (Laughter.) But she had tried all she could to find out what reason there could be for introducing a Bill which would make it possible for local authorities outside London to engage as health visitors women who had not any specific qualifications. It was true, he said, that the local authority should be empowered to engage health visitors with qualifications which were approved of by the medical officer of health. Of course, if the medical officer of health was, as he generally was, a very reliable and estimable and expert man he was not likely to advise his local authority to engage women who had not proper qualifications. But she daresay many people there had experience of local authorities in country districts, and although there was always a number of splendid people on these local authorities it was only necessary to be present at some of their meetings and to read the reports of the meetings in the local papers to realise also that there was a number of ill educated and ill advised people on them—she did not say they belonged to any particular class—who had one eye on the rates and the other eye shut to the needs of the rural population. These men with the one idea of looking after the public purse would refuse to engage women who were properly qualified, and if they were obliged by the pressure of public opinion to engage someone they would take the cheap and untrained person. If they were to engage people to go and teach mothers let them not be people who knew no better than the mothers themselves. There was a large class of properly qualified women. She hoped they would oppose any new legislation which made it possible for the local authorities to engage new officers who had not got proper qualifications. They ought to be able to afford to pay them adequate salaries if a worker was worthy of his hire, and the health visitor must be worthy of her hire.

Miss Maynard (Yorkshire Ladies' Council) said that after twelve years' experience she did not consider a nurse made a good health visitor, and she would give her reasons at the conference later. Mr. Garland in the morning, and Dr. Bygott that afternoon, had gone over the ice a little bit, and they had dropped a hint that doctors might not be doing all they might do. They had heard a good deal of the things the midwife did not do and a good deal of the things she did do. She thought they said too much about midwives. She was a midwivee' inspector, and she knew that very many of them, sad to relate, had very bad examples from the general medical practitioner. It was an awful thing to say. The doctors in Leeds were great friends of hers, and everyone of the leading men would say exactly the same thing, and every medical officer of a county and every inspector of midwives would say the

same. Midwifery and infant feeding and the care of children was given very little attention to in the training of the medical student. An examiner of midwifery in one of the schools up in the North told her that he had infinitely better papers on practical midwifery from the midwives than from the medical students. Another great difficulty which all health workers had was this—they visited the babies and studied infant feeding. Something was the matter with the baby and they told the mother to take it to the doctor. But the doctor did not know about infant feeding. He had not been taught it. When she spoke to medical students about it and asked why they were not taught it they said there was no time. To her that seemed a serious thing, and it simply meant that unless the doctor specialised by going into an infants' hospital he did not know much about it. They wanted infant clinics in the general hospitals so that the medical student should know something about it. With regard to the voluntary notification of infantile ophthalmia she did not think voluntary notification of anything at all was any good in the least. They had not got the Notification of Births Act in Leeds. If compulsory notification was to be any good at all it must have some penal clauses attached. If people did not notify they must be penalised. She knew of cases of infantile ophthalmia which had not been notified in large towns. They got the midwives' cases notified but they did not get the doctors' cases notified. These were awful things to say in public, but everyone said them in private.

Miss COCHRANE said that as one who had spent a long life in a very scattered rural district and as president of the Nursing Association in Cambridgeshire and an active worker for thirteen years on a Board of Guardians who had asked her to bring the matter forward, she wished to say they would be most glad if the Central Midwives Board would make the written examination rather easier for their cottage nurses. She was not asking that the practical part should be made easier. She knew they would say they must keep up the standard; but what right had anybody to say that the theoretical standard was superior to practical skill. They had had nurses who could not possibly have passed the examination now required who had been excellent nurses and who had never had a case of puerperal fever or a death. It was difficult to get cottage nurses to nurse these poor women, who wanted women of their own class, having a fellow feeling for them and who would not be above them in any way. They had great difficulty in getting women of that class to do the work. She knew a family who were born nurses, but they could not possibly pass the examination, with the long names, required by the Central Midwives' Board. The supply of nurses for cottage work was getting more and more a difficulty.

Dr. FLORENCE WILLEY expressed her pleasure at the paper of Dr. Templeman, but pointed out that if they had the compulsory notification of births throughout the country and a system of health visiting, yet then they had not the means of dealing with these ante-natal influences. They had no organisation for getting to the homes of the mothers two or three months before the birth of the child. The suggestion she would like to make was that it would be very important if they could have co-operation between the local health authority and the hospitals and the midwives who dealt with the conditions at birth. If they had co-operation with these bodies they would get a practical system of notification some months before birth which really would enable them to give the child a chance. As it was, even with the most ideal carrying out of the present proposals they would still have lost their chance when the child was born ill-developed, and probably this could never be made up. Most heartily did she endorse what one speaker said that it could only be done through the mother. The mother was the all-important person for eighteen months of the child's life—nine months before the birth and nine months after. In the first paper it was suggested that much of the incapacity of children might be done away with by notification of venereal disease. She believed that would be entirely a wrong step and would result in the disease being more rampant than it already was. She would direct attention to two other alternatives—let there be full and free opportunities for treatment, which did not at present exist, and education on the subject to both sexes.

Mrs. GREENWOOD (Association of Health Workers) wished to endorse what Dr. Templeman had said as to the lack of responsibility of the expectant father. For the last eight years she had been investigating infant deaths in a London borough, and when they came to get the history of the death, especially in premature births, one found out how very irresponsible and indifferent many fathers were to the needs of their wives and families. Many women did not know how much their husbands earned.

The husband gave a small sum to the woman and washed his hands of all responsibility to the family. As the family increased he did not give her any more money, and she was forced to go to work or take in home work. He knew a case of a man who earned £2 a week and gave his wife 25s. and kept 15s. to spend on his own amusement. Her family was increasing and she was in great distress of mind at her husband's indifference. At her last confinement he upset her very much indeed, and she would have lost her milk had she (the speaker) not come in at a critical time. Then they came to cases of absolute wilful neglect. She knew the case of a clean respectable woman with three children whose husband had not been to work for two or three years. If these women were demoralised by their husbands and the condition of the family became a public scandal there would be an outcry, but because the woman stepped into the breach and did her best for her children there was no help whatever. These men were absolutely selfish and indifferent. They did not beat their wives and so the woman went on and said nothing. The men earned enough to keep themselves in beer and tobacco and the women did all the rest. She would also like to emphasise the ignorance of young mothers. She found young mothers suffering from continued sickness through pregnancy, and nothing injured the unborn child like that. There were also nervous women who had to be taught the necessity of self-control and to rest and take care of themselves during pregnancy.

Alderman R. Bulley (Wallasey) said that Dr. Templeman had alluded to syphilis and alcoholism as two of the ante-natal factors of infant mortality and he might have added gonorrhœa. He was constantly brought into contact with this terrible disease. As a Guardian and a member of a County Council and as a Justice he had before him constantly tragedies in the everyday life of the people which forced it on one to take what action one could to stop these things. Dr. Templeman did not give any remedy for syphilis, but he did mention a cause of it, and that was ignorance. Ignorance was a thing which existed to be done away with, and ignorance could be done away with. Alderman Broadbent took as his resource the local authority, but he took as his resource the parent. The parent hitherto, from mawkish sentimentality, had refused to touch this question. He was often afraid of bringing these matters before his sons and daughters, but it was a mistaken sentimentality which had led to ruin in case after case. He could give them pictures which would wring their hearts. And why? Because the parents would not tell their children the simple rules of life. The doctors also had some responsibility in this matter. He believed they were animated by good feeling, but it was a mistake on their part. Truth was the right thing, and truth would make its course felt for good. He wanted to take that opportunity of urging on parents to use plain language with their children, and on all helpers and workers amongst the poor in all directions to unveil simple truths that only wanted unveiling in simple and decent language. And it could be done and people enlightened and saved. He thought as children left both secondary and elementary schools they should be taken to competent doctors who might unveil these facts to them when the parents were too mawkish to do it. The importance of this question and the immense amount of misery he had seen arising from it had forced him to say something upon it.

Third Day, Thursday, June 1st.

MORNING SESSION.

(*Joint Meeting with the Unemployment Section.*)

The chair was occupied by Sir T. Clifford Allbutt. The subject of discussion was THE PHYSICAL BAR TO EMPLOYMENT. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Work of the Certifying Factory Surgeon and its Relation to other branches of Preventive Medicine.*

By Dr. W. F. DEARDEN, Medical Officer of Health, Port of Manchester; and President of Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons.

2.—*The Requirements of the Public Services as to Physical Fitness.*
By Lieut.-Colonel C. H. MELVILLE, R.A.M.C., Professor of Hygiene, Royal Army Medical College.

3.—*Unemployment in Relation to Age and Accident.*
By Mr. C. J. HAMILTON.

4.—*Physical Unfitness as a Cause of Unemployment.*
By Dr. ALEXANDER SCOTT, Certifying Factory Surgeon, Glasgow.

(*The papers taken at the above Joint Session, together with the discussions which took place, are given in the proceedings of the Unemployment Section, on pp.* 434 *and* 472.)

Third Day, Thursday, June 1st.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was occupied by Sir T. Clifford Allbutt, and the subject of discussion was THE RELATION OF SICKNESS AND INVALIDITY INSURANCE TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Sickness and Invalidity Insurance in Germany.*
By Mr. CHRISTOPHER TURNER.

2.—*The Prevention of Malingering.*
By Dr. R. J. COLLIE.

3.—*The Problem of Securing Efficient Medical Treatment for the Insured.*
By Dr. R. A. LYSTER, County Medical Officer of Health, Hampshire.

4.—*The Insurance Bill and the Prevention of Destitution arising from Sickness.*
By Mr. H. B. LEES SMITH, M.P.

Sickness and Invalidity Insurance in Germany.

By CHRISTOPHER M. TURNER.

I HAVE been asked to read a short paper on the relations of sickness and invalidity insurance in other countries to public health. I propose to confine myself to the experiences of Germany, not only because in accepting the invitation I so agreed, but also, and chiefly, for the very good reason that their legislation having, unlike that of other countries, been so long in operation, its results may really be studied with advantage.

It is unnecessary that I should attempt to define public health to such an audience. It conveys to us the idea of a municipal authority entrusted with the duty of maintaining the physical well-being of the local population. Such an authority exists, of course, in Germany, where, in the larger towns, the communal authorities maintain hospitals for the use of the poorer classes. But the duty has never hitherto been imposed upon the sick clubs of making use of these institutions although the communal insurance organisation, by resolution of its Council, has been able to require sick persons to avail themselves exclusively of certain hospitals. This state of things has led, in many instances, to friction, culminating in open war, notably at Frankfort some years ago. But it is only in the German Bill of 1911 that we find a provision introduced stipulating that hospitals set up by public bodies and unions, and which are willing to accept patients on the terms afforded by hospitals hitherto used by the clubs, are only to be excluded

for serious reasons and with the approval of the authorities. Both forms of insurance come into contact with the municipal authorities in other ways.

The legislature has from the very first ensured by means of carefully drawn provisions that no sick or invalid person should receive more money than he is actually entitled to, and elaborate prescriptions exist for the purpose of facilitating refunds between the municipalities, the different branches of the insurance, and employers. Preventive treatment has not been hitherto recognised as a bounden duty on the part of the insurance organisations. Certain sick clubs call the attention of the municipal authorities to the unhealthy conditions of life of their insured members. The invalidity insurance gives contributions to temperance and nursing societies; in the latter case under the express condition that cases of tuberculosis should be reported to them with a view to treatment, and that the attention of the authorities should be called to the dwellings of such persons in order that their disinfection may be undertaken. It also subscribes money to the communes with this object. Unfortunately, from the German point of view, opinion moves but slowly in this direction. In the report of the Brandenburg Insurance Institute for 1909 I find the following passage: "Among the many ways of fighting the injurious consequences of tuberculosis great importance has been attributed to disinfection of dwellings. Although we share this belief, we nevertheless consider it to be the place of the communes and the police to undertake this duty, and we must refuse to permanently perform a task which properly should be carried out by others."

In the *Festschrift* issued last year by the German Government the admission is made that existing legislation does not allow the invalidity insurance to undertake measures for prevention of illness on a considerable scale, and only lately an amendment was made to the new Bill in Committee allowing the insurance institutes, with the approval of the Inspecting Authorities, to spend money with a view to improving the sanitary surroundings of the insurable population.

If, on the other hand, we consider public health as the maintenance in health of a large portion of the community, it would be affectation to deny such a title to organisations which embrace thirteen million persons in the case of sickness and fifteen million persons in the case of invalidity insurance.

Nobody at all conversant with the circumstances of sick insurance in Germany can be blind to the evils connected therewith. The absence of universality and the unsatisfactory position of the medical profession are two defects which seem inseparable from sick insurance on these lines. But I will not trouble you with the history of the medical profession in this connection during the last twenty years in Germany. Both systems of club doctors and free choice of doctors have produced attendant evils, for which neither club committees nor the medical profession are wholly to blame. It must be remembered in considering any reforms that the Government hope to introduce that even-handed justice cannot be dispensed even by a non-party government such as Germany enjoys. If the choice lies between satisfying the claims of a demoralised professional body and the large clientèle of the sick clubs the former is bound to go to the wall.

I may quote again in this connection the words of the German *Festschrift*: "It is the more unfortunate that as regards sick insurance the relations between the doctors and the organs of the sick club have assumed such an unfortunate shape. Everyone who has the further prosperous development of German workmen's insurance at heart, and who also understand the social and economic necessities of the medical profession, must sincerely hope that in the great

legislative measures now being discussed the difficult task of finding a means of restoring peace and satisfying the legitimate demands of both sides will find a happy solution."

The proposals made in this measure with a view to putting an end to this friction have emerged from Committee in a much less elaborate form than was given to them in the original draft. They are, shortly, as follows:—

(1) The relations between the club and the doctors are settled by an agreement in writing, and the club, except in urgent cases, can refuse to pay the services of any other doctor.

(2) The general agreement is made by the clubs with the doctors living in their area. If this agreement is concluded every certified doctor living in the club area adhering to the agreement may undertake the treatment of club members, and can only be excluded for grave reasons.

(3) The club rules can empower the Committee to conclude the agreement with particular doctors, and except in cases of urgency to debar other doctors from sharing in the practice.

(4) If the club finances are not unduly burdened thereby members should be allowed the choice between at least two doctors. If the insured man pays the extra cost he can choose among the other club doctors. The rules of the club may, however, lay down that the sick man may only change his doctor during the same illness or financial year with the approval of the Committee.

(5) If the provision of medical treatment is seriously endangered by the club being unable to make an agreement on suitable terms with a sufficient number of doctors or by the doctors infringing the agreement, the superior authority can authorise the club on its demand to give in lieu of medical treatment an extra cash benefit up to two-thirds of the average sick pay.

(6) The superior authority can, at the same time, take certain precautions against malingering.

Turning to a more pleasant aspect of the question I should like to show how much public opinion has advanced in the direction of widening the sphere of usefulness of the sick clubs, making them indeed the agencies for the furtherance of reforms so necessary in the interests of public health. The minimum benefits originally given to the sick under the first law were medical treatment, use of appliances and a grant of sick pay for thirteen weeks, or, as an alternative, hospital treatment and a maintenance allowance in the meantime to the patient's dependents. Maternity pay was given for a period of four weeks only. The minor question of burial money I will not go into. In the nineteen years which elapsed between the passing of the original and the first important amending law, public opinion, with the generous support of the doctors, became more insistent in its demand for an extension of these benefits, with the result that in the law of 1902 the period of treatment was extended to twenty-six weeks, the period of maternity allowance from four to six weeks and the provision forbidding benefit to be given in cases of venereal disease was annulled.

I will now give the more important extra benefits which existing legislation allows clubs under certain circumstances to confer upon their members. The period of benefit can be extended from six months to one year. Sick pay can be granted from the very first day's illness (disregarding the waiting time of three days), and also for Sundays and holidays.

Sick pay can be increased from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent. of the average pay,

and the use of appliances other than spectacles, trusses, etc., may be granted.

Sick persons may be received into a convalescent home for a year after their illness.

In cases of pregnancy an allowance equal to the maternity allowance may be granted for a maximum period of six weeks. Medical treatment during pregnancy and the services of a midwife may be gratuitously provided.

Free medical treatment and medicine may be given to members of the insured person's family, and the wife of an insured man may be given pregnancy allowance and medical treatment.

The new Bill provides that in cases where hospital treatment is required, but the transfer of the patient cannot be safely effected, nursing treatment may be given at home.

The maternity allowance has been extended to a minimum period of eight weeks. Mothers can choose between being nursed at home or being transferred to a nursing establishment, subject to total or partial deductions from this allowance.

Lastly, women nursing their children may be paid nursing money to the amount of half their sick pay for a maximum period of twelve weeks.

In spite of the generous nature of the benefits which may be given, the English observer will, I think, be struck by the absence of uniformity in the benefits, etc., provided, and, of course, in the contributions consequently demanded. Even with the increased membership provided by the new Bill, certain clubs are bound to be financially weaker than others, and many inequalities of treatment must occur in consequence.

It is a more grateful task to examine the German scheme of invalidity. Low contributions, a moderate State subsidy, generous pensions, and valuable services rendered to the cause of public health are its leading features. The reserves of the invalidity insurance amounted at the end of 1908 to the sum of £74,480,530.

Before mentioning the manner in which this sum has been employed, I should like to briefly refer to the regulations which govern the investment of these vast sums.

These regulations are drawn up by the Imperial Insurance Office which controls the insurance institutes in all important matters. The funds of these institutes must, as a matter of principle, be invested in trust securities, but certain exceptions have always been allowed. Between the years 1889 and 1899 it was permissible to invest a quarter of the funds in other than trust securities, in real estate or mining shares. Certain changes in the mode of investment were effected by the law of 1899.

Mortgages or real property were only to be acquired for administrative purposes or for such institutions benefiting exclusively or chiefly the insurable population.

Proposals were made to raise the proportion to be invested in non-trust securities to half the funds available; it was eventually agreed that, should the amount so invested exceed one-quarter of the funds, the assent of the Guarantee Union of Institutes must be first obtained.

Interest at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is insisted on, and in all cases of investment of the non-trust funds the insurance office exercises a very real and thorough control.

The institutes have consistently turned a deaf ear to the requests made to them to advance money to speculative builders for the erection of workmen's dwellings. They consider that no private individual is in a position to satisfy their requirements as to accommodation, etc., and at the same time make what

is considered a fair profit. The money has, therefore, been generally advanced to friendly building societies, and, under their direction and the conditions imposed by the insurance institutes, satisfactory results have been attained. I was present last month only at Strasburg at the inception of a scheme which is being carried out with money so obtained. Trade unions have received advances to enable them to found technical schools, but unfortunately it has been found difficult to lend money to individual workmen for the erection of dwelling-houses owing to the absence of proper security. Money has further been loaned to all kinds of agricultural enterprises, to communes for the purpose of establishing labourers on small holdings, to landowners for the purpose of erecting and improving workmen's dwellings.

Such is one aspect of the beneficial activity of the invalidity insurance. The results of the curative treatment have still to be dealt with.

It must be understood at the outset that the insurance institutes are absolutely free to refuse to undertake this curative treatment, and this has proved itself in the nature of a hardship in those areas whose institutes are financially weak.

Another drawback attaching to the system is that only those cases can be given treatment whose cure offers a positive financial advantage to the insurance institute. Thus the treatment of drunkards, of which the success is often doubtful and always expensive, is rarely, if ever, undertaken.

The assent of the invalid, if he is married or is a member of a regularly constituted household, is required, and the treatment of course must be avowedly undertaken with the object of preventing the loss of capacity to earn. Those persons already in receipt of an invalidity annuity may also be subjected to a course of treatment. Relatives mainly supported by the invalid receive, during his treatment in hospital, one-quarter of the local wages for ordinary labourers. With the object of ensuring that such treatment shall be successful many hospitals and convalescent homes have been built.

At the end of 1909 the forty-one insurance institutes and admitted club institutes owned seventy-one hospitals, etc., of which thirty-seven were for the use of consumptive patients. The remaining thirty-four consist of twenty-five convalescent homes, two hospitals for nervous disorders, one for venereal diseases, one for rheumatic patients, one open-air cure establishment, and four general hospitals. The average cost per day per head is 4s. 7d. in consumptive hospitals and 4s. 0½d. in the convalescent homes. The insurance institutes treat in their own establishments about 50 per cent. of the patients whose cure they undertake. Open-air homes have been largely made use of for persons not actually requiring medical treatment but whose general state of health leaves much to be desired. In 1909, 2,811 persons were treated in these establishments.

The fall in the death-rate from tuberculosis has been largely due to the energetic efforts made by the insurance organisation to combat this disease, efforts which have been heartily supported by the Imperial Insurance Office in many ways. Under its presidency conferences of doctors have decided upon the best uniform method of treatment for consumptives, and have drawn up model plans and general arrangements of future consumptive hospitals. At one of these conferences a revision of the health statistics of the insurance institutions was effected. On another occasion the insistence by the Insurance Office on the necessity of deciding promptly if a patient was suffering from tuberculosis led to the adoption of a uniform method of early diagnosis. The questions of subscribing money, the disinfection of the dwellings of tuberculous persons, and of the participation of the institutes in the fight against lupus and of emigrating

consumptives to South-west Africa were debated in these conferences, in many cases with positive results.

The co-operation of the military authorities has of late been successfully enlisted, with the result that recruits suffering from tuberculosis are handed over to the insurance organisation for treatment.

The organisation has in two instances undertaken the treatment of lupus, but it has up to now refused to undertake cases of venereal disease. Only one institute, that of Berlin, which is quite at the head of the movement, has founded a hospital for treatment of such cases. But as the Imperial Insurance Office is of opinion that this disease, which is so rife in Germany, must be seriously tackled without undue delay, its treatment on an extensive scale is only a question of time. The Berlin Institute has established a dental hospital, but this again is an isolated case. I have already referred to the subscriptions given by the organisation towards nursing and other societies for the advancement of public health. £44,000 were subscribed in 1909 in this manner. The Berlin Institute has further distinguished itself by establishing home treatment for the sick. I fear I must add to this somewhat wearisome enumeration a few figures illustrative of the results that have been accomplished.

In the years 1897 to 1909 over 600,000 persons were treated, of whom 275,000 were suffering from tuberculosis. In the year 1897 nine persons were treated per 10,000 of the insured. In the year 1909 sixty-nine persons per 10,000 were so treated. The cost of treatment amounted in 1909 to £1,213,778, being 10.3 per cent. of the contributions and 12.2 per cent. of the annuities.

As regard the success of the treatment in 1909, 83 per cent. of tuberculous patients, 84 per cent. of those suffering from other diseases, were dismissed as being capable of earning. A system whereby these patients are kept under observation for five years has now been adopted.

The successful cases on discharge averaged in the last thirteen years 76 per cent. In the new observation period since 1897 the percentage of these cases sank at the end of five years to 37 per cent.. The insurance institute of the province of Brandenburg, in its report for 1909, gives the results obtained by it during the five years 1905-09. It appears that the percentage of successful treatment sank in this period from 76.74 per cent. to 44.21 per cent. in male, and from 79.53 per cent. to 59.29 per cent. in female cases.

In view of these remarkable results I think I have made out a case for invalidity and sick insurance to be regarded in a sense as efficient organs of administration of the public health.

Their defects may be briefly summed up as follows:—

As regards sickness insurance—

(1) Absence of universality and the difficulty of including those classes of workmen who are most in need of the services of the insurance.

(2) Friction between the medical professions and the clubs, with results generally speaking disastrous for the former.

(3) Inequality of benefits.

(4) Lack of co-operation and co-ordination between the municipal authorities and the insurance organisation.

(5) No attempt at introducing preventive treatment.

As regards invalidity insurance—

The quality both as regards the question of treatment at all, and the nature of the treatment actually provided.

The introduction into this country of an exactly similar system of insurance

against sickness is not contemplated. It will be sufficient, therefore, if we note the difficulties under which the organisation labours and pass on. But in spite of minor defects, the invalidity insurance offers us above all others a great and positive advantage. It is an objection frequently made to the idea of entrusting the municipalities with the duties of organising the whole public health service that its execution, particularly in the way of preventing disease, will prove extravagant. Opponents of this scheme overlook or disregard the fact that under this system those able to pay for services rendered will be effectively compelled to do so.

But apart from that the task of the Public Health Authority would be effectively lightened by the direct and indirect co-operation of the invalidity insurance. Its vast and ever-accumulating capital would undoubtedly be used to raise the general standard of health among the poor in the improvement of which it has so vital an interest.

By exercising a wise selection we could adopt that part of the German scheme which seems worthy of imitation and enlist the services of its organisation and resources to combat on different lines sickness and disease among the poor.

This digression, following on a parade of dry and, I fear, dull technicalities, will, I hope, be pardoned.

However much we criticise the deficiencies of the, German organisation, we are bound to recognise the valuable results attained by so much patient labour and organising ability. It was not an easy matter twenty-seven years ago to take this "leap in the dark."

If mistakes have been made, if certain evils which I forbear to mention have developed during this period, Germany has a right to ask her critics: "What have you attempted, and have your efforts met with better results?" If we can eventually answer this question in a manner satisfactory to the world at large we shall at least in one instance have disproved the old saying, "La critique est facile mais l'art est difficile."

The Prevention of Malingering.

By Dr. R. J. Collie.

In order that the preventive measures I propose laying before you should be fully appreciated, I shall first consider the causes which are responsible for many of the labouring class seeking to postpone their return to work.

It is a mistake to think that all malingering is the outcome of deliberate wickedness.

The proportion of out-and-out shammers to the vast number of people who claim attention because of sickness is small. I shall deal first with the individual who, being ill, exaggerates his illness, and unduly prolongs his return to work. Later I shall speak of the malingerer.

My view (founded upon between nine and ten thousand examinations conducted during the last seven years, all with the sole object of settling the question of fitness or otherwise for work), is that the mental attitude of workmen with regard to recovery after sickness is a very complicated one, and that it is

only by studying and fully understanding it that one can successfully deal with such cases.

It is harsh to assume, because a man does not return to work when he ought (after making all allowance for the personal equation), that he is a shammer and should be branded a malingerer. Such a view is not only unjust, but demonstrates a poor knowledge of human nature.

Moral responsibility, even amongst the highly educated, is a variable quantity. Indeed, I believe it varies as much in different individuals as do the features.

We cannot always fully appreciate the mental processes taking place in each individual mind, and so long as unregenerate human nature is being dealt with, so long we are bound to weigh all the circumstances of each case, if we wish to be fair. Mind and body are most intimately connected, and these act and react upon each other.

Nervous people, who are generally given to self-examination, unconsciously foster subjective sensations which their stronger and better balanced neighbours would ignore. The idea of illness or an injury and its possible consequences obsesses them. Their pains are real, but often only psychic. Such people are victimised by their unstable nervous systems. Too often they make no stand against introspection. Unfortunately, sick and injured employees are frequently in receipt of larger sums when ill than when well and working. When these material advantages are existing with a nervous individual, such as just referred to, the case is indeed difficult.

If an introspective, self-centred workman is unfortunate enough to find himself entitled, when sick, to these material advantages, he is much to be pitied; for he is put in a position that many, even in a class whose antecedents and traditions are not his, succumb to. It is impossible for him to think impartially. Consciously or unconsciously, he is influenced not only by his immediate environment, but by his individual mental outlook.

Psychologists tell us that we conceive only that partial aspect of a thing which the individual regards, for his purpose, as its *essential* aspects. What is considered essential varies, of course, with the point of view of the individual. For instance, the substance chalk is looked upon by different people according to the use to which it is put; the geologist thinks of it as the cemetery of millions of animalculi; the schoolmaster, as a messy but useful aid to imparting knowledge; the chemist, as carbonate of calcium. In short, the essential quality of a thing is its worth to the individual, and its value to him is its power in serving his private ends.

It must be remembered that sick and injured workmen belong to a class whose education is incomplete, and that they are peculiarly unfit to take a detached view of themselves, especially when ill. Too often the essential aspect of their case is the value unconsciously put upon their abnormal sensations in so far as these influence the continuance of sick pay.

Now, what are the circumstances directly affecting the working-classes when ill?

For the purpose of this discussion I omit all the reference to the pitiable lack of individual comfort and remedial means (worthy of the name) which is often the lot of the toilers of the community when laid on a bed of sickness, and I confine myself for the moment to the sick man's mental influences and surroundings. "As I am, so I see," says Emerson.

Small wonder, if, by repeated medical examinations at the instance of a third party, his attention is concentrated on the condition of his body, the desire for sick allowance encouraged, and gradually a vague feeling of having been wronged

is first created, and then fostered. Frequent gossips with others who have found themselves in similar circumstances, continual rehearsals of the details of the illness or accident, and the oft-repeated recital of his sensations, all act as co-operating factors in bringing about a condition of auto-suggestion, in the diagnosis and treatment of which the medical profession is lamentably backward.

The stricken soldier in the industrial warfare is, because of distrust, too often over-anxious at all hazards to guard himself against the possibility of future incapacity arising out of his disability. He assumes that the State, or the insurance company by which his master is protected, will minimise his illness, that hence he must exaggerate, and that, in any case, the fullest demands he may make must be nothing to the vast sums at the command of the Government or insurance company.

It is abundantly apparent, to those of us who work amongst working men, who those are who deliberately set class against class, who day by day breed discontent, who prolong illness, and debase honest working men; but with these harpies this paper does not deal.

When a poor man is idle, and in consequence forfeits the benefits of labour, he is looked upon as merely vicious. The vicious idle man is as yet not amenable to the law; but when in addition to being idle he is healthy, and claims an allowance from the funds accumulated by a section of the community for the use of invalids, it is obvious that if such a practice were followed by large numbers it would inevitably disintegrate into units the section of the community so combining. Hence the malingerer must be seriously dealt with, for not only does he eat the bread of idleness, but he does so at the expense of the community, some of whom will resent, some imitate his vicious conduct.

I have said that the out-and-out malingerer exists only in a comparatively small proportion to the vast number of sick people, but it must be remembered that, although the number is a relatively small one, there is, in the aggregate, a large number of working-class men and women who in returning linger on the threshold of work.

Statistics as to the particular class of case now being referred to are practically non-existent, for, until quite recently, attention has not been drawn to its prevalence. I am forced, therefore—and I trust you will excuse the necessity of my egoism—to draw exclusively from my own experience in dealing with this uninviting subject.

Two large Public Bodies and some fifteen or twenty insurance corporations send to me sick and injured workpeople for an opinion solely as to their fitness or otherwise for work.

Of these I see roughly some two thousand a year. One in every four, namely, 25 per cent., are reported on as fit for duty. The majority of these belong to my first class, and were not typical malingerers; but they would, nevertheless, from various causes, have unduly prolonged their illnesses.

Here is a good example of a typical malingerer: A working man injured his right foot and was paid half wages for six months. At the end of that period, having been certified, by a medical man sent by his employer, as fit for duty, his weekly allowance was stopped. This he resented, instituting arbitration proceedings before a County Court judge. He obtained the service of two medical men who swore to his total incapacity for work. He won the day, an award of half wages being made in his favour. His employers were naturally dissatisfied. Inquiries were made, and two months later he was sent to me for examination and report. I advised that he was a rank impostor, and suggested an immediate

application to the Court to discontinue the compensation awarded. At the arbitration proceedings which followed, it was proved that *at the time of the first trial and for several months afterwards* the man was doing heavy work! He had, in fact, *got a day off from his work* to attend the Court at the first hearing *by stating to his employer that he had been summoned to Court for arrears of rent*!

A malingerer of this type can only be dealt with by strong measures, and it goes a long way to prove that his case is not exceptional when I state that eighteen cases of a similar, but certainly of not so pronounced a type, have within the last two months at my suggestion sought a decision from the Law Courts, and in each case the opinion given was justified by the result.

Prevention of Malingering.

So long as medical men who attend the working classes are dependent on the working men themselves, and the club officials, for the security of the tenure of their office, so long will gross exaggeration and malingering be rampant.

One large Friendly Society has for years been paying ten thousand pounds a year in excess of the actuarial estimates of the amount probably required for the incidence of sickness.

Medical men doing this class of work say quite frankly that it is not in their interest to tell members of the club that the time has come when it is their duty to declare off the sick fund.

To the general practitioner the detection of simulation and exaggeration of disease is both an uncongenial and impossible task. Unless he is associated with a large municipal corporation or an insurance company, feigned disease, as such, seldom comes within his purview; and if engaged in club practice his dependent position naturally does not prompt him to make a special study of it.

At my suggestion two of the largest corporations in this country, both of which I have the honour to serve (following the example of the Home Office in the treatment of the Metropolitan Police), send to me all employees who have been on the sick list for twenty-eight days, not for treatment, but for medical examination and report. The practice of the Home Office has been found to work satisfactorily, and my experience of its adoption by the two Bodies to which I have referred is eminently satisfactory. For instance, in one department where a small bodies of some fourteen hundred men are employed, all of whom had been medically examined before entering the service, and who were entitled to medical attendance by District Medical Officers paid by capitation grant, it was found that, prior to the institution of the independent medical inspection after twenty-eight days, the total number of days men were on the sick list amounted in one year to 14,400; whereas, subsequent to the institution of the new rule, this number was reduced to 9,600—a reduction, in a well-organised and disciplined small force, of no less than 4,800 days in one year, the percentage of reduction being $33\frac{1}{3}$. During the corresponding periods the total number of men sick for *more* than twenty-eight days was reduced by the somewhat surprising figure of 50 per cent.

The prevention of malingering lies in a nutshell, and may thus be summed up:—

(1) Financial independence of the medical attendant.

(2) Some system of registration which shall make it apparent to the medical attendant what is the full amount of sick pay, if any, the patient is in receipt of.

(3) Repeated periodical independent medical supervision.

The Problem of Securing Efficient Medical Treatment for the Insured.

By Robert A. Lyster, m.d., ch.b., b.sc., d.p.h.
(County Medical Officer of Health for Hampshire).

Efficient treatment could superficially be defined as the provision of adequate medical and surgical treatment of the patient, so long as he is ill, together with proper maintenance of himself and his dependents. Such provision would, however, be largely in the nature of a palliative unless the whole scheme was so associated with the public health organisation as to enable the two to work together in promoting the general health. Real and efficient treatment must emphatically include prevention. Evidently this fact has been appreciated in the framing of the "Health Insurance Scheme," and the Chancellor of the Exchequer says in his Memorandum, "It is intended to make the Bill as far as possible a preventive measure operating to reduce the amount of sickness. One is justified, therefore, in assuming that the more intimately any scheme of treatment can be co-ordinated with public health work, the more efficient it may be considered.

It is suggested that the following conditions should be fulfilled if the scheme is to be entirely successful:—

(i) Adequate medical and surgical treatment (with maintenance).
(ii) A satisfied medical service.
(iii) Suitable provision for the permanently invalidated.
(iv) Proper central control, preferably by a system of variable grants.
(v) Intimate association of the whole scheme with existing public health work.
(vi) Provision for necessitous areas.

The Bill has obviously been framed with the intention of satisfying most of these conditions, but it appears to be the opinion of many public health workers that the relationship of the scheme to public health work could be considerably improved.

Persons Insured.

The insured persons are easily divided into four classes:—

(1) Those attached to approved friendly societies and provided for by such societies, both as regards sick pay and medical attendance.

(2) Those unattached to approved friendly societies, but eligible for same.

(3) Persons rejected by or ineligible for friendly societies.

(4) Persons assured in approved friendly societies as regards sick pay, but not as regards medical attendance.

Medical and Surgical Treatment.

(1) Control by friendly societies.

The question that one must ask is whether friendly society control over medical work is likely to lead to success. The past history of the relations between such societies and the medical profession shows the apparent hopelessness of such a scheme. Of course, matters may be smoothed and improved by strong central control, but the subject bristles with difficulties.

In the Bill, friendly societies may provide for their own members, but a most important provision is the one that gives such societies "the option of handing over this part of their duties to the health committee, on such terms as may be arranged in each case." If the terms arranged involve a deficit the State and the local authority share the loss. This may have far reaching consequences, but it is not quite clear what inducements will lead the friendly societies to hand over their medical work. Possibly it is intended merely to meet the case of the friendly societies who do not provide medical attendance. The medical profession has no love for friendly society control. In fact, it has been driven, owing to the treatment it has received, to the last extremity of dissatisfaction with the whole system of friendly society medical clubs. There is a good deal to be gained, therefore, in many ways if some plan could be devised whereby the whole of the medical and surgical treatment could be organised by health committees.

If friendly societies or trade unions are allowed to provide medical attendance, the payment of money to them should be subject, *inter alia*, to the medical aid being adequate and properly co-ordinated with preventive agencies. For instance, one requirement should be that regular returns to the Medical Officer of Health be made, showing the causes of invalidity and sickness in different districts. It must, however, be clearly recognised, that friendly society control over medical work will lead to endless difficulties.

(2) Control by a public authority.

The chief control of the medical and surgical work should be in the hands of a public health authority. The question to be decided is whether existing health authorities are to be used, or new ones created specifically for the new work.

There appears to be no reason why existing public health authorities should not be linked up with the work. Every county council and county borough council should be caused to appoint a health committee on similar lines to their existing education committees. These county committees could be assisted, if desirable, by a small local committee in each sanitary district consisting of their own members, together with representatives from medical practitioners, insured persons, and also employers. Such county committees would provide for:—

(*a*) Unattached eligible persons.

(*b*) Rejected or ineligible persons.

(*c*) Persons assured for sick pay, but not for medical attendance.

Among the many obvious advantages derived from association with health authorities may be mentioned the following:—

(1) The friendly societies as well as the local administrative committee would be able to take full advantage of the existing means of instruction and education upon health matters. Many health authorities are doing a great deal at the present time on such lines, and the institution of an entirely separate and distinct organisation dealing with this matter would only add to the existing overlapping and confusion.

(2) The health authorities have at present more or less efficient organisation for dealing with sickness among infants, and are also responsible for the medical inspection of school children, together with some degree of treatment for the latter. By arranging for the scheme of sickness and invalidity insurance to commence on leaving school, and by associating such a scheme with the public health organisation, a great advance in uniformity of administration would be made. On the other hand, by dealing with sickness and invalidity insurance by means of a new body, the existing confusion and overlapping would be again increased.

(3) These authorities, unlike the Poor Law authorities, are popular with the industrial classes. Treatment by them carries no stigma of pauperism or any suggestion of the workhouse or the relieving officer. No workman loses in self-respect or social estimation when he becomes a patient in an isolation hospital of a public health authority.

(4) To make the authority that now has charge of the prevention of disease responsible also for the treatment of the insured would provide a powerful incentive for the development of preventive work to the great benefit of the community.

The following objections may be urged to the creation of a new health authority:—

(1) The formation of an entirely new authority to provide for the persons ineligible for membership of approved friendly societies would enormously increase the overlapping, confusion, and administrative inefficiency that results from the present multiplicity of agencies for dealing with the sick poor.

(2) There would be constant friction and disputes between the existing health authorities and the new authority. This would effectually retard public health progress, and from a national standpoint would be nothing less than disastrous.

(3) All the suggested duties of the new authority could be carried out thoroughly and efficiently by enlarged health committees of counties and county boroughs.

The Medical Service.

For success it is essential that a contented medical service should carry out the required treatment. So far as it is possible to anticipate the demands of the British Medical Association, it appears likely that the minimum requirements will include:—

(1) Free choice of doctor by patient.

(2) Adequate remuneration. It should be left to Health Committees to make their bargain in every district with the local practitioners.

(3) Recognition of local medical committees—mainly for purposes of consultation.

The Permanently Invalided.

Nothing but praise can be given to the Chancellor's suggestion that permanent provision will be made for the insured persons who become incapable of further work. At the same time, it should be urged that the certification of such individuals should be supervised with the greatest possible care, and should be checked always by medical officials of the health authority.

Control by Variable Grants.

Experience of the relations between central and local authorities must convince everyone that great advantages follow the system of variable grants depending upon the efficiency of administration by the local authority. The funds available for this scheme of insurance can be very clearly divided into those raised locally and those given by the State. The local administrative committee would have a right to the part raised locally (*i.e.*, the subscriptions from workmen and employers), but the part provided by the State should be given as a variable grant depending upon efficiency. Of course, some protection could be assured by friendly societies and local authorities being required to submit to the central

authority for approval a scheme of working, but it appears very desirable that continual and direct powers of supervision should be retained centrally, and the only practical and useful way of doing this is by means of the variable grant.

Necessitous Areas.

The case of necessitous areas is apparently met in the Bill by the provision that, in the event of a deficit in the funds of the health committee, such deficiency can be met in equal parts by the State and the local authority.

The Relation of Insurance to the Prevention of Destitution arising from Sickness and Unemployment.

By H. B. Lees Smith, M.P.

The proposals before Parliament deal with two of the causes of destitution—sickness and unemployment. The first question which arises is as to how far insurance is a preventive measure and not a mere alleviation of the evils which have already occurred. It is, of course, a platitude that, if the insurance proposals will enable us to adequately treat the sick in the initial stages of illness, and to maintain the unemployed during short periods of fluctuations, this will be a most certain preventive of more serious illness and of the demoralisation of unprovided-for employment. But it is, I think, already clear that the hopes that the insurance proposals will lead to prevention rest not so much upon its present provisions, as upon the certainty that, when the State is brought up against the fact that it, and the organisations working under it, are actually paying money in proportion to the amount of disease and unemployment, then the idea of prevention will be so stimulated that it will become a commonplace, not merely of this conference, but of ordinary thought. Take one example: It is the intention of the Bill to divide the wage-earning population into two great groups—the insurable and the non-insurable lives. In the friendly societies, and now the collecting societies, will be those who reach a minimum standard of health. In the Post Office will be those whom no friendly society will accept. It is inevitable that when the State finds the non-insurable lives confronting it in a solid mass, shut out, as is at present intended, from the scheme, it will realise and have to face definitely the problem that they present. The process of facing the problem is likely to lead to preventive measures which may well be more important than anything at present contained in the Bill.

I wish to bring before this conference two points in the Insurance Bill upon which discussion at this juncture would be of considerable value. The first is the position of the Post Office contributors, who are in no real sense of the word insured at all. They are to have a savings bank at the Post Office to which the employees' 3d. and the Government's 2d. will be added. When they have been ill long enough to exhaust the sums standing to their names in the

savings bank they run clear out of the sick benefits provided by the scheme, and will be just where they are now. But there is all the difference in the world between a scheme for insurance and a scheme for a subsidised savings bank. The principle of insurance is that the amount of help that you receive depends upon the length of your illness—that is, upon your need of help. The principle of this subsidised savings bank system is that the amount of help that you receive depends upon the size of your Post Office deposit. We have to face the fact that the Post Office contributor has little or no security against being thrown back upon the Poor Law. He is a delicate man. Suppose that he continues for two years without drawing a penny for sickness. At the end of that time, at the rate of 9d. a week, taking the deductions into account, he will have accumulated less than £3 to his credit. If, then, he is ill for six weeks, he runs out of sick benefit altogether. Compare his position with that of the healthy man who, for the same payments to a friendly society is guaranteed 10s. for thirteen weeks, and 5s. for thirteen weeks, and then, if necessary, 5s. for life, together with additional benefits. The Chancellor of the Exchequer asked last Thursday what alternative there was for the deposit system. The machines for the alternative appear to me to be already in the Bill. You have the local health committees upon which the Post Office depositors are very handsomely represented. These local health committees are already charged with the administration of both the medical and the sickness benefit of these Post Office depositors. Instead of establishing a Post Office fund hand over to societies organised by the local health committees the contributions of the men, the employers, and the State. Make it the duty of these societies to provide for the insured person's sickness and medical benefit, not merely for two or three weeks, but just as if they were members of friendly societies, for as long as they are in need of it. Leave it to them, supervised by the local health committees by means of their sick pay officers, and backed with the power of removing to hospital, to deal with malingering. Be prepared for the result that, as they are dealing with delicate men and women, they will need to spend a larger sum than the insurance contributions will reach. These larger sums ought to be provided with safeguards against extravagances, by grants in aid from the Exchequer. They ought not to be provided from any part of the insurance funds, for these are largely contributed by the working class, whereas the burden of maintaining the sick and weak of the community should fall upon the community as a whole.

This is an alternative. To adopt it will certainly mean an extra charge upon the Exchequer. But to adopt the deposit system is a confession of failure, for it means that we are insuring those who need it least and sacrificing those who need it most.

The next point to which I wish to draw your attention is the constitution of the new local health committees. I believe that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will find that the opposition to these committees will gather force as the debates proceed. The report of the Poor Law Commission pointed out that one of the gravest defects of the existing system of local health administration was the overlapping between the medical services of the Poor Law and the local health authorities. To add to these a third and an unrepresentative authority, and to impose upon it duties already assigned to the existing local health authorities appears to me to be a reactionary proposal. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, I assume, is aiming in these clauses at raising the whole standard of health administration. I do not think that he will succeed by establishing two authorities to do much the same kind of work, and imposing upon one of them duties

which are bound to bring it into conflict with the other. Make this new committee a statutory committee of the county or county borough council. Let one half or just more than one half consist of members of the existing health committees, and just less than half of representatives of the friendly societies and other insured persons and of the medical profession. The friendly society half at any rate is likely to consist of those to whose interest it is to level up the standard of public health. The first half of the members of the local authority will act as a channel of communication by which the ideas and wishes of the friendly societies would be brought to bear upon the local authority. This continuous but not irritating pressure upon the local authority would, I am convinced, be far more effective than the proposal to introduce a new authority and then set it and the old authority by the ears.

These new local health committees do not seem likely to have behind them much public backing or natural weight. They are unrepresentative, and no less than one-third of their members are to be elected by that very class of Post Office contributors—consisting of mainly the residuum rejected by or expelled from friendly societies—of whom the Chancellor of the Exchequer has not himself spoken with much respect. This does not seem to me to be the kind of body to whom our county or county borough councils will be willing to resign their natural duties and from whom they will welcome interference.

Discussion.

Alderman BROADBENT (Huddersfield) said there was one particular part of the Insurance Bill in which he was specially interested—the provisions dealing with maternity benefit. There did not seem to be in the minds of those who had discussed the Bill hitherto, nor indeed so far as he could gather in the mind of the framer of the Bill, any very clear notion of what these maternity benefits were to be. He believed that the minds of our legislators were in a malleable condition in regard to this particular clause in the Bill, and if they (the conference) could by any means get at some clear idea of what they were desirous of getting from the operation of the one and a half millions of money that was going to be spent in maternity benefit—if they could give the House of Commons some clear opinion as to what they thought desirable, he thought there was some possibility of their views being put into practice. It was a very dangerous thing to have so large a sum of money as one and a half millions devoted exclusively to a special form of benefit. Unless the matter was very carefully watched this money was capable of doing more harm than good. He was not going to attempt to define what the maternity benefits should be, but he would like the conference to give very careful thought and attention to this particular part of the Insurance Bill, so that out of their discussions there might come some clear, definite idea in the minds of the public as to what really was the best method of expending this very handsome sum of money. He thought they had to be profoundly thankful to Mr. Lloyd George for having included such a magnificent benefit in his Bill, but they wanted to have the terms of it put in such a fashion that the money would prove of material benefit to the future mothers of this country. What he himself thought might be more clearly defined was this—that the maternity benefit should, at any rate in part, be absolutely uniform and fixed, up to a certain point; there should certainly be available for every mother the skilled attendance of a nurse, and there should also be available, if necessary, for every such mother the skilled attendance of a medical man fully qualified to deal with her case. Those benefits at least should be secured to every mother under all circumstances, and should not be trenched upon in any fashion whatever, but there were

other things which seemed to him would be extremely valuable to supplement what he should call those certain benefits. The welfare of infants should be regarded as their first care, and that was to be effected by providing the mother with a doctor and a nurse for the purpose of helping her to care for her baby; but there must be something left out of the 30s. after the nurse and the doctor were paid, for the question was, what would they offer to the mother to induce her to take better care of her infant. He thought they should offer her something if she would breast-feed her infant for a definite period of time, and if she would take a week's rest in bed definitely. A still further benefit he would like to see given to all mothers, if they were workers, who abstained from work for a month. He was afraid that by the time all those benefits had been given they would have exhausted the sum of money that was allowed for maternity benefit; but if there was anything left he would reserve it for a birthday present for the baby on attaining its first year. That was only, however, one very small fragment of the National Insurance Bill which he would like to have discussed at greater length had time allowed. He fully concurred with the criticisms that had been passed on the Bill by the writers of papers; more especially in regard to the constitution of the proposed new Health Committees. He thought there was great danger there which they should endeavour to guard against.

Dr. Niven (M.O.H., Manchester) believed he was supposed to say a few words in reference to the new Insurance Bill, and what he had to speak about especially was the creation of these new Health Committees. A great many of them felt that there was no occasion for the establishment of a number of new Health Committees in addition to the old bodies which were dealing with public health. They had found it sufficiently difficult already to co-ordinate the work of different public bodies dealing with questions pertaining to public health, and if it had been so difficult to get people engaged in the working of the Poor Law to come together and co-operate, what security would they have that there would be co-operation between these new Health Committees and the existing Public Health Committees? The existing Public Health Committees had undoubtedly done magnificent work in this country. The death-rate in England was about the lowest in any European State, and there was no question that that splendid position had been achieved largely by the work of the Public Health Services, and surely bodies which had been able to effect so much already, by a little expansion of their duties could easily take up the new work which was to be placed upon these new Health Committees. He would like to point out that in regard to the new sanatoria which it was proposed to provide that there was no provision for co-operation between the new Health Committees who were to govern the sanatoria, and the Public Health Authorities. The Public Health Authorities at present administered the Notification of Diseases Act, and they had officials whose business it was to search out sickness, and who went to the people's houses and advised them what to do and where to go for health. At present they were able to hold out as an inducement to notification the fact that the Public Authority was able to obtain for the families admission into sanatoria, but if they took away from them the new sanatoria to be created under the Bill they struck at notification authorities. The one thing above all which they must aim at was to bring together into one complete system all the different agencies which were dealing with the prevention of tuberculosis. He gave that as an illustration of the want of co-ordination which would be produced by these new Health Authorities. Personally he saw no occasion for them. In large towns where the Public Health Authorities were active it was to be presumed that the new Health Committees would also be composed of active-minded men. The result probably would be to produce a good deal of friction and irritation between the Public Health Authorities and the new Health Committees. In the country districts where the Public Health Authorities were believed to be reactionary it was not to be expected that the new Health Committees would be particularly active, so that they would fail to get the services from those new Health Authorities just exactly where they might be useful. He agreed that the proper direction in which to move was an extension of the functions of the existing Public Health Authorities. If it were possible to move a resolution he would propose one to the effect that the meeting saw no occasion for the creation of a fresh set of Public Health Authorities; but, as they were aware, no resolutions were to be proposed at the conference.

Dr. Richards (M.O.H., Croydon) said the most important point he wished to make had been made by Dr. Niven. He would therefore like to deal with another question, and that was that in the Bill it was suggested that the new Health

Authority could apply to the local authority for grants in aid if they found that their funds were not sufficient. He asked all those who had any experience of local government whether a local council or a borough council was likely to ever give a grant in aid to some alien body? He was quite sure it would be impossible to get any of the suggested grants in aid unless the new Health Committee was made a statutory committee of the existing councils. As regards inertia, he daresay it was quite true that some of the smaller bodies did suffer from inertia as regarded sanitary progress, but it must be remembered that in the Insurance Bill it was not contemplated that the local Health Committees should be formed in the smaller urban and rural districts. The Health Committee as it stood in the Bill was to be for County areas. In those areas the County Council already supervised any administrative shortcomings of the smaller authorities—why then have another body? The last point he wished to make was that in order that the Health Committee should make good use of its statistics it would want a highly qualified staff. Surely as a matter of mere economy and common sense they did not want to have a new medical officer's department established in each sanitary area! If once those points were fully known and were put before the public, the County Councils Association and Members of Parliament, the Health Committee as it now stood under the Bill was bound to go. He would like to refer to the point raised by Mr. Turner in his paper in regard to the sanatoria benefits. Mr. Turner seemed to think that the value of the sanatoria benefits would stand or fall according to the curative value of sanatoria. If they would read the Bill carefully they would see that the sanatoria benefits in the first place did not merely extend to consumption nor to what they knew as sanatoria, but included also any institution for the treatment of the sick. They had in fact in those very admirable clauses very useful provision for the treatment of the insured. Even if one took the question of the treatment in scanatoria of phthisis they could justify the inclusion of the clause without putting by any means too high a value on sanatoria treatment. As Dr. Niven had told them phthisical patients could be divided into three classes. First there was the early class—people for whom six months or a year in a sanatorium would produce a permanent cure. Among the insured classes he was afraid they would get very few of those sort of cases. Then they had the next class which included the cases of established disease. Much good had been done in those cases by sending them to a sanatorium for six weeks' training, during which time the family was relieved of the care of the invalid and the phthisical person was taught how to manage himself. Then lastly they had the advanced cases, where the patient was so ill that the cough was beyond their control, and even in these cases the sanatoria would prove a very valuable adjunct. Lastly he would like to remark that sanatoria treatment had a very great educational value upon the people in general—it taught not only phthisical but also all other people how they ought to live and how they could improve their health. He was sorry that in discussing the Bill in the House of Commons Mr. Balfour had rather thrown cold water on the sanatoria proposals, because he had heard that the curative results were not quite so great as people hoped. Altogether, apart from the curative results he (the speaker) regarded the sanatoria clauses as one of the best features in the Bill.

Mr. E. Lesser (Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association) said that, returning to the consideration of larger issues, he would like to emphasise a point which had been already raised by Prof. Smith, viz., that the conference was a conference for the purpose of considering the prevention of destitution, and that strictly speaking sickness and insurance schemes were not efforts which were likely to result in the prevention of destitution—they were, in the main, curative and remedial efforts. Of course, in a sense, as regarded invalidity, if they worked that part of the scheme they would be preventing destitution. But looking at the scheme critically he thought it was correct to say that as regarded sickness it was wholly remedial and curative. Lest they should take too optimistic a view of what the future of England was going to be when we had got the National Insurance scheme at work he would like to call their attention to some figures from Germany, where, as they knew, a sickness insurance scheme had been in existence for about twenty-five years and invalidity for about twenty years. While admitting to the full the beneficial results which had been obtained in Germany from the operations of those two schemes, it was none the less somewhat significant that he was able to give them the following figures. Taking the death-rate in the German Empire per 1,000 he found it was in 1908 as high as 18, whereas in England and Wales it was only 14.7. In Scotland it was 16.1; in Ireland 17.6. If they took the infantile mortality statistics this

country compared most favourably. In the German Empire the death-rate of children under one year of age in 1908 was 17.8 per cent.; in England and Wales it was only 12.1; and in Scotland it was only 11; and in Ireland it was only 9.7. Then they came to other statistics as regarded mortality from certain diseases—diphtheria, measles, scarlet fever, tuberculosis of the lungs; and in respect of all those diseases our figures were far better than those of Germany. In tuberculosis of the lungs the death-rate per 100,000 inhabitants in Germany was 159.2, whereas in England it was only 111.7. In diphtheria the figures for Germany were 22.9, whereas the English figure was only 16.7. What did those figures show? He thought they were entitled to say that they showed that, thanks to our very efficient public health service, we had been enabled to keep ahead of Germany as regarded the health conditions of our people without their elaborate insurance scheme. The point he wanted to make was that the money which we had been spending on improving the health of the people, on improving housing accommodation, and sanitation, and such like things, had been really preventive work because it had indirectly helped the people to live under more healthy conditions and therefore become less likely to fall victims to sickness. To come to the Government Insurance scheme, they were really beginning at the wrong end in launching a scheme of this kind. In his opinion they would be investing the money to better purpose if they set to build up a healthier race of children than they were now getting instead of spending large sums in seeking to cure the unhealthy and the unsound. They would be spending their money much better if they established a proper system of medical inspection of schools and school clinics, so as to ensure that the present generation of children should grow up stronger and more sound than those of the past, and therefore not likely to need all these remedial measures. He was not going to deny that the German scheme had been very beneficial; only he asked them not to be too much impressed by the statistics and by the reports that they read in some of the German newspapers. He would rather ask them to read some of the expressions of opinions amongst the Social Democrats and the working classes. If they were to read those writings they would find that there was a good deal of discontent amongst the working classes in Germany as regarded the whole scheme and the benefits they derived under it. Broadly speaking, it seemed to him, after studying the German scheme, that there were two great drawbacks. The first was that on the whole, having regard to the relatively low wages paid and the high cost of living—which was steadily going up—the contributions asked for were too high except for the highly skilled artisan earning wages above 30s. a week. It must be borne in mind that trade unionism had grown enormously in Germany and that the German working man had not only to pay his State compulsory insurance contribution but he also had to pay—if he was a trade unionist, as he generally was—a certain sum per week to his union in addition. He believed he was correct in saying that the German workman paid something like 5 to 6 per cent. of their earnings weekly in different forms of insurance. The other defect of the scheme he thought was that the invalidity pension was far too low—the average for 1908 was only £8 15s. 0d. When a man got an invalidity pension as a rule he had no more claim on the fund—he had to be satisfied with this £8 15s. 0d. a year. If he had been stricken down in the prime of life with a young family that meant that he had got to live on this miserable pittance. The result was that not only was the man dragged down, but the whole standard of life for his dependents—his wife and children—was also low. Therefore it was true to say that the German authorities, by giving these ridiculously low pensions, were really moving in a vicious circle; because as a result of this inadequate allowance the wife and the children of the pensioner were more likely to be affected by sickness. The point he wished to make was that, admiring as he did the elaborate machinery which Germany had set up for curing the sick, he still thought that they would have done better to have devoted some of that money towards giving more generous invalidity pensions. To come to our own scheme, which, of course, was more interesting to them, he would like to say that in his opinion one of the weakest parts of the scheme and the most open to criticism was the treatment proposed to be given to married women. The proposals as they stood were quite inequitable, and were not half as generous as they ought to be. He agreed with one of the previous speakers who had expressed the hope that before the Bill passed into law the Government would see its way to largely increase the amount of the maternity benefit. It was ridiculously small at present and was not likely to produce the object it was intended to—it ought to be at least £2, if not more.

Miss CONSTANCE SMITH said she would like to say a few words as representing the Industrial Law Committee—a body which specially studied the position of women in industry and their economic position in society—and the Women's Trade Union League, to which was affiliated over 200,000 organised women workers. Their attitude with regard to the Bill was one certainly of welcome as regarded its principle, but at the same time of grave doubt as regarded many of the details which affected the position of women under it. She was not altogether in harmony with the previous speaker as regarded the preventive character of the Bill, but she especially wished to refer to the position of women under the measure, and it seemed to her, knowing as she did what the earnings of working women were in a large number of cases, that the proposed contribution was set much too high. She constantly had before her the budgets of working girls, and she knew how, in order to obtain even the minimum of food, and clothing, and shelter, and to pay for their travelling to and fro from work—which was absolutely necessary expenditure, because they were forced to live some distance from their work—they had to spend practically every penny they earned. Nothing was left for any further payments, and she did not know how they would pay this insurance money. A recent return of the Board of Trade of the hours and earnings in the clothing trades showed that at least 22 per cent. of the women engaged in those trades were earning under 10s. per week, and when they came to the case of a married woman—a widow with children or the wife of the unemployed or the casually employed man, her position was even worse. Only the week before the conference she visited a typical case in Poplar, where she interviewed a tailoress who was engaged in finishing boys' knickerbockers at 1s. per dozen, and by working eleven hours a day all she could earn was 9s. per week. For that woman to have to pay 2d. or even 1d. a week for insurance meant her going without some of the bare necessaries of life. Many of the proposals in the Bill were grossly unfair. For instance, a girl might be compelled to contribute to the scheme from the age of 15 to 30, and then the whole of her contributions would be swept away by the fact of her getting married. If she worked she might, of course, continue to contribute and to receive the benefits. As regarded the maternity benefit, she wished to say that it was totally inadequate. She did not feel quite so uncertain as to what would come out of the 30s. as Alderman Broadbent did. They knew, of course, what the ordinary fee of the midwife was—and in the great majority of cases the attendance of a medical man would not be asked for or claimed by the insured person; but if they took the case of a woman who was still wage-earning, as large numbers of married women in Lancashire and Yorkshire were, to give them a maternity benefit at the rate of 5s. a week was a very poor return for the contributions that they would have made. She had seen it stated that already certain members of Parliament had brought forward a suggestion that the maternity benefit ought to be an addition to the sick benefit, and she hoped that was a point that would be pressed in future discussions of the Bill in Parliament. There was one further point she would like to refer to, and that was the question of "young persons," who, in her opinion, were dealt with very hardly under the Bill. They were to pay without any consideration as to the rate of their wages the full contribution from 16 to 21, but up to the age of 20 years and 11 months they would only receive reduced benefits at the rate of 5s. for the young men and 4s. for the young women, and though it might please the framer of the Bill to call them up to that age boys and girls, they knew perfectly well that they would be men and women earning men and women's wages. It was very unfair that they should be called upon to pay the full rate of contribution, and yet until they were past 21 they were only to get benefits which would accrue to those of 16 years of age. There was also a danger there in this way—that after the age of 21 in the case of wages below a certain figure the employer's contribution would increase and that of the contributor would drop—was there not therefore a peril that they might be encouraging the employment of very young labour rather than that of the adult man or woman who had passed the age of 21? On all those grounds she would like to plead with those in authority, and especially with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not only for thought but also for more time. The Bill dealt with very large questions, and it seemed to her that they were trying to settle them in too much of a hurry.

Dr. F. E. FREMANTLE (County M.O.H., Hertfordshire) said there were one or two points he would like to dwell upon for a moment. He was very glad to hear Mr. Lees Smith bring forward the question of the constitution of the local Health Committees and give as a practical alternative that they should insist on the constitution of a

statutory Public Health Committee of the County Council on the same lines as the Education Committees. What was the present position? Take first of all the County Councils and then the County Boroughs. In county government the County Councils were not the sanitary authorities—the local sanitary authorities were the District Councils, and those Councils since 1875 under the Public Health Act had been given the whole responsibility of dealing with the public health. They were responsible to the electorate on the one hand and to the Local Government Board on the other. In 1888 County Councils were formed, but they were not put in as responsible authorities between District Councils and the Local Government Board; they were put in with the object of acting the watchdog over the local sanitary authorities; they were given power under Section 19 of the Act to make representations to the Local Government Board in those cases where the sanitary authority was in default. The only power they had was the power of representation to the Local Government Board. That being the case, why should they in this Insurance Bill propose to have a separate local Health Committee? He believed the reason suggested was that in some cases the County Council had been rather supine, and it was said that they wanted a body which would more directly represent the insurers, and therefore it was proposed to form these local Health Committees with a constitution with many defects. How would the scheme work? In the first place how were they going to get what were called the dregs of the insurance market—the Post Office insurers, to elect their representatives? He could not see how it was to be done, but even supposing it could be done, where was the necessity for it? Seeing that, according to Mr. Lloyd George, they were going to insure practically the whole of the electorate, or two-thirds of the population, why ask to do it—why did they want special representatives to represent these people if they believed in democratic government? The County Councils represented the electorate surely, and therefore why did they not trust them? Instead of that, Mr. Lloyd George said he must have local Health Committees which would directly represent the two-thirds of the electorate who were going to be insured. If they believed in democratic government they must trust the County Councils, which represented the whole of the electorate. He did not think they wanted separate representatives of the insurers, but if they did they should have representatives of the Friendly Societies, and therefore in their proposed constitution for enlarging the sanitary committee of the County Council by all means put in, if they must have representatives of the insurers, representatives of the approved societies and of other persons who were interested in the public health. In that way he thought they would be able to meet the ideas of those who had proposed the local Health Committees and of those of them who were aiming at unification and concentration. With County Boroughs the question was different, because in County Boroughs the Town Council was the sanitary authority, and therefore they were not in the position of County Councils—there was nobody to watch over them and act the watchdog. His own idea was that they did not want a special body to act as a watchdog as regarded County Boroughs. They must all recognise the magnificent work done by County Boroughs in public health and in other ways, and he certainly did not think there was any need of a separate body to act the part of watchdog over them. To take an entirely different point, he would like just to refer to the matter of medical insurance and the public health—the possibility of the medical man getting acquainted with cases of sickness at the earliest possible moment. Under the Insurance Bill they would have a splendid chance of getting the early cases of all sorts of diseases notified to them, and he need hardly point out how important that was. He hoped they would be able to get some amendment in the Bill by which all those returns relating to sickness would have to be dealt with by the health authority. They wanted to enlist medical practitioners in the work of prevention rather than cure, and they wanted to relieve them of the onus and responsibility of certifying people as fit to receive these benefits. Therefore he proposed that they should have the appointment of medical registrars acting under medical officers of health whose sole duty it should be to certify persons as qualifying for certain benefits and then the general practitioner would be entirely relieved of all responsibility for certifying sickness or the reverse.

(*At this point Sir Clifford Allbutt vacated the chair in order to fulfil another engagement, and his place was taken by Sir George Fordham.*)

Dr. C. W. Saleeby said he wished to refer to a most important point which concerned him from the point of view of eugenics as regarded the maternity benefit under the Insurance Bill. If the Bill was to be preventive then the maternity benefit

was the most important part of it. He had already pointed out that the maternity benefit as it stood at present would act against motherhood. If a woman was ill with, say, neuritis, then she would get the doctor, drugs, and 7s. 6d. a week for a considerable period; if she was ill with a baby—if she was ill with the one form of illness which they did not want to prevent—she would only get 30s. or 7s. 6d. for four weeks, out of which she would have to provide for the doctor or the midwife, for drugs, and other necessaries. He argued, therefore, that the Bill discriminated against motherhood. That matter was brought to the notice of Mr. Lloyd George by Mr. Lees Smith in the House of Commons, and he replied that the maternity benefit was additional to the sickness benefit. He (the speaker) came to the conclusion that what Mr. Lloyd George meant was that the maternity benefit was to be additional to the sickness benefit in the case of the mother, but apparently Mr. Lloyd George did not mean anything of the sort—he only meant that it was additional in the sense that the 30s. would be paid to a mother at the time of her confinement as a sort of sick benefit. He claimed that motherhood should be treated as well as any other form of illness. Whatever was allowed to a woman who was ill suffering from cirrhosis of the liver brought on by over-indulgence in alcohol should be allowed to the woman with a baby, if not a great deal more. The General Medical Council had put forward the demand that in the case of insured women it should be made clear that the sickness benefit carried in addition the maternity benefit, and he hoped that the Government would alter the Bill to that end. With regard to the figures quoted by Mr. Lesser relating to the deaths from tuberculosis in Germany and in this country, the figures would have been more to the point if Mr. Lesser had given them the rate of fall in the deaths from tuberculosis in Germany in the last twenty-five years under compulsory insurance, as compared with the rate of fall in this country without insurance. Those figures would show that the rate of fall in Germany during the period was five times as great as ours. That went to prove that insurance was of the utmost value in regard to the prevention as well as the treatment of tuberculosis, as he had no doubt in a few years to come would be demonstrated in our own case. Another point in connection with this Insurance Bill was the question of alcoholism. He was entirely at one with the speaker who had suggested that they must do something to prevent the recurrence of those diseases which were due to people's own fault. The evidence as regarded the death-rate among those who drank and those who did not, and also the sickness rate among abstainers and those who drank, demanded that there should be better terms for abstainers under the Bill, and he felt confident that some day they would get it. If the Bill was going to give drugs at the public expense to insure persons they should demand a clause prohibiting the giving of alcoholic beverages as a drug—under no circumstances could they allow alcoholic beverages to be given as a drug under this Bill.

Councillor CROW (West Ham) said the point he wished to speak upon had been already alluded to by previous speakers, and that was in regard to the proposed new Health Authority to be created under the Bill. Personally he was strongly in favour of the existing health authority being the authority and only authority for the administration of this Bill. Dr. Lyster, in his paper, had suggested that they might have another Education Committee formed with co-opted members. He (Councillor Crow) looked at this question particularly from the point of view of local government and the convenience of those who had to administer the government, and he thought they must recognise that the introduction of outsiders on to the Public Health Committee would entail upon the Health Committee separate meetings, and thereby they would largely increase the amount of work which local representatives would have to do. He was representing a County Borough where already they had a great many different meetings to attend every week, and if they were going on increasing the number the life of a councillor would be almost an impossible one. (Laughter.) Many of them were very anxious indeed to get more business men to take an interest in local life, but if they were to get such men to serve on their councils they must not make too great demands upon their time. If the administration of the medical part of the work was given to the Public Health Authority as it at present existed, they now had their fortnightly meetings, and possibly an additional ten or fifteen minutes to the duration of the meetings would be all that would be required to deal with this subject. But if they made a special evening for the meeting, because they had got to meet the representatives of the friendly societies and other co-opted members, it meant much more additional work. Therefore he was very strongly opposed to bringing in outsiders to this work. It had been suggested that the

representatives of the councils wanted "speeding up." His opinion was that they got quite enough "speeding up" as things were now. There had also been a suggestion that Town Councils consisted of jerry-builders and others who had got no interest in public health but who were simply interested in keeping things as they were. That could not be the case, for the councils represented the whole of the people and therefore it included those who were going to be insured and all other interests, including the friendly societies. In that way they could get a thoroughly representative committee.

Mr. DAVIDSON (Yorkshire Federation of Building Trades' Employers) wished to refer to the question of accidents. On account of the increase in those cases the insurance companies were increasing their rates, because they found that the benefits which they had to pay were considerably larger than was anticipated when the Acts were passed. There was a safeguard provided under Mr. Lloyd George's Bill, as the employees themselves, having a financial interest in the matter, might be expected to detect any flagrant case of malingering. In Belgium the employers had found it absolutely necessary, owing to the many flagrant cases of malingering that they had to deal with, to establish special hospitals of their own for the treatment of accident cases. The result had been that the employers of labour in Belgium and Brussels had been able to deal with their accident cases in a very satisfactory manner—they paid into a fund the same premium as they previously used to pay to the insurance company; they got their men back to work sooner and at the end of the year 50 per cent. of their subscriptions was returned in rebate. He submitted that in connection with these cases greater powers should be given to the medical referees. They should be the determining authority as to whether a person was physically able to return to work or not. In his opinion judges relied too much on expert evidence on one side or the other in deciding these cases. They would have, if these medical referees under the Act were appointed, men in an independent capacity bringing independent and judicial judgment to bear on the question whether or not a person was incapacitated from labour on account of ill-health; and the judges should only deal with questions of law. Dealing with the constitution of the Health Committees, as many speakers had pointed out, that introduced an entirely new feature into the Bill. Seeing that the workers and the employers contributed seven-ninths of the expense of providing the insurance, surely they should have the right of saying how the Act should be administered.

Mr. W. F. CRAIES (Mansion House Council on Health and Housing) said that as far as he could gather the discussion had been mainly on the details of the National Insurance Bill and not as to whether it would prevent or cure destitution. One thing on which he thought they would all agree was that it would have been very much better if the Bill had been brought before the country last autumn in order that such a very complex and difficult matter could have been properly discussed from every point of view. One very important question was that of malingering, and the previous speaker had dealt with it mainly from the point of view of the Workmen's Compensation Act. There was no doubt that two diseases had sprung up among workmen since the passing of that Act. One was a tendency to run to solicitors, and the other was neurasthenia which he had acquired from the advice of another profession. (Laughter.) He thought the suggestion was that for the purpose of this national Act where the State was to contribute there should be an independent test of whether a man was entitled to benefit or not; and it seemed to him that the proper persons to settle that should be the Insurance Commissioners, or a State official who would be in a perfectly independent position. There was an inducement to malingering which had not been referred to so far, and that was under clause 59, which provided that as long as a man was in sick benefit he was not to be distrained upon for rent. From that point of view he thought that clause wanted to be looked at very closely, for unless something was done he was afraid that some local authorities who had taken up housing schemes would find that there would be a great deal of sickness under the Bill. Of course, he quite agreed that the principle was sound enough that a sick man should not be turned out of his house, but the clause would want very careful consideration. Then there was the question of the proposed new Health Committees. He had been engaged in London for the last twenty-five years in connection with improving the dwellings of the people, and the Mansion House Council had done a good deal in that direction. In London the health authorities were immensely better than they were years ago. The Local Government Board now had ample powers to "buck up" the local authorities if

they were at all slack in their administration, and he rather deprecated setting up excessive machinery to deal with this matter. These Health Committees would mean setting up an entirely new staff; it would necessitate a lot of letters passing between them and the existing authorities, time would be lost by men going to three places to do the same job, and the result would not be worth the money and the labour that would be involved.

The CHAIRMAN, in closing the discussion, said he wished to say just a word or two from his experience as a member of the Central Midwives' Board. They had built up under the Act of 1902 a system of examination and of training for midwives which had produced very good results, but they had now come to a very critical point in their progress in that respect. They were face to face with the fact that although they had built up a very satisfactory machinery for giving to every woman in the country proper assistance in her confinement, there was not the money in the families of the working classes or coming from public bodies to enable the women, who had gone through this training and who was qualified to give these important services, to live. That was the whole question which was stopping all progress in the direction he had indicated, and they were looking to the National Insurance Bill to provide a solution of the difficulty. The Bill came very happily at a moment when a critical stage had been reached in their progress. In the Central Midwives' Board, where they had all the penal cases—all the most serious cases brought before them for their judicial consideration—one became alive to the great evil that existed in this country in respect to maternity, and it was one of the gravest questions affecting the health of the people. As he had said, they had now arrived at a critical stage in the matter, and in examining this new Bill attention should be given very carefully by Parliament to the importance of providing sufficient funds to be judiciously administered which would meet the evil to which he had referred in an adequate manner.

Fourth Day, Friday, June 2nd.

MORNING SESSION.

In the absence of the President, the chair was occupied by Sir H. George Fordham. The subject of discussion was THE NEED FOR A UNIFIED PUBLIC MEDICAL SERVICE AND THE RELATION OF SUCH A SERVICE TO VOLUNTARY AGENCIES. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Need for a Unified Public Medical Service in County Areas.*
By Dr. R. A. LYSTER, County Medical Officer of Health, Hampshire.

2.—*The Relation of a Unified Public Health Service to Voluntary Agencies.*
By Mr. F. E. FREMANTLE, County Medical Officer of Health, Hertfordshire.

3.—*Unification of the Public Medical Services in County Boroughs.*
By Dr. MEREDITH RICHARDS, Medical Officer of Health, Croydon.

4.—*A Unified Medical Service for Scotland.*
By Dr. A. K. CHALMERS, Medical Officer of Health, Glasgow.

The Need for a Unified Public Medical Service in County Areas.

By ROBERT A. LYSTER, M.D., CH.B., B.SC., D.P.H.
(County Medical Officer for Hampshire.)

The chief cause of destitution is ill-health, and the chief factor in the production of ill-health, directly or indirectly, is destitution. For these reasons a discussion upon the need for unification and improvement in the public medical services finds an appropriate place in a Conference devoted to the prevention of destitution. If by any scheme the resistance of the worker and his family can be improved, with the consequent reduction in chronic sickness, incapacity, and poverty, the nation's capital in physical fitness and efficiency should be substantially increased and the people's level of enjoyment materially enhanced.

At the present time medical services are being provided for the public in the following ways :—

(1) By public health authorities.
(2) By Poor Law authorities.
(3) By county councils.
(4) By voluntary agencies.

These services, although they overlap to an astonishing degree in many ways, yet leave many gaps. The overlapping causes a gross waste of public money, while the uncovered gaps represent a persistent and serious menace to public health.

The following table shows to some extent the peculiar complexity of the existing arrangements:—

Subject.	District Council.	Poor Law Authority.	County Council.	Voluntary Agencies.
General Sanitation.	Housing Improvement. Sanitary Work.		Supervision of Housing Work. General Supervision.	Assist by investigation and report occasionally.
Schools.	School Sanitation. Infectious Diseases in Schools. Also in Autonomous Areas: Medical Inspection. School Clinics. School Nurses. Feeding of School Children. Blind, Deaf, Dumb, & Defective Children.	"Treat" Sick Pauper Children and Educate some.	School Buildings. Infectious Diseases in Schools. Medical Inspection. School Clinics. School Nurses. Feeding of School Children. Blind, Deaf, Dumb, & Defective Children.	Managers. After-Care Committees.
Work in connection with infantile mortality.	Health Visitors. Notification of Births. Food for Mother and Child. Payment of Medical Help for Midwives.	Food for Mother and Child. Payment of Medical Help for Midwives. Lying-in Wards. Work of District Medical Officer.	Health Visitors. Notification of Births. Supervision of Midwives. Training of Midwives.	Schools for Mothers, and similar Institutions. Training and Provision of Midwives and Nurses. No co-ordination with supervising Authorities.
Infectious Diseases.	Consultant Work by M.O.H. Notification. Disinfection. Isolation. Bacteriological Work. Antitoxin.	Vaccination.	Consultant Work by C.M.O. Hospitals for Combined Areas. Bacteriological Work.	
Tuberculosis.	Tuberculosis Dispensary. Tuberculosis Sanatorium.	Tuberculosis (infirmary).	Sanatorium.	Educational Exhibitions and Educational Crusades.
Other Details.	Inspection of Foods. Inspection of Cows and Cowsheds. River Pollution Prevention. Municipal Hospitals. Cleansing Apparatus (scabies, vermin).	Infirmaries. Dispensaries. Cleansing Apparatus. Work of District Medical Officers. Medical Officers to Workhouses and Infirmaries.	Work under Food and Drugs Act. River Pollution Prevention. Diseases of Animals. Police Surgeon.	Voluntary Hospitals, Dispensaries, Sick Clubs. Various "Institutes," "Leagues," "Associations" and "Societies," some for discussions only and some for practical work.
Supervision.	Work supervised by M.O.H.	Under no real supervision.	Work under supervision of C.M.O.	Work unrelated and without supervision.

The above tabular statement is not intended to represent in full all the various spheres of activity of the public bodies dealing with the public health, but it illustrates in a striking way the manner in which the responsibility is distributed between them.

To the services provided by these unregulated authorities it is proposed that there should be formed as part of the national insurance scheme a new health authority in the form of local health committees of complex constitution, and with duties that appear to overlap very considerably those of existing authorities. In all urban and rural districts there are already two health committees—the health committee of the district council, which is mainly concerned with public health administration, and the health committee of the county council, which is mainly supervisory, but whose powers could easily, and with advantage, be added to.

It is a matter of great disappointment to public health workers that the exceptional opportunity presented by the framing of the National Insurance Bill has, so far, not been taken advantage of towards the unification of the medical services provided for the public, and one cannot but hope that the Bill will be amended in this direction. The spending of public money by a committee over which they have no control is not likely to be viewed favourably by county councils, and will probably lead to difficulties. County councils have always carried out their legal obligations so uniformly well that there were reasonable grounds for hoping that they would be given the opportunity of reforming and coordinating public health work. At all events, very strong objection may be anticipated to the creation of an additional authority likely to add to the existing confusion.

The public health powers and duties of county councils are vague and unsatisfactory at present, and if the suggested public health committee were made an ordinary committee of the county councils, formed on the lines of present education committees, a great impetus to public health work would be given.

The various advantages and disadvantages of the services provided respectively by the Poor Law authorities and the public health authorities have been discussed on many occasions, so I do not propose here to refer to these matters, but to deal essentially with the resulting confusion, and the obvious need for unification. Owing partly to the fact that the protection of the public becomes in practice the relief of the individual, and partly because the old distinction between preventable and non-preventable diseases has practically disappeared, the public health authority has trespassed more and more in the name of prevention upon the ground formerly held by the Poor Law authorities, and is every year increasing and improving its machinery for searching out and treating disease irrespective of destitution. The mere fact that poverty causes disease very largely from actual privation shows how impossible it is any longer to attempt to distinguish between Poor Law and public health work. Experience in public health work proves conclusively that the prime essential of a healthy existence is an adequate supply of food, and that surroundings play a secondary part. This is particularly the case with children. The continual state of partial starvation in which thousands of men, women, and children exist is responsible for far more destitution and permanent invalidity than bad housing or insanitary surroundings.

The necessity for unification becomes apparent when one considers the unsatisfactory competition that takes place between public health authorities, the Poor Law, and the voluntary agencies in the provision of institutional as well as

out-patient treatment. The treatment provided, although unsatisfactory and often inadequate, is as a rule indiscriminate, and liable to great abuse. It is not at all uncommon to hear of one and the same patient receiving treatment at the same time from the district medical officer, the club doctor, the out-patient department of the local voluntary hospital, and the local free dispensary.

Another extremely unsatisfactory result of the duplication of authorities, is the over-inspection of the public, a development which is causing growing resentment against all public control of private life. In fact, it is highly probable that the greatest difficulties in the future will be caused by the opposition of precisely those people whom it is desired to benefit. Under the existing arrangements, it is easy to imagine an ordinary family being subjected successively to visits by the sanitary inspector, the housing inspector, the relieving officer, the health visitor, the school nurse, and the attendance officer, while at the same time the district medical officer may be in attendance, and could, if thought desirable, supply practically all the information required or given by the other visitors. If there happened to be a case of infectious illness in the house, the medical officer of health may also at the same time be paying a visit.

The need for unification is equally great when one considers the inadequacy of the existing services. Each authority goes along the line of least resistance, and does things that are likely to be popular instead of considering what work is most urgently necessary. Little or no provision is made for the early and adequate treatment of the great mass of people who are not destitute, and are yet too poor to obtain medical treatment. The Government scheme for sickness insurance will, it is hoped, affect this problem to some extent. The position would be far more hopeful, however, if it could be arranged for the organisation of the scheme to be carried out as part and parcel of the unified service. Experience in the past ought to prove conclusively that independent authorities working on the same or similar lines lead to wastefulness and inefficiency. A valuable possibility of unification is outlined in the Insurance Bill by the provision that health committees may, by arrangement, undertake the medical treatment of members of friendly societies as well as the treatment of the rejected of such societies. Unfortunately, however, there appears no obvious inducement for friendly societies to make such arrangements. If the suggested health committees could be the health committees of the county councils, and if inducements could be offered for the societies to hand over their medical treatment to them, there would be an obvious possibility of valuable unification.

The average local health authority is too small a unit for efficient administration, and many of the existing evils are directly attributable to this fact. Rural districts, for example, with the council composed almost entirely of farmers, cannot be expected to have an up-to-date supervision of the milk supply. The Medical Officer of Health of such an area is quite helpless, and learns very soon that if he wants a reasonably happy existence, and desires to retain his office, he must assure the council that everything is quite satisfactory, or, at all events, he must refrain from adverse criticism. An investigation into the housing conditions of other districts occasionally reveals the fact that most of the worst houses are owned by members of the district council.

Additional legislation or new powers on public health matters will inevitably give disappointing results until some process of unification has been accomplished. A few illustrations will explain what I mean:—

(1) The Housing and Town Planning Act, especially the town planning part thereof, is being carried out in such a way as to lead to little or no results. This

can hardly be described as disappointing, because no one with experience would expect the average district council to do this kind of work.

(2) The issue of the Antitoxin Order (1910) has had little effect upon the provision of antitoxin for poor people. Most districts have, it is true, arranged for antitoxin to be obtainable in the locality, but hardly any have made arrangements for paying the medical man who administers it. Neither is there any satisfactory arrangement in most districts for bacteriological evidence to be obtained.

(3) The Tuberculosis Order (1908) requires cases of consumption among paupers to be notified, and such notifications are being received by Medical Officers of Health. In few districts, however, are there any practical results beyond the mere compilation of a list of cases. Similar results will undoubtedly follow the Order of 1911, although both Poor Law and public health authorities have considerable powers to deal with such cases. Apparently each leaves it to the other to do something.

(4) The unsatisfactory position of the supervision of health in factories and workshops is due to the need for unification. The Medical Officer of Health has few powers in such places, and the inspection is performed by centrally-controlled factory inspectors. The result is that the improvements in housing have, in many districts, far surpassed the improvements in workshop conditions, and men are herded together for hard physical labour in circumstances that would not be tolerated by the most lax public health authority.

These cases serve to illustrate the hopelessness of further advance until some unification has been achieved.

The work of voluntary agencies is being dealt with more fully in the paper by the County Medical Officer for Hertfordshire, but a brief reference to it is necessary here as further illustrating the necessity for unification. Hospitals, dispensaries, and sick clubs will probably be so changed as the result of the scheme for sick insurance that discussion of their present defects may be mere waste of time. Voluntary hospitals, as such, may disappear because it is not to be expected that the medical and surgical staffs should do what is practically State work without remuneration. Unfortunately, however, they will probably continue to suffer from some of their present inherent defects unless they are made part of the general scheme, and are subjected to organisation and control. The chief value of the numerous health-promoting institutions consists in their effect in educating public opinion. Otherwise their net effect upon the public health is small.

The serious wastage of energy and money occurring among the voluntary workers and institutions is very evident to the public health worker, and it should not be difficult to arrange for every such agency at work in the area (county or county borough) to play its part in the general scheme without restriction of the energies of voluntary workers, and without any decrease in the desirability and usefulness of private generosity. In order to prevent overlapping it appears necessary to arrange for a central clearing house for each area, to which the details of all work done would have to be sent. Every service rendered by these voluntary agencies should be "notified" to the centre (*e.g.*, in the form of a weekly return), where, by some simple system of registration (*e.g.*, a card for each individual or family), it would be possible to detect and to prevent overlapping and abuse.

On the other hand, the Public Health Department, with its widely extended

activity and greatly increased knowledge, would be able to advise voluntary agencies as to cases suitable for help and advice.

The Process of Unification.

Assuming that the need for unification has been proved, it now remains to suggest the lines upon which such could be arranged. The alternative principles to be followed are the combination of offices on the one hand, and the unification of authorities on the other.

Unification of Offices.

The recent Order (1910) issued by the Local Government Board recommends that the Medical Officer of Health could, with advantage, also hold the position of school medical officer, superintendent of the isolation hospital, certifying factory surgeon, police surgeon, public vaccinator, district medical officer, and medical officer to the workhouse. Such advice should have an important effect in educating public opinion, but the desirability, and especially the practicability, of such a method of unification must be carefully considered. An officer holding the above eight distinct and separate posts would be working under four authorities, and with eight different conditions of appointment. The holding of the eight offices by one individual would not necessarily effect any co-ordination of work, or bring about much real unification, so long as there are the different public bodies left to pursue their independent policies, and to control his work.

The advantage claimed for the above policy of the Local Government Board is that the officer could by these means be made independent of private practice. It is not likely, however, to have any extended trial, owing to the opposition and mutual jealousies between the authorities chiefly concerned. The combination of offices may be found to be desirable as a sequence to the unification of authorities, but is not at all a promising procedure until that has taken place.

Unification of Authorities.

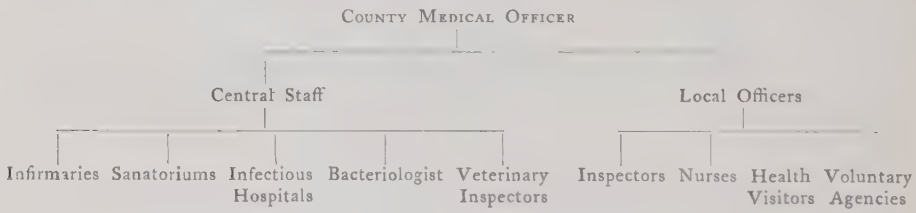
The disadvantages of the present system do not arise from the multiplication of offices so much as from the number of authorities concerned. Each authority is independent and, with the best of intentions, it is quite impossible for any coherent scheme of work to be arranged. The process of unification presents no insuperable difficulties, as all officials concerned could be taken over by the new authority, and the difficult problem of dealing with displacements from office would not appear. It would at once become possible to adopt a definite policy and to adjust the work so as to avoid overlapping, and yet leave no part of it undone.

Such, apparently, is the view of the chief medical officers of the Local Government Board and the Board of Education. Dr. Newsholme in his evidence to the Poor Law Commission says, "The present provision of medical duties is gravely mischievous to public health, and the unification suggested is very desirable." Equally emphatic is the evidence of Sir George Newman, Medical Officer of the Board of Education, "Personally, I am disposed to think," he stated, "that the medical part of the Poor Law services might be suitably organised, partly or wholly, in conjunction with the Health Authorities. . . . By some such unification the medical service would be more economical, as well as more efficient and effectual."

The fact that a scheme of unification was recently approved by the County Councils Association affords additional evidence of the desirability and practicability of such proposals. Recent developments in public administration indicate clearly that the unified service should be controlled by the councils of counties and county boroughs. If local committees are considered to be still desirable in county areas, it should be possible to arrange for a certain amount of local work to be given to them so long as the organisation and coordination was carried out by the county council.

Only when the unification of authorities is an accomplished fact will it be necessary and useful to discuss the advisability or otherwise of whole time officials for public work. The gradual condensation of staffs by grouping together appointments as they fall vacant would be a simple matter if only one authority was concerned in such appointments, and the policy of the Local Government Board, as outlined in the Order (1910), would be quite easy to carry out.

By very slight extensions of the plans suggested by the Local Government Board and the County Councils Association, it would be possible to aim at the gathering together, under one medical officer, of the work connected with general public health, school inspection, Poor Law outdoor relief, inspection of midwives, work under Food and Drugs Acts, food inspection, prevention of river pollution, vaccination, organisation of voluntary work, etc. Local staffs would include sanitary inspectors and health visitors, while the central staff would consist of bacteriologist, analyst, veterinary inspector, and also under the control of the county council there would be an indoor staff consisting of resident medical officers of infirmaries, infectious diseases hospitals, and sanatoriums.



The Relation of a Unified Public Health Service to Voluntary Agencies.

By F. E. Fremantle, M.A., M.B., M.Ch. (Oxon), F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., D.P.H.
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We are told by the Poor Law Commissioners that "at least one-half of the total cost of pauperism is swallowed up in direct dealing with sickness. To this burden we must add the indirect contribution of sickness. . . . It is probably little, if any, exaggeration to say that, to the extent to which we can eliminate or diminish sickness among the poor, we shall eliminate or diminish one-half the existing amount of pauperism." The present cost of relief to the country, apart from expenditure by the Metropolitan Asylums Board, is nearly fifteen millions a year.

Here is the mandate for this Conference; here is the mandate for a constructive scheme of public health administration as embodying the effective outcome of this week's work.

I am not one of those who feel justified in proposing a fresh expenditure forthwith of seven and a half millions a year to prevent the sum to be saved. "There's many a slip 'twixt cup and lip." To abolish evil conditions that have grown up through the ages must take time; and meanwhile the rates must not be overburdened nor industry penalised, nor must capital be driven abroad, lest those we seek to benefit be overwhelmed and deprived of employment by the very measures proposed for their welfare. These considerations make it all the more imperative to economise the waste of money and energy, to supply the lack of direction and co-ordination, which at present deprive the masses and the State of their health and strength. We are justified, therefore, without proposing the fresh expenditure of any such sum as seven and a half millions a year, in freely recommending the measures necessary for efficiency at a time when a scheme of national insurance against invalidity is likely, if properly handled, to supply the funds and the opportunity required to ensure success.

The Need for Unification.

I leave it to my colleague, the County Medical Officer for Hampshire, to prove the need of uniting the official health services in a single organisation. The need for such co-ordination is recognised, I imagine, by every County Medical Officer of Health; and it will be agreed that such an officer should have an exceptionally comprehensive view of the whole field of invalidity, of its many causes and of the many agencies by which it is to be met.

Thus, a working man may develop tubercle. The case is discovered by his club doctor, and gradually goes downhill, infecting his workmates, his wife and children, for a time without anyone else knowing of it. If he "goes on the rates" the District Medical Officer of Health may be notified of the case by the parish doctor. But even then the family are in the hands of the parish doctor, over whom the health officer has no control; the workmates in the factory are beyond his jurisdiction; the children in school are under the County Education Committee; the midwife—if the mother be confined—under the County Council; the district nurse under the Nursing Association.

The County Medical Officer of Health is notified of the case—as a single case of tubercle—nothing more—a week later. He may have the good fortune to have a sanatorium under his control; he is in charge of the health of the children in the schools and of the midwives; but neither he nor his council have any control over the District Council and Medical Officer of Health or over the Guardians and their medical officer, the parish doctor. Even tact and patience are insufficient to enable him to link all the forces up in a systematic plan to meet the whole case.

The vast sums spent on medical relief of the poor are thus thrown away because they are not used at the same time for checking the spread and preventing the recurrence of the disease on which they are spent.

It is well constantly to recall the close analogy of ordinary warfare to the campaign against disease. A commander-in-chief must have all his forces under his control. What would be the case of a country which sent out one force to meet the enemy, a completely independent force to outflank him, a third independent force to cut off his supplies, and none of these forces in touch with the diplomatic authorities that were trying to prevent the outbreak of war or to bring it to an

end? And yet this is our position with regard to disease. The parish doctor is fighting it hand to hand; the District Medical Officer of Health is trying to isolate it; the school doctor to cut off its supply of human material; the County Medical Officer of Health to prevent the outbreak; the county council and Whitehall writhe at their inability to secure co-operation, and awkward questions are asked in Parliament.

Logic of County Government.

I trust Dr. Lyster again to set out the details of the proposals necessary for linking up the several agents into a single, effective fighting machine. The changes required in any such re-organisation—considerable, no doubt—are often exaggerated by the difficulty of making transitional arrangements. It is far best to choose your new house first and decorate it, before discussing the details of moving your furniture and staff.

Our new house, then, must consist of a series of rooms, compactly and conveniently arranged under a single roof. This new house is the county or county borough council, the house chosen by all the Poor Law Commissioners, the house erected by the late Lord Ritchie in his "Local Government Act, 1888," and adopted by Mr. Balfour for his "Education Act, 1902." Its hall of entrance, for matters primarily concerned with the public health, will be its health committee on which a nearly equal number of co-opted and *ex-officio* persons from outside will sit, representing interests, especially voluntary, concerned in allied objects within the county.

Attention may be drawn to a second analogy to the problem of public health administration, furnished by our educational system. Until 1902, county councils had nothing to do with education. By co-opting persons experienced in education on to their education committees, and by distributing the work to sub-committees they have co-ordinated and developed the educational system with striking success. Their view is naturally wider, more far-reaching, less partial than that of the small local bodies they replaced; teachers and other officials have a fuller and more varied scope; poorer districts are helped by their neighbours; voluntary schools have been brought in; and all without loss of local knowledge, sympathy, or direct responsibility of the authority in relation to the people they serve.

So may it be with public health. Local prejudice, ignorance, or self-interest, which at present stand in the way of sanitary advance, would have little chance of swaying a county committee, and such a committee could afford, as small authorities cannot, to make experiments, to provide for exceptions, to carry out a comprehensive scheme. A county service, moreover, can command better work from its officers, and attract good men to its ranks; work can be distributed according to capacity and inclination; promotion can be ensured. It is absurd to expect men of tact, ability, and general education to incur the risk, the toil, and the expense involved in the exceptional training required of a Medical Officer of Health if he is to find the greatest difficulty in obtaining an appointment at over £250 a year, and has probably to be content with £600 a year for the rest of his life without increase or pension.

Status of County Authority.

Moreover, the relations of local authorities to national government would be greatly simplified to the public advantage if a single strong and responsible body in each area were, for all matters of local administration outside the criminal law, directly responsible in each department of its work to the corresponding

department of national government. At present the county council is thus responsible, for all educational matters within the county, to the Board of Education by which it is controlled, the power of control depending in the main on the government grant.

Now in matters of public health, the Local Government Board has direct but limited powers over the district councils, dependent chiefly on the contribution of Government to the salaries of the sanitary officials; whereas it has few powers over the county council, and the county council has no powers over the district councils except by complaint to the Local Government Board of their being in default. Thus the Local Government Board is commonly taking direct action in regard to the district councils without any regard to the unofficial but often effective action being taken by the county medical officer. Every year the county medical officer issues a carefully prepared report on the work of the district councils, and on all other work having a bearing on public health in this county; but these county reports have no statutory authority, and are not used by the Local Government Board as the basis of their local investigations.

The county council is therefore in an anomalous position. It is as if a general officer were to inspect the barrack-room behind the colonel's back. The county council should be responsible to the Local Government Board for the whole work of public health within the county, as the colonel is responsible for his regiment; and the Local Government Board should act only through the county authority, except on appeal from a locality against the action of that authority. The Local Government Board would thus be saved much unnecessary work; and the control of the county council, being far more intimate, would be far more searching than that of the Local Government Board, which cannot possibly keep its eye on every corner of England and Wales.

Whether local sanitation, under the control of the county council, should remain in the hands of the present local sanitary authorities or not is a matter of minor importance. For the present, to reduce opposition, it may be thought best to leave it so. But on the other hand, every extra task committed to the county authority increases the work demanded of the county councillors, and raises the county rate, to the discredit of the county authority in comparison with the work demanded of district councillors, and with the steadiness of the district rate. This discourages the busiest men, who often make the best councillors, from serving on the larger body; both directly and indirectly, therefore, the competition between the county and the minor local authorities hinders the work. It would be best to effect the complete change to single county council government without delay.

In the end, in any case, the aim must be to have only one authority, and only one series of elections for all purposes of local government within a county; to enlarge the body thus elected, partly by increasing the number of seats, partly by co-opting members of committees from outside, to be able to carry out the work; and so to develop a local parliament in which it will be, as in considerable degree it already is, an ambition and a privilege to sit. The local health committees in connection with the scheme of national insurance must be committees of this single county authority, with a large proportion of persons representing outside interests, and not a new and independent authority, in competition with the county council.

Officers of the County Service.

As regards the officers serving the public health committee of such an authority, let us again look fifty years ahead. There must then be no distinction between

preventive and curative medicine, for the two principles must be applied in every case; the only medicine taught and practised, whether in hospital work, Poor Law work, or general practice, must above all seek to prevent recurrence or aggravation or spread both of the disorder and of its effects. At the head then of the county medical service must be a man who has worked his way up through the ranks, and had experience of responsibility in institutional as well as out-door work, in treating individual cases of disease at home as well as looking for it at school, or observing it from an office, and treating it throughout the community as a whole. At present your county medical officer has either won his spurs as a district medical officer of health or school doctor or bacteriologist, out of touch with curative or clinical work, or, in so far as preventive medicine is concerned, he has won no spurs at all. Naturally the hospital and Poor Law officers raise objections to the appointment of such an officer to supervise the whole medical service of the county; and yet they would themselves be even less fitted by their work to take command of a public medical service, for their experience has been with individual cases rather than with the whole field of any morbid condition throughout a community; they are essentially tacticians—not strategists.

In the county medical service proposed, the young medical officer would first serve a novitiate in one of the medical institutions, assisting in such out-door work as would be connected with that institution with regard to school inspection and treatment of school children, certification for Government insurance, treatment of the insured as out-patients, and assistance to the health officer of the district. He would then serve for a time in what is now called Poor Law work, and again for a time as an assistant health officer. He might take up private practice, and still be engaged for part of his time for treatment of the poor as an agent of the county authority. Here he might remain; or after a time he might confine himself to private work or devote himself entirely to the public service, obtaining a higher appointment either in institutional work or as health officer; he might specialise in one or other, or turn from one to the other as vacancies might arise. It is from such men that the county medical officer of the future should be chosen. The field of choice open to the authorities on the one hand, in making an appointment, and to the officer on the other in seeking it at each stage, would be immeasurably widened for their mutual advantage if a standardisation of posts and emoluments were effected in the several counties. This might best be effected as a condition attaching to a government grant.

As with the medical officers, so with the sanitary inspectors, health visitors, school nurses, and other experts engaged in the county medical service in the future. Institutional work and district work must be complementary one to the other, for the sake both of the work done and the officials who undertake it. The limitations of the one and the restlessness of the other would each in turn be welcomed by those who at present have to choose permanently between service in the infirmary or service under the health or school authority or under a nursing association.

Relation to Voluntary Agencies.

Here, then, we come to the part to be played by voluntary, that is by unofficial, agencies. What are they? What is their value.

Essential Value of Voluntary Effort.

There are those who agree with a recent writer that "the net value to the public health of all these voluntary institutions is very small." This is the

very reverse of my own opinion. No law, no administration, however intelligent, is of value in a democratic country unless backed up by public opinion. Public opinion is framed by public experience, spread through the Press, under direction of the more educated laity. The advantage of voluntary efforts for the promotion of health lies in the responsibility undertaken by those who give time, labour, and money to the purpose and who become thereby active agents in spreading the desire for health, in persuading the less educated of the need and possibility of correcting defects, in securing the application of official measures and in supplementing official information, action, and ingenuity. To encourage such action and enlighten public opinion, the public should be kept far better informed than at present of the conditions found, action taken, and remedies either rejected or under consideration by the health authority. The annual report of the Medical Officer, which is often, as it should be, a mine of information and is usually printed at considerable cost, should be always placed on sale; and the law should require that a statement as to price and issuing office be printed on the front of every such report. Lectures, too, and demonstrations should be given from travelling vans, like those now successfully touring the country for the control of tubercle, or in parish rooms and evening classes like those given by the Voluntary Aid Organisation of the Territorial Force, or by lectures paid out of higher education funds.

Health authorities have hitherto played too much the "*deus ex machinâ*"; they should descend from their pedestal and take the public, both directly and in the form of voluntary agencies, into their inmost confidence.

Nursing Services.

First and foremost I would place the nursing associations. Sick nursing, like public health, is a speciality of this country. Instituted in the voluntary hospitals, professional nursing has spread to the Poor Law infirmaries, fever hospitals, and asylums, to the army and navy, to the colonial and Indian services; initiated for hospital work it has spread, still under voluntary auspices, into the urban and rural districts in every direction; inspired by humanity with the mere purpose of alleviation it has advanced its aim, first to that of cure, then to that of prevention. Here, too, following the lead set by Manchester for the towns, Miss Florence Nightingale has proved herself a shrewd and wise pioneer.* Her health visitors, appointed in 1892 for North Bucks, were to work under the Medical Officer of Health, to be trained by him and examined by someone else and inspected and reported on by an independent witness; but they were above all to exercise tact, sympathy, and common sense in teaching the cottagers in a simple way how to avoid preventable sickness. Miss Nightingale's health visitors were not nurses; but the combination of nursing and health visiting is advisable; there is no need for the separation of functions; the training of a sick nurse is the best training for a health visitor, and the work of the two offices to a large extent coincides. It would, moreover, be difficult to find and secure the appointment of health visitors *ad hoc* throughout the country, whereas we have already a network of nursing associations, whose nurses are known and trusted and have during a large part of the year a certain amount of time on their hands. If we are right in regarding the most important qualifications of a health visitor as those of tact,

* See "Letters from Miss Florence Nightingale on Health Visiting in Rural Districts," recently published for the National League of Physical Education and Improvement by P. S. King and Sons, Gt. Smith Street, S.W., price 3d.

sympathy, and common sense, then we shall do best to concentrate all work connected with nursing for each village community on the one village nurse-midwife, directing the training of future nurses of all kinds to this end.

The nurse, whether as sick nurse, midwife, school nurse, infant protector, or health visitor, is the intermediary between doctor and laity, interpreting medical rules, encouraging and assisting the householders to put them in force under the circumstances of their daily life. If properly trained, she should in every direction have her eye on prevention of disease and promotion of health. At times of confinement, in attention to the children, in nursing the sick, she has opportunities unsurpassed for the moulding of public opinion at its sources as well as for the direct application of principles in the homes.

District nursing is and must always remain to a large extent a function of voluntary service. The nurse, although guided by medical rules and advice, gains her inspiration from the sympathetic committee of ladies for whom she works and would lose it in a merely official system. The funds for this nursing service, moreover, are with advantage supplied by voluntary effort; if merged in the general rate, they would lose their influence in drawing public attention to the needs of public health; they would no longer enlist an army of influential supporters, pledged by their money to use their influence in the same direction, both with members of local authorities and with the general public.

What, then, are to be the relations of the nursing service with the proposed county health system? The relations must be intimate; the responsibility for maintaining such relations must be entrusted by the authority to the Medical Officer of Health. All detailed duties connected with nursing should be entrusted to nursing associations, to which the county council should give a grant in proportion to work done. The local nursing associations must for this purpose be co-ordinated under a single county nursing association, which should be the sole official and responsible channel for communication between the county council and the nursing organisations. The grant made by the county council, being given to this county nursing association for distribution, would tend to efficiency. In the constitution of this county nursing association the county council should be largely represented, as alternately the county nursing association would doubtless be largely represented on the county council and should be specifically represented by co-option in the constitution of the county health committee. The law, however, has already provided that county councils should inspect and supervise the practice of midwives and may do the same with regard to school nurses and health visitors. Most county councils, therefore, have appointed a lady inspector of midwives on the sound principle of setting a midwife to catch a midwife; some have also appointed school nurses or health visitors of their own. The executive, therefore, of the county nursing association should be guided by the two chief county officials concerned, the lady inspector and the county medical officer, who should be members and take a leading part in its work and in that of the sub-committees.

As the county nursing association is asked by the county council to provide the services of school nursing, health visiting, and so on, the duties of the lady inspector will expand and she will be best termed either inspector of nursing or county health visitor or county matron. If her duties grow beyond her unaided powers, she must be provided with clerical assistance, and, if needs be, with an assistant; but the control should be in single hands, under the general supervision of the county medical officer. Moreover, in some counties it may be found possible, as in Herts, for the county nursing association also to be directly in the hands of the county inspector,

who may serve also as secretary and general superintendent to the voluntary body. In this case it will be necessary to find a woman of exceptional powers, who is able to realise the very different attitude required in dealing respectively with voluntary and with official agencies. But if such can be found—and the work before long is likely to find them—it will be greatly to the advantage of efficient co-operation between the county authority and the county nursing association that all the executive work should be collected into the hands of a single county matron, holding a position analagous to that of the matron of a general hospital, with such staff as may be required.

One of the first fruits of such an association should be a county training home, fixed in the largest town in the geographical, if not in the administrative, county. Such a home enables an appropriate training to be given at a minimum cost to eligible women in the county in every department of work for which they will be required—sick nursing, midwifery, school work, and health visiting—their work as pupils being meanwhile available for the great benefit of the borough in which the home is situate. Such a home becomes a centre for all nursing work throughout the country, and is able by degrees to develop its staff so as to provide stop-gaps in case of holidays or sickness in the districts, supernumeraries for special outbreaks, a surgical home and a staff for private work amongst farmers and tradespeople who cannot afford the services of a London nurse.

To the Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses belongs the credit for the great and most satisfactory development of district nursing throughout the country on these lines. The training of nurses is now becoming stereotyped to provide two ranks, one of Queen's Nurses, with nearly four years' training, requiring a salary all told of from £80 to £100 a year, the other a village-nurse-midwife with a year's training who requires a salary all told of from £40 to £60 a year. There are now twenty-six such county associations in Great Britain and 947 local associations in Great Britain and Ireland employing 1,860 Queen's nurses, and 1,500 others; and the system of inspection under fourteen district inspectors and superintendents is doing a magnificent imperial work in developing and improving the work of nursing in the promotion of national health.

I have dealt thus at length with the work of nurses in relation to the proposed county health service because it is of all voluntary agencies the most important. The principles thus suggested in this connection will apply also to others.

Medical Practitioners.

The work of public health should pervade the whole community, and must largely depend on the co-operation of the private medical practitioner. If the direct work of public health in its various departments is, as I maintain it should be, entrusted rather to general practitioners than to specialists and mere inspectors, the relationship between the official and private agencies working for the public health will be much enhanced. But for all purposes the county medical officer and his staff, as well as the public health authority, have much to gain by the independent trained criticism of the private medical profession. The medical practitioners, therefore, whether through the local branches of the British Medical Association or otherwise, should be represented officially on the county authority, and the county medical officer should alternately be invited to take a seat on the executive body representing medical practitioners. This co-operation should be invited, whenever possible, and information be given them by circular and by the annual report of the work undertaken. Duties must not be demanded of them without proper remuneration, for the determination of which the interchange of representatives will be of advantage.

Treatment of School Children.

In the prominent question of treatment of school children, the value of voluntary agencies will be manifest. The school doctor finds so many children in need of attention at home, of spectacles or other apparatus, of dental or minor medical treatment, of continued medical observation or advice. Apart from medical provision, already dealt with, apart from the advice that may be given by health visitors, there are some requirements that can best be left to voluntary agencies. To this end children's care committees are often formed; but in rural areas any such new philanthropic body is formed substantially of the same persons who form the local nursing association. It is better to enlarge the scope of the nursing association than to set up a new organisation. In the absence of any such agency, and indeed, in any case, it would be well if managers would interest themselves in the subject. Managers should be given information of the defects requiring attention; and the attention of clergy and ministers of religion above all be directed to this sterling opportunity of practising the virtue of public and effective charity.

Voluntary Institutions.

But there is a larger and constantly growing number of voluntary agencies formed for the more direct purpose of promoting health. In a conference of health promoting institutions convened by the National League for Physical Education and Improvement under our President, the Lord Mayor, at the Guildhall of London last December, three of the papers read* gave an account of these bodies. It was shown that eighty-two national institutions of this nature were at work. Four aimed at general health promotion; nine others aimed at the same end from various technical standpoints; six were general social institutions with branches for work of health promotion; nine aimed at specific objects, besides eight concerned with the health of children, seven with housing, three with insanity, five with maternity, one with physical development; there were nine professional bodies dealing with health promotion; while twenty dealt with temperance, and one with the control of tubercle.

The paper on local schools for mothers and similar institutions showed the existence of six such organisations in Ireland, seven in Scotland, two in Wales, twenty in London, fifty-three in the rest of England, to which several, including ten in London, have since been added, making over one hundred in all. Of this number six were maintained and worked by municipalities, fifteen were assisted by municipal subscriptions or by the provision of premises or the services of municipal health visitors, while in many the Medical Officer of Health is either a member of the committee, or, at least, takes an active part in supervising the work. These institutions, however, are essentially voluntary, the number of voluntary helpers amounting to as many as 300 in Glasgow, while the expenses are generally met by voluntary contributions. The value of these agencies is untold; it is impossible to exaggerate their influence, either in correcting prevalent ideas and ignorance as to the general rules of healthy living and cleanliness in the home, or incidentally in reducing infant sickness and mortality.

Finally, the secretary of the National League for Physical Education and Improvement has kindly prepared for me a list of London health societies, which, including the twenty that have organised schools for mothers, number forty in all.

* Health Societies: Their Aims and Opportunities, by Mr. Douglas Eyre; the Co-ordination of Health Promoting Agencies, by Mr. F. E. Fremantle; Report on "Schools for Mothers" and Similar Institutions, by Mr. I. G. Gibbon; published in Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of Health Promoting Institutions by Messrs. P. S. King, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W., price 1s.

Most of these are local, confining their work to their own boroughs; but the Mansion House Council on Health and Housing, and the Social Welfare Association for London are metropolitan in extent, and several of the national agencies give a large share of their attention to London.

How, then, should these associations, if at all, be connected with the re-organised health service of the country? In the first place, no municipal contribution should be allowed without municipal representation directly or indirectly on the institution subsidised. This is a work in which lay members of the health authority may often with advantage take a part. In the second place, provision should be made by public health authorities for the training, or at least instruction, of the voluntary workers in the work they undertake, and by degrees it may be possible to urge, if not to require some such training of those who receive facilities.

With regard to the national institutions, there is sore need of organisation and of professional advice. Many are not making the best use of their powers; there is much overlapping, too much division and waste of office expenses; most of them rely on the advice of men and women who, however eminent and sympathetic, have had no experience of public health work. Medical Officers of Health can seldom spare time for the committee work on which the efficiency of such agencies must depend.

The National League has therefore put forward a scheme for co-ordinating the work of these institutions in connection with a popular museum and library of public health, which by focussing the work on public instruction, and by providing central facilities and office staff, might concentrate their activities and co-ordinate them into one federation with a central policy and common methods of administration as the supreme embodiment of public opinion and assistance in the promotion of health. It is to such a body, or to its sub-divisions, that the local voluntary agencies throughout the country should be able to look for guidance and help. On such a body health officials of all kinds should be strongly represented, and the Associations of County Councils and Municipal Corporations should take part in its work. The new standing Conference of county medical Officers of Health and the admission of three of its delegates to the meetings of the Public Health Committee of the County Councils Association would furnish a means of ensuring on behalf of the unified health service a proper channel of communication with the central, and through it with the affiliated voluntary institutions.

The work of these voluntary agencies is, to my mind, of such importance that it would seem to justify a demand for the appointment of an official of the Local Government Board to devote himself to the work of health-promotion by voluntary agencies. A precedent is furnished, for instance, in the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies; and the experience and authority of such an officer as a Registrar of Health Societies would be of great use, both to the societies and to the local authorities. The expenditure of municipal money in grants to these societies and the increasing recognition of their valuable work in relation to the miracle of the decreasing mortality of infants suggests, if it does not require, such an appointment.

Summary of General Suggestions.

In this paper no specific mention has been made of such invaluable agencies as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children or the voluntary hospitals; none of the share to be taken by private medical and dental practitioners

in the out-patient work of the municipal hospitals, which must in the near future take the place of workhouse infirmaries and supply medical and dental treatment as required for school children and for all other ages of the community. The problem of a municipal nursing service for the staffing of the public hospitals has been left over. Last and amongst the most important of all development comes the fascinating scheme of State insurance against invalidity and the large calls it will make on every agency, official and voluntary, for the prevention of malingering and the promotion of health. This and all other questions with regard to the interaction of voluntary agencies and the unified health service will be met by the principles already enunciated, viz. :—

(1) Unification of health authorities in a county system under a partly co-opted health committee of the county council;

(2) Organisation of a comprehensive county medical service, including both whole and part-time officers;

(3) Unification of certain local voluntary agencies under a county nursing association or a general social welfare association;

(4) Federation of central voluntary agencies;

(5) Official representation on the health authority, both expert and lay, of all voluntary agencies receiving facilities; .

(6) Official assistance by the Local Government Board in supervision of work of voluntary health-promoting institutions in receipt of public moneys.

Voluntary effort must not only be admitted—it must be coaxed and encouraged; it is essential to democracy, filling the human needs lacking in a system of government by experts. All information, therefore, and every available facility and assistance must be given it; and while seeking to train and direct it into the most effective channels, care must ever be taken lest official support sap its independence and deprive it of that responsibility for results, good and bad, which supplies experience for the education of the workers and through them of the public. In the proper association of voluntary with official effort in a reasonably organised county service lies the greatest hope for the future health, strength, and happiness of the nation.

Unification of the Public Medical Services in County Boroughs.

By H. Meredith Richards, M.D.
(Medical Officer of Health, Croydon.)

The subject of this paper is so intimately associated with the medical aspects of national insurance that I have been unable to formulate any definite opinions until opportunity had been afforded for careful study of the Bill. Even now (May 22nd) one does not know the exact form which the Bill will ultimately take. For the purpose of argument it is probably convenient to assume that the principal provisions will remain unaltered as far, at any rate, as the general scope and administrative machinery of the measure are concerned. I am also going to assume that those exercising financial control will recognise—as they sooner or

later must—that the remuneration offered must be sufficient to attract men and women of ability, and to ensure the maximum of willing service.

By a unified service is understood one in which all the medical officers are, as far as their public duties are concerned, responsible to one public administrative body and in which, within the limits of the terms of their appointments, all the officers are prepared to assist one another in improving and maintaining the health of the community, and of those particular persons who may be relegated to the care of individual members of the service. This being granted, a plain statement of the medical needs of a county borough make the necessity for a unified medical service obvious.

Should the Insurance Bill become law in its present form, the Public Medical Service in a county borough would include:—

Local or Central Authority.	Medical Officer.	Chief Functions.
Friendly Society or Local * Health (Insurance) Committee.	Medical Attendants.	To attend on insured members of approved Societies.
Local Health (Insurance) * Committee.	Medical Attendants.	To attend on insured workers belonging to the "Post Office group."
Poor Law Guardians.	Infirmary Superintendent and Assistants.	To attend the "destitute" undergoing treatment in the Infirmary or Workhouse. To examine Poor Law lunatics.
Poor Law Guardians.	District Medical Officers.	To attend to the "destitute" at their homes.
Poor Law Guardians.	Public Vaccinators.	To carry out the provisions of the Vaccination Acts.
Borough Council (Education Committee).	School Medical Officer and Assistants.	To inspect Elementary School Children. To treat school children under certain circumstances. To examine mentally and physically defective children, etc.
Borough Council (Lunacy Committee).	Medical Superintendent of Asylum and Assistants.	To treat patients at the Borough Asylum.
Borough Council.	Medical Superintendent of Fever Hospital and Assistants.	To treat patients in Fever Hospitals.
Borough Council.	Bacteriologist.	To make bacteriological investigations for the diagnosis of disease, etc.
Borough Council.	M.O.H. and Assistants.	To supervise the Public Health work of the Borough, including the investigation of epidemic disease, the supervision of phthisis, the supervision of midwives. the organisation of Infants' Consultations, provision of Instruction in Hygiene especially in reference to infants' and children.

* To avoid confusion "Local Health (Insurance) Committee" is used instead of the ambiguous "Health Committee" suggested in the Bill.

To this list might be added factory surgeons, doctors employed by the Post Office to attend the local staff, police surgeons and coroners, and, in certain boroughs, medical inspectors under the Aliens Act, medical referees under the Workmen's Compensation Act, medical inspectors of seamen, medical inspectors of ships, and prison surgeons.

Leaving on one side, for the moment, this supplementary list of officers whose work is confined to limited sections of the community, and concentrating our attention on the first list, which includes the principal municipal services, it is important to inquire how the medical needs of the community are at present met, and how far the machinery suggested in the National Insurance Bill will remedy existing defects and is capable of co-ordination with existing agencies.

The following conclusions are based on many years' experience of medical work in London, Croydon, Nottingham, Birmingham, and the County of Derby, together with a limited experience of medical work in South Wales.

In many instances medical assistance is not sought in the early and curable stages of disease. Mild attacks of communicable complaints are frequently undetected. Diseases such as measles are usually untreated and disregarded both by individuals and by the community, until a disastrous epidemic compels public attention.

Much medical club and dispensary practice is a perfunctory performance, as necessarily ensues if the remuneration is such that a satisfactory income cannot be earned unless a larger number of patients are "attended" than can possibly receive adequate "advice." As an inevitable consequence the path of least resistance is followed, a thorough examination of the patient is too frequently postponed, a bottle of medicine takes the place of advice, and little is done to inculcate any necessary change of habits, or to furnish needed information concerning such matters of personal hygiene as choice of diet, clothing, exercise, and fresh air. Finally, if the medical man is unfortunate enough to depend entirely on unremunerative club practice he degenerates into a mere distributor of drugs who has lost all genuine interest in the advance of medicine, and is too overworked to keep himself in touch with the newer aids to diagnosis and treatment. It is for these reasons that one feels that certain ideals should be kept in mind at such an important epoch in the evolution of medical organisation:—

No system will be satisfactory that has not a preventive impetus that will deflect the future work of the profession towards prevention and advice. This would increase the efficiency of the curative side of medicine which would gain from a more thorough investigation of the natural history and causation of disease.

No system will be satisfactory that does not place a certain proportion of specialists at the disposal of the patients of the Public Medical Service.

The problem will perhaps be made more clear if we examine a concrete case. Take, for instance, consumption (pulmonary phthisis) occurring in the family of a working man.

If the patient is an adult it is pretty certain that the disease will remain unrecognised during its early and curable stages. He may receive no treatment at all, or may be physiced for indigestion or cough, which are often the only prominent symptoms of early tuberculosis. In the meantime he may be infecting his family or fellow-workmen. If fortunate enough to live in a sanitary district, which undertakes the treatment of phthisis through its Public Health Department, he may be sent for treatment and, or, hygienic training to a sanatorium. Otherwise, or if the progress of the disease is not arrested, he drifts into the care of the

Poor Law, passing in and out of the infirmary until he becomes bedridden and ends his days either in the infirmary or in his own home. In either case the chances are greatly in favour of his infecting his wife and children, who in the meantime have been under constant economic pressure. Should the patient be a child the outlook is no more helpful. The disease may have been recognised, or at any rate, suspected by the school doctor, and in these circumstances treatment should at once have been secured. Under present conditions there are very few towns where this is even attempted. As a rule there is no tuberculosis clinic where assistance in diagnosis and in treatment can be secured, and sanatorium provision for children hardly exists. Unless the child is " destitute," little help can be extracted from the Poor Law Authority, and the assistance rendered by such institutions as the Brompton Hospital, though invaluable in individual instances, is only available for a very small minority. In no case is there effective co-ordination of effort between existing institutions and authorities.

Let us see how the machinery of the National Insurance Bill meets the case. Two alternatives immediately present themselves.

Medical attendance for the " Post Office " group, which will include most of the "bad lives," will be arranged by the new local Health (Insurance) Committee, while approved friendly societies may make their own arrangements for medical attendance on their members, or hand over this part of their duties to the local Health (Insurance) Committee. There is therefore considerable likelihood of a duplicate organisation arising in each district. This must prove an obstacle to that combination of effort and improvement in methods which are so obviously desirable. Most friendly societies (though I quite admit there are exceptions) will probably endeavour to continue the system which has been so disastrous in the past. The government should therefore be strongly urged to make it obligatory for all friendly societies to relegate their medical work to one local authority. Many friendly societies would welcome such an arrangement which would avoid many sources of friction, for (1) the medical profession will be represented on the local Health (Insurance) Committee; (2) the local committee is likely to offer more generous terms than the friendly societies can afford, as the local committee can obtain subventions from local sources for work done of a preventive character; (3) there will be less difficulty in arranging very considerable " choice of doctors."

Moreover, the local Health (Insurance) Committee is charged with the control of the " sanatorium benefit," which includes not merely the open-air treatment of phthisis, but other forms of specialised treatment, both for this and, eventually, for other diseases.

If the whole of the medical work of the locality be entrusted to the local Health (Insurance) Committee it is of the utmost importance that this body should be closely associated with the larger public health authorities. Otherwise there is bound to be a continuance of the overlapping in public medical work, which has proved so detrimental in the past; considerable waste of money from the duplication of offices and clerical staff, and a failure to correlate the work of the National Insurance Scheme with the medical work of the borough and county councils.

As I recently pointed out elsewhere public health authorities are already concerned in the diagnosis and treatment of communicable diseases, including not only the ordinary infectious fevers, but also tuberculosis and ophthalmia. They are also in some instances responsible for infants' consultations and the general supervision of infant life, for medical attendance in midwifery emergencies and, through their education committees, for the treatment of diseases of the eye, ear, throat, skin, and teeth occurring in school children. Experience, too, shows that

treatment and prevention are so inseparably associated that many health authorities are perforce undertaking more and more "treatment." It will be a great mistake if this work is not correlated with the new scheme for medical attendance on the insured. If this is admitted, the contemplated local Health (Insurance) Committees should be statutory committees of the county and borough councils strengthened by the addition of co-opted members to represent the medical profession and the insured. This would enable the Health Committees to take effective action, instead of merely making complaints to the Central Authority or offering criticisms which would usually prove sterile. This is not the occasion to labour the point, but it may be pointed out that a statutory committee would be likely to obtain financial assistance from local authorities for public medical work, which might well be refused to a new and independent local authority, constituted solely for insurance purposes.

Assuming that a statutory health committee is entrusted with the medical work of the Insurance Scheme, there could be no insuperable objection to transferring to the same committee all the purely medical activities of the borough or county councils, together with the medical work of the guardians when Poor Law reform takes place.

Leaving the Poor Law service out of consideration for the moment, I suggest that the following scheme would satisfy the requirements of a county borough :—

The statutory Health Committee should establish one or more clinics, staffed by part or whole-time salaried medical officers who would—

(*a*) Treat patients referred to the clinics who were suffering from phthisis and other diseases requiring specialised treatment. These patients would include, not only the insured, but children attending elementary schools and, when the Insurance Scheme is extended, all the dependents of the insured.

(*b*) Act as consultants and referees, and inquire into cases where the claims on the sick fund were unduly large.

(*c*) Undertake the medical work now devolving on the borough and county councils, *e.g.*, medical inspection of school children, supervision of midwives, infants' consultations, provision of health lectures, etc.

The Statutory Health Committee will also have to arrange for the domiciliary treatment of the insured. This is a subject which presents great difficulties, as the needs and circumstances of different sections of the insured vary so considerably. Personally, I am disposed to suggest the following scheme as a tentative solution :—

The Statutory Committee should arrange with general practitioners for medical attendance on the insured on a capitation basis. Subject to certain safeguards, including inspection by the supervising authority and co-operation in preventive measures, the insured should have free choice of doctor, and the medical man doing the work have the right to refuse to undertake the treatment of particular patients. The free choice of doctors should be cancelled if the insured proved a malingerer, or otherwise unworthy.

This arrangement should apply to all insured persons except the voluntary contributors and those whose employers are already making *adequate arrangements for sick pay during the first six months of illness.* (Special consideration is already contemplated for this class by Sections 19 and 56, and Schedule 1 of the Bill.) For this class, which will include most of the salaried clerks in constant employ, a modified deposit system, to which the employer would not contribute, should be arranged.

The deposit society should: —

(1) Guarantee to pay the permanent invalidity benefit mentioned in the Bill.

(2) Insure medical attendance in the case of permanent invalidity.

(3) Allow the insured to arrange for medical attendance on the usual friendly deposit lines—viz., by payment for attendance on an agreed scale—which can be supplemented by the patient, if he selects a doctor whose customary charges are higher than those in the schedule.

(4) Allow any balance of the deposit to be withdrawn at 65, or exchanged for an old age pension.

This would have the great advantage of not interfering with the substantial benefits now accruing to clerks in good employ, would check malingering, avoid unnecessary demands on the doctor, and allow complete freedom of contract between patient and medical man. If existing deposit societies can produce a plan of combined insurance and deposit on these lines there is a good prospect of their fulfilling a very useful function in the national scheme.

Finally, I would reiterate my opinion that great elasticity is necessary in order that the National Scheme of Insurance may prove the success that we all desire, and the maximum of willing service be obtained from the medical profession.

A Unified Medical Service for Scotland.

By A. K. Chalmers, M.D., D.P.H.
(Medical Officer of Health, Glasgow.)

"The belief in the possibility of social reform through conscious effort is the most dominant current in the modern European mind. . . . It has superseded the old belief in liberty as the one panacea. . . . Its currency in the present is as significant and as pregnant as the belief in the Rights of Man about the time of the French Revolution."*

In the passage from which I have quoted Mr. Leathes is describing some of the channels through which the social unrest of the age is endeavouring to translate itself into action, and it is pertinent to ask what bearing it has on the subject of our discussion.

It might be suggested that the claim for a Unified Public Health Service was simply the statement of a social theory, or again that it rested on the substantial basis of a recognised national need. In either case there would be an implied dissatisfaction with the existing machinery by which the science of medicine seeks to further the national welfare. In this sense the subject of our discussion comes well within the field of "social reform through conscious effort."

On what, then, does this claim for unified service rest? On a theory of administration or on the teachings of experience? The economist might urge it on the ground that the multiple and overlapping services which at present exist are wasteful alike of public money and individual energy.

The overlapping of statutory and voluntary organisations for medical relief,

* *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol XII., chap. I., "Modern Europe," by Stanley Leathes, M.A., p. 15.

the failure of both in so many instances to make their work preventive as well as palliative, supports this view.

Others frankly appeal to the accumulated evidence of recent years with its burden of physical inefficiency and mental defect as contributory causes of destitution and crime.

It is a striking illustration of the permanence of the problem which disease presents that this last argument, in essence at least, lay at the foundation of the movement for sanitary reform. Where it differs is in the recognition that selective forces are in operation which compel attention to individual requirements. What produces the inefficient where so many escape?

To all of you the history of the movement which has brought us to the present position will be familiar. I shall only refer to it here for the purpose of illustrating my argument.

Barely a decade ago few questioned the success of our measures for the prevention of disease, and the particular phase of it called physical inefficiency was assumed to be covered by the general advance.

But during the past ten years we have been engaged in a scrutiny of our social structure with an energy which some have called morbid. In a sense the scrutiny was inevitable and some of the results have been disquieting.

Put shortly it may be said that during the earlier years of last century public opinion was slowly awakening to the perils of existing conditions, while the latter half was occupied in endeavouring to ameliorate or remove such of these conditions as were prejudicial to health. I speak only of the medical aspect of the question. Disease had come to be regarded not only as an individual misfortune, but as a factor in national welfare. Its causation was seen frequently to be dependent on environment, and environment was the sum of external conditions which might be altered at will. Uncontrolled aggregation of populations in large industrial centres was teaching its lesson after its own fashion, and emphasising its teaching by claiming annually thousands of lives from fevers and other preventable diseases. The control of disease became an imperious necessity, for disease was seen to be not only one of the results of poverty, but frequently also a cause of it. The function of preventive medicine was to show the connection; it lay with the social conscience of the nation to provide the legislative and administrative machinery by which a remedy might be provided. The result was a series of legislative enactments, which might be called the Sanitary Code of the Nineteenth Century. Their aim was to alter the environment of the individual, and so we had provision for the removal of nuisances, for providing pure water supplies and efficient sewering, for demolishing and reconstructing insanitary areas, for isolating the infectious sick, for regulating the conditions of labour in so far as these were demonstratively injurious to health. The medical treatment of the sick poor became a function of Poor Law administration, while education, which administratively took origin as a side issue of factory legislation, became first compulsory, then free.

Crude as the outline is it may help to suggest the work which was necessary before the problems, which have received so much attention during the present decade, could be disclosed.

The more obvious results of all this activity are well known, but it is fair to remember that we were never without those (Huxley and Spenser, and at a later date Lecky and Flinders Petrie) who urged that even a continuous fall in the death rate did not always or even often connote improved health in the survivors.

The question, however, took a new phase when the recruiting returns for the army during the South African War became known. The danger of physical deterioration, especially in cities, was too important to be left in the region of inference.

To what extent were the army returns applicable to the population at large? And so an appeal to facts became necessary. The first definite work undertaken to find answer to the question was, I think, that of the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland, and the inquiry was directed to ascertain what opportunities for physical training were available in State-aided schools and other educational institutions in Scotland, and to suggest means by which such training might be made conducive to the welfare of the pupils. Thereafter, in rapid succession, we had the inquiry by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded, many reports by local officials on the physique of school children, the relation of these to housing and economic conditions, the feeding and medical inspection of school children, the Select Committee on Home Work (mainly economic in its bearing, but incidentally dealing with the sanitary conditions of the worker), several inquiries into vagrancy, and last, but most comprehensive in its sweep, the monumental Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws.

One might select from any of these reports the depth of shadow by which he wishes to throw into relief the indications of national progress, but I shall confine myself to those which have direct bearing on the public health aspects of the problem.

In considering what these new problems are, let us try to look at them as affecting the several stages of life from age to youth. It is during childhood, if anywhere, that we get into touch with the problems in the making. If our methods of prevention were reasonably complete, there should be few examples of unfitness, as we at present regard it, of a preventable sort among them.

So that attention is at once arrested by a statement of the Commission on Physical Training that in an inquiry into the state of nutrition and the mental and physical condition of 100,000 children (boys and girls) in English schools, 3 per cent. (3,000) were found to be delicate or badly nourished, and 7 per cent. (7,000) were mentally dull. Considering how large a proportion of recruits for the army is drawn from the ranks of unskilled labour, these proportions help us to appreciate the significance of the recruiting officer's proportion of 31 per cent. rejected for disease or other defects.

Significant as are these figures of the large numbers of children who are approaching a belated and imperfect maturity, their recognition would have little practical value if they stood unrelated to other conditions in their early surroundings, and at once the whole field of home influences, food, housing, and personal character comes up for review. Comparisons of height and weight of children at several ages are introduced with the object of making this comparison clearer, and the opinion is expressed that "whatever may be the case with the population as a whole, there exists in Scotland an undeniable degeneration of individuals of the classes where food and environment are defective."

Incidentally the occurrence of mental defect among school children is referred to.

The need for a national system of physical training raises the question of the need for adequate feeding, and medical inspection of school children becomes a

necessity for the protection of weakly children who might otherwise suffer from the physical strain.

Active disease also was sometimes found affecting the child's capacity for instruction, while what passed for mental dulness might be found to be remediable through the correction of some eye defect.

So also from the side of the nervous system there was evidence of instability in the ill-fed and mentally over-stimulated child who was the product of casual life on the streets, a condition in which there was a certain degree of alertness but also a considerable lack in the power of sustained attention. From this hooliganism, which was essentially a disease of cities, arose.

Here, then, are some of the first results of the new inquiry, and they afford a suggestive insight into the large mass of potential physical inefficiency "in the making," the existence of which has been obscured to a large extent by the very considerable improvement which had taken place in the population as a whole.

Closely following on this report the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration began its inquiry. Its original instructions were to establish a preliminary inquiry into the allegations concerning the deterioration of certain classes of the population as shown by the large percentage of rejections for physical causes of recruits for the army and by other evidence, especially the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland, which we have just considered, and was subsequently enlarged to include the causes of such physical deterioration as does exist, and to point out the means by which it can be most effectually diminished.

In the discussions, which preceded the appointment of the Commission, one became familiar with the use of the phrase "physical deterioration," as implying a progressive change in the physique of the nation, as indicating a sort of national dry rot, affecting not particular sections of the population, but the nation as a whole. Had this been anywhere near the truth, the whole fabric of our health legislation would have stood convicted of being a monstrous delusion. The facts were happily otherwise, but even so they were significant enough. Every medical officer was familiar with local variations in the circumstances affecting the health of persons living in different portions of our community. The residential suburbs had lower death-rates than the industrial districts, and these affected every age period of life. The city population had one death-rate, the rural district another. Occupations could be graded in relation to disease, and probably most significant of all was the association which could be established between the kind or size of house a family occupied, and its freedom from or susceptibility to disease. How could this knowledge be turned to practical account, and particularly what bearing had it on the production of physical defect? It was but a further step in the argument from environment to follow it into the home life of the individual. Disease again played the part of mentor, and pointed to the home life which fell below any reasonable standard of healthy living as the source of our physical inefficiency. Quoting from the evidence, the Report cites the death-rate in our one apartment houses in Glasgow, which is nearly twice that of the city as a whole—Finsbury, where over 14,000 occupying one-roomed tenements have a death-rate of 39 as compared with 20 for the whole burgh; Southwark, which loses 14 years in the average expectation of life as compared with Hampstead, and remarks: "Facts like these show where the mischief lies."

Admittedly, the environment of that section of the population which was being passed over by the advancing tide of hygiene was bad.

Another phase, or rather, an entirely new problem, is presented in the results of the Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded.

In the course of the inquiry, medical investigators were appointed to ascertain the extent and nature of the mental defect prevailing in selected districts, and so as to include within the scope of their Commission children in elementary schools, persons of all ages in Poor Law institutions, or in receipt of out-door relief, or known to the sanitary authorities or medical charities and medical practitioners, the police, the inmates of prisons and inebriate homes, the inmates of charitable institutions, common lodging houses, training homes, reformatories and industrial schools; in fact, wherever such persons could be found.

The results were in a sense remarkable, and have probably been nowhere better focussed than in the preface to an abstract of the Report issued last year by a Cambridge committee, from which I quote the following:—

"There are at this moment some 150,000 persons in the country who while not certifiably insane are suffering from mental defect, unhappy in themselves, a sorrow and burden to their families, and a growing cause of expense and danger to the community. Under proper care in surroundings adapted to their needs the majority of them can be trained to do work which supplies a stimulus and an interest to their limited intelligences, and provides a substantial share of the cost of their maintenance.

"Left unprotected, they suffer moral and physical degradation. Mental defects are hereditary: the feeble-minded are prolific: and thus the relative amount of feeble-mindedness and insanity increases at an ever-growing rate, and threatens the race with progressive deterioration."

It is important to note the conditions under which the feeble-minded occur.

Environment in the sense of physical surroundings formed the platform from which much of the public health legislation of the past years was urged. Overcrowding of persons in houses, and of houses on building sites, defects in lighting and ventilation of houses and factories, the retention of impurities in the neighbourhood of dwellings, smoke-polluted air and sewage-polluted water, were facts as capable of demonstration as were the excessive death-rates among the populations living in their midst. What more natural than to assume that the stunted physique of our city populations, narrow-chested and bloodless, badly fed, badly housed and badly clothed, with nerve centres always under excessive stimulation, and in consequence always unstable, emotional to a degree which makes hooliganism and Mafeking nights possible, what more natural than to assume that all these formed the pathway to the mental defect of which the Commission speaks.

In other words, is the distribution of mentally defective persons in the country in any way parallel with the distribution of disease generally, and in particular with these diseases which we regard as due to bad environment? Are the causes similar or different?

In the opinion of the Commissioners these inquiries show "that feeble-mindedness is practically as common in rural as in urban districts, and is probably no less prevalent among the well-to-do than among the poor. It is clear that if the contentions of those who place predominant stress on adverse environmental influences as a cause of feeble-mindedness were just, there would be an unquestionable prevalence of this affliction among the urban poor, who are the chief victims of poverty and disease."

In considering the bearing of the Poor Law Commissioners' Report on the questions we have been reviewing, it is useful to remember that practically all

our sanitary administration dates from the years which immediately followed the Poor Law Report of 1834. Preventive medicine, it is true, had an earlier beginning. But disease as a cause of pauperism assumed a new importance, and the prevention of much of the pauperism which prevailed implied as a preliminary step the prevention of disease. The present Commissioners therefore could scarcely escape reviewing the results of the great scheme of sanitary reform which had thus emerged, as it were, from the labours of their predecessors, and the words with which their review concludes read to me like a terrible indictment of our methods of social administration:—

Paragraph 152: "It is very unpleasant to record that notwithstanding our assumed moral and material progress, and notwithstanding the enormous annual expenditure amounting to nearly sixty millions a year upon poor relief, education, and public health (an increase from sixteen to nearly sixty millions between 1850 and 1907), we still have a large army of persons quartered upon us unable to support themselves—an army which in numbers has shown signs of increase rather than decrease. To what is the retrogression due? It cannot be attributed to lack of expenditure. Is this costly and elaborate machinery we have established defective, and if so, where does it fail to accomplish its end? Is the material upon which this machinery operates becoming less amenable to the remedies applied?"

To the obvious criticism that much of this pauperism might be due to the prolongation of life beyond the working years their answer is that, "so far as statistics of old age pauperism are available we do not find that aged persons in receipt of relief have increased more rapidly than other adult paupers."

And again, to the possible criticism that our present methods of education will in time relieve us of the burden, their reply is, "A generation has elapsed since elementary education became universal, and the benefits to be derived from the system should now be accruing to the nation. Persons now above 50 years of age have not, it is true, participated in the advantages conferred in 1870, but of persons below that age there is no diminution in the number coming upon the Poor Laws."

There is, of course, a risk that if we focus attention too exclusively on the defects of our social administration we lose balance in the perspective, and are in some danger of forgetting the great preponderance of good which it has accomplished. To maintain 37 millions of a population on a higher average plane of healthy activity than the 21 millions whom they have replaced is no mean record for a nation to have accomplished in fifty years. The inquiries which we have been reviewing have taken us, however, beyond the glamour of general averages. They have afforded us glimpses of the camp followers of progress—on the one hand the physically inefficient, who is the product of environment, and on the other the mentally defective, who appear to stand outside the question of environment altogether.

The several inquiries which we have been considering were each based on the assumption that defects had arisen in our social organisation which were prejudicial to the welfare of the community. In each some part of the original assumption has been established beyond, I think, all reasonable doubt.

We should, however, I believe, be untrue to our past history if the magnitude of the defects disclosed should give rise to a feeling of hopelessness in our ability to deal with them.

The question is how far existing methods of administration can do this effectively. They were devised to alter environment, and only incidentally to guide the individual. Mankind in the mass might be influenced, but man himself could

escape. We have already indeed recognised this, and the various schemes for the visitation of infants and for the medical inspection and feeding of school children have resulted.

But the risk to public health arises no longer, as in the middle of last century, from recurring ravages of epidemic disease, but from the anæmias and rickets, the stunted growth and unstable nerves of town populations, which have acquired the fatal gift of maintaining and increasing their numbers without reinforcement from rural stocks. Immigration from rural districts still proceeds, it is true, but the births in town populations always exceed the deaths in number.* The conditions of town life must exercise some selective action upon those who come under their influence.

We have the evidence of the Commission on the Care of the Feeble-minded, from which I have quoted, that mental defect is relatively as prevalent in rural as in urban districts. More recently the Certifying Physician in Lunacy for the Glasgow Parish Council (Dr. John Carswell), has pointed out that adolescent insanity occurs most frequently where disease generally is most prevalent.

The statements are not, I think, contradictory. They may illustrate the action of heredity on the one hand, and of heredity, plus environment on the other. In any case, they broaden the field which the Committee on Physical Deterioration opened up Disease and its effect on the individual is claiming recognition in place of disease and its results in the mass, which was the objective of the older administrative hygiene, and to meet this new demand our administrative methods are not adapted. This, it seems to me, is the basis on which the claim for a Unified Medical Service rests.

The infant and the school child were easy of access, and so a beginning has been made in the visitation of infants and the medical inspection of school children, but the gap between them requires to be bridged over, and the period of the latter extended to early adolescence.

Our knowledge of occurring disease—save certain kinds of infectious disease—at the moment is limited to those which are fatal. That this is no longer adequate is evident in the inquiries which have been referred to.

Now a new feature is likely to be introduced through the National Insurance Bill, and we shall have an opportunity of gaining precise information regarding the occurrence of disease among adults on a scale unparalleled in our history. Also, incidentally, it should provide the beginning of a system of Civil Registration, which for many reasons is desirable.

If all this is to be turned to public advantage and to have a preventive value against physical inefficiency and disease, the organisation cannot stop short at co-relating existing forms of statutory medical assistance and supervision under Poor Law and public health authority. The voluntary hospitals and medical charities generally, as well as all voluntary agencies for health purposes should have their spheres of action defined. Wasteful overlapping occurs everywhere, and is an important element in the problem.

The defects of the past have arisen largely from concentration on the house. The new movement must concentrate on the home, and on the individual.

Here, I think, is the field where the voluntary visitor has unlimited scope, because the ground is scarcely yet broken. So we have need for after-care committees and infant health visitors.

* It is little more than 100 years since the births in any city of this country exceeded the number of deaths occurring annually.

In some such manner only does it seem to me that we may hope to make the whole service preventive. Reformation in domestic habits and in home life which it is the object of the voluntary visitor to bring about will have a very definite preventive value. But the worker must be trained for the work.

Unification of administrative areas is one of the first requirements. In Scotland our system of local administration may seem even more complex than in England. The parish is the unit of administration for Poor Law purposes, and save in some of the larger towns is also that of the primary education authority. Each has a separate organisation. In counties the local authority for public health purposes is the district committee; in towns it is the burgh or town council. The area of the local authority in large towns may include portions of the area of several of the authorities for other purposes.

Discussion.

Lord CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH, who opened the discussion, said when they were on a road and were desirous of seeing where it was going it was sometimes as well to look back upon the road they had come, as well as upon the road they were going forward to, and if they did that the necessity for some unified medical service appeared to be utterly conclusive. In the old days medical relief was given to those considered too poor and too destitute to get any for themselves, and a certain amount of sanitation work was done, because it was considered that it was necessary for the purpose of general health and training that it should be undertaken by a public service. Since then there had been various Acts of Parliament passed, which left obvious the necessity of having some medical service for the local authorities to deal with. There was the Midwives Act, for instance, which prohibited certain unqualified people from practising, but omitted to make any satisfactory provision for properly qualified people. Then there was the inspection of school children, which provided that education authorities should have the medical inspection of the children under their care, but forgot altogether to provide any funds or means for what was to be done with the children when they were found to be ailing. On the other hand, of course, there was a large public service which aimed at prevention; there was the inspection of food, the sanitation of houses, and various other duties which were all lodged in public bodies. With all this he thought it was quite obvious that something must be done. Then again there was the new Insurance Bill of the Government, which had a very important bearing on the point, because when the State wished to create an insurance fund and guarantee a return for that insurance, there was every necessity that those who were ill and sick should have proper medical attendance. He would at once express the opinion that it was idle to say that having taken the money from the contributors for that purpose, the State could hand it over to anybody they liked, and say, "You will get medical assistance from so-and-so, and whatever it is you will have to be satisfied with it." No State could do that. Once the State took the obligation—and rightly took the obligation—involved in saying to people, not only that they might insure, and that they must insure, it was utterly impossible for the State to get rid of that obligation; it would have to provide not only medical care for those who were insured, but it would have to see that the medical care which was given was efficient and proper. (Hear, hear.) It was a long road probably, but he thought it must appear to them as perfectly clear that they had now entered upon that road, and go upon that road they must. At the present time there was no doubt that some of these duties of dealing with medical matters were placed upon small authorities who were too small properly to deal with them, or they were entrusted to entirely voluntary efforts, which were likely to be disjointed and overlapping, and he thought that the inevitable trend would be that they would

have to have a general public medical authority which would look after both the cure of the sick and the prevention of disease, and that probably, as most of the writers of the papers had agreed, the natural areas of these bodies would have to be those of the Counties and of the County Boroughs. It was, of course, difficult to say whether the existing governing authorities in these areas were to take up the work, or whether they were to have some other body to do it. But whether it was some portion of the existing bodies or new bodies, the whole medical system would have to be organised under their supervision in some way, and it would have to be a way which would embrace everything that was good and valuable and useful in the existing system. He hardly thought that the Insurance Bill, as it first appeared, pointed to anything which was sufficiently homogeneous and sufficiently practical, and all-embracing to satisfy the requirements of what they wanted; and he was afraid that where the system would exactly carry them to was a little difficult to see. It appeared to him inevitable that up to some limit—which he believed would be determined not by legislative enactment, but by practical development—the care of the sick would devolve upon what he might call this unified body, which would to a certain extent be a State body. It appeared to him unnatural to expect, once the State took to the general care of those who were infirm and ill, that the doctor, up to a certain point, could hope to be anything else except more or less a State official. It had happened in the case of education, as the inevitable result of the State having taken over elementary education. From that moment the teacher in the private school had been gradually dropped out, and his place had been filled by the State-paid and State-instructed teacher, and it was only when they came to that line, where people would pay a considerable amount for the sake of having such instruction as they wished, and which they could control themselves, that the private and independent teacher could live, and he was afraid they must look forward to the day when something analagous would happen in the medical profession, and when the sick would be divided into two classes, those who wished to avail themselves of State-aided medical assistance, and those who wished to depend entirely upon that which they paid for and controlled themselves. In the same way, he thought there would be very little doubt that there would be a tendency for the public medical service, when this unification had taken place, to get a very large control over the hospital work of the country. That might be regretted. The hospitals worked under private organisation, and had done extraordinarily good work, and every praise was due to those who had worked them in the past, but he thought that in the future they must look forward to the State and to this unified medical body, whenever it was formed, taking a very large share of the work with regard to the hospitals as well as other treatment. One word more, and he had done. He hoped that whatever happened in this way, that they would still have—and he was confident they would have—a very large amount of voluntary work and assistance. The subject itself was one that would always appeal to those who were kindly and philanthropic, and nothing in the way of State-paid labour could ever replace the energy and the interest and the sympathy of the voluntary worker.

Dr. G. F. Buchan (Medical Officer of Health, Heston and Isleworth Urban District) thought that those who had read the papers and listened to the explanatory statements of the readers of them, must have agreed that the need for the unification of the public medical service had been proved. The table in Dr. Lyster's paper showed very clearly the multiplicity of authorities and agencies at work on behalf of public health. There were the District Councils, the Boards of Guardians, the County Councils, and the voluntary agencies, with which Dr. Fremantle particularly dealt. It was also true that these authorities did not serve one master. For purposes of public health and for purposes of old age pensions, the District Council served under the Local Government Board; for purposes of health in workshops it served under the Home Office; for the purpose of medical inspection and the health of school children it served under the Board of Education. The Board of Guardians served under the Local Government Board. The County Council for public health work had some connection—not a very clear connection—with the Local Government Board; the school medical inspection was under the Board of Education; and for the control of midwives it was under the Central Midwives Board. Further, under the present Insurance Bill now before Parliament, new authorities were proposed to be set up, the Friendly Societies with their medical staffs, and the local Health Committees with their medical staffs, and it had further to be observed that if the Friendly Societies distributed medical relief, they might have, even in a small area,

twenty or thirty authorities distributing medical relief. With these facts before them, he thought they would all see that the unification of public medical service was a pressing problem if public funds were to be conserved and efficiency to be maintained. In considering any question for the unification of the public medical services, it was absolutely necessary that they should cast off any local or parochial prejudices with which they might be beset. This was not a question of county public health administration; it was a national question, and the practical question before them, not only as members of the conference, but as citizens of the Empire, was, how were they going to obtain unity of administration and unity of purpose for the betterment of the race? Those of them who had watched the trend of local legislation and had noted the attitude of the Local Government Board towards local public health administration within the last few years, and had endeavoured to gauge the significance of the trend of events could, he thought, see a way out without the necessity of handing public health functions over to the County Councils to perform. (Hear, hear.) He referred to the combination of areas for local sanitary purposes, and also to the suggestion which had been made that grants should be paid for the efficiency of public health administration. If they accepted these two principles, namely, the principle of combination of sanitary areas and the principle of grants for the efficiency of public health administration, together with the need for the unification of the public medical service, he thought that the administrative difficulties with which they were beset were in a large measure solved. He agreed entirely with what Dr. Fremantle had said in his paper as to the importance of voluntary agencies as to their importance in directing and advancing public opinion, but he thought they must be controlled. At the same time, it should be possible to have some safeguards by which their independence would be maintained and their vigour not in any way sapped. As he had said before, areas would require to be extended in order that they might be sufficiently large to have the administration reasonably efficient. He knew he would be met by the leaders of the County Councils with the argument that these extended areas would run into the areas of more than one county. In answer to that he could only repeat what he had said before, that it was not a county question, it was a national question. It was obvious that the best combination of areas might involve encroaching geographically, and in an administrative sense, upon one, two, three, or four counties. Therefore it would be distinctly unwise to commit themselves entirely to the county dogma. It was further to be observed that districts required to be combined on some uniform basis, and if grants were to be given in support of efficient public health administration, areas obviously must be comparable, and that was not so with the existing county areas; for example, no one would compare the county area of Middlesex with Huntingdonshire, or some such other county. With regard to the composition of local sanitary authorities, he had to disagree entirely with what Dr. Fremantle had said as to co-option. He thought it was absolutely essential that the people elected on local sanitary authorities should be elected by popular vote. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mrs. Drake (Mansion House Council on Health and Housing) said she would like to say how much she sympathised with Dr. Fremantle in his wish to bring into line—to give a more official standing to—voluntary health agencies working in co-operation with public health authorities. Nowhere was this co-ordination more needed than in London and nowhere more than in London were there greater possibilities for collecting the necessary voluntary funds and workers for efficient voluntary health-promoting societies of this kind. Of course, the beginnings of such a service already existed to a very considerable extent, not only in local health societies, but also in some of the central health organisations such as the Mansion House Council of Health and Housing to which she belonged, and the Social Welfare Association, or the Central Fund for Tuberculosis. These bodies, composed as they were of representatives of local authorities and voluntary agencies as well as members of the medical profession, formed an admirable material from which to recruit such a county committee as Dr. Fremantle suggested. Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties in London was the reluctance shown by many Borough Councils to make use of voluntary agencies. When it was for purely official work there could be no doubt that the official was the most suitable, and he was a most manageable instrument, but outside of the purely official work and outside the provisions of the Notification of Births Acts and the Tuberculosis and other orders, there was an amount of border-line work which rendered necessary the co-operation of the public authorities with voluntary agencies and hospitals, and with private practitioners and Childrens'

Committees, and which involved all manner of pioneer experiments, for which the more elastic qualities of volunteers were pre-eminently suited. She ventured to suggest that if Borough Councils, so long as they remained as local health authorities, would take a leaf from the book of the London County Council in its organisation of Children's Care Committees, and give a definite status to committees of volunteers representing health-promoting agencies, and would give a definite status to the secretaries of such committees, either as responsible volunteers or possibly even as paid officials, she believed that a very great impetus would be given to voluntary effort, which would be very far reaching in its results, directly and indirectly, in educating and stimulating public opinion. Of course, already many Borough Councils did to some extent subsidise, or at any rate provide, premises for the local health societies, or held consultations or something of that kind, but the health centre suggested, organised by this committee of volunteers, under, of course, the supervision of the medical officer of health, must be created on comprehensive lines. There must be an organised staff of voluntary visitors to supplement the work of the official health visitors, and to carry out the work in co-operation with Children's Care Committees and other agencies. And the whole must be linked together by a central health register for the district so as to avoid any possibility of overlapping, or what was far worse, underlapping, and in this way the accumulated knowledge of local affairs might be pooled for the common good. She could not, of course, do more than suggest the merest outlines of such a scheme, but it was towards some such scheme as that that she hoped the central health organisers in London were working, and a scheme of that description would receive a tremendous impetus if the Borough Councils of London would give greater encouragement and more official standing to health-promoting agencies within their district.

Miss Constance Cochrane (Rural Housing and Sanitation Association) said the association which she represented had, ever since its formation, been working hard for the unification of the public health service, and they intended to work hard until they got it. Her experience fully bore out everything that had been said by Dr. Lyster, and everything that had been written in his paper. The suggestion that had always seemed the best to them was that the county medical officer under the County Council should have a staff of medical assistant officers, and that the inspection of nuisances should be included. They also felt that that expression so often heard, namely, "permanency of tenure," amongst the medical profession was not half as desirable as the plan her association suggested, which would offer a good opportunity for the younger members of the medical profession to gradually improve their positions and get more responsible posts than if they were simply tied for life in one district, a system which often told very badly upon the district and on the medical officer. A good man might get into a small district where he felt there was no encouragement, and his energies were wasted, whereas on the other hand a bad man might by chance get into a fairly good district, and he might lower the whole standard because he happened to be of a character of not much energy or desire to get on. He saw no prospect beyond, and so he remained where he was. The executive of her association felt that in the medical profession, as in all other professions, they required stimulus; with proper promotion for the best men so that they could get to the top. They thought also that the present position of district medical officers was exceedingly unsatisfactory. (Hear, hear.) She was speaking purely for the remote rural district; it was impossible for the money that was offered to command good men. Some people might say that this was due to the retrograde Rural Councils. Before she was on a Rural Council she did not think much of them, but since she had become a member she had learned that it was much easier to put everything right when they were sitting at home than when they were really in the position of an administrator—(hear, hear)—and the real fact was that these Councils could not afford to meet the enormous expenditure, in comparison with the smallness of their area, that they must do in order to get the officials which they ought to have. A paper was recently read before the Sanitary Institute, in which the author mentioned that out of seventeen rural districts, in no less than eight a penny rate produced under £100, and in four between £150 and £300, and that therefore each district found the carrying out of the sanitary laws effectively by means of the rates quite prohibitive. For this reason her association did feel that until they got larger areas it would be quite impossible to carry out the sanitary administration in the way that it ought to be carried out, and must be carried out, if they were to keep their rural districts as they should be kept. With regard to the

overlapping, this was really deplorable. In her district there was a child—a not uncommon case—that the school officer reported as being very dirty and very troublesome to get to school. That took five minutes' conversation, and five minutes' attention of the sub-committee of the Education Committee. The attendance officer had been a journey of thirteen miles to see that child in the first instance. Then it was decided to leave it to the sanitary authority of the district. It was reported at the next meeting of the sanitary authority, and another five minutes was spent in discussing the case, and in giving orders for the sanitary inspector to see the home. The sanitary inspector reported that the home was in a very dirty condition, very unsatisfactory, and said that it was almost a case for the Guardians to take up as one of distress. The sanitary inspector had travelled four and a half miles to this case. Then the relieving officer travelled another four miles to see the child. The next thing was that it came before the Board as a very difficult case, and they finally decided to ask the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children to come in. The officers travelled fourteen miles to the house, which was then reported as being in such a bad condition that it ought to be condemned, and the health officer was asked to travel six miles to it. They might think that these travelling expenses were a detail, but they were not. (Hear, hear.) In their rural district such travelling expenses meant enormous sums of money, and whilst they were longing for money to do what was essential they had to waste money upon that kind of thing. This kind of thing was going on all over the country, and if there were such a unified medical service, it would be impossible.

Mrs. H. C. Miall Smith (Women's Industrial Council) said that as a representative of the Women's Industrial Council and from her personal experience as a member of a London vestry and of a School Board, in both of which bodies she served on committees which had control of the medical officer, and also from her work as a Guardian, where she came into contact with the medical treatment of the poor, she felt very strongly that some unification was wanted of the medical service, and that it must come very soon. The present arrangement was very English; she did not think in any country but in England could they have such a muddle, and it was very satisfactory to know that people were now taking more interest and getting to know more what was being done in foreign countries. The voluntary health agencies ought to be under the control of the medical officer, in her opinion, and also the local Health Committees. In some districts, unfortunately, it was not so, and as had been mentioned, there were health committees and health societies and voluntary health committees acting quite independently, with a great deal of overlapping, and very often much ill-feeling, and occasionally these workers came into conflict with the health authority. In other cases their reports were accepted as if they were official reports, and sometimes incorporated in the reports of the medical officer for the district. This led her to another question which she thought might be tackled, and one which some women were feeling very strongly, and that was the question of health visitors. They certainly wanted these voluntary health workers, and if they were unable to have official health visitors they wanted them to be properly qualified. (Hear, hear.) In London already some women had been appointed who had not any qualifications, who had not even the qualification of being a sanitary inspector. The body which she represented thought this a very great mistake. They thought that whatever other qualifications a woman health visitor had, she should have the sanitary inspector's certificate as well. (Applause.) In London it was bad enough, but in the country it was still worse, according to Mr. John Burns's Health Visitors' Bill, which was now before Parliament. There, there was no qualification whatever except that the local authority must be satisfied, and take the opinion of their medical officer. Often these small local authorities, as they were arranged at present, had a very small amount of money, and monetary considerations were a very great thing with them, and in the case of a woman who seemed to be fairly well qualified they might even disregard the advice of their medical adviser—it had been done—and appoint a woman for the sake of saving money. That would be a very great mistake. All women who served in this capacity should have the sanitary inspector's certificate, and especially where there was only one woman health visitor, because if she were denied the right of entry, as she might be in cases where her attention was most needed, she could not enforce it unless she had the sanitary inspector's certificate, and she could only report to the medical officer, and another sanitary inspector would have to be sent. She hoped that someone else who knew more about the question from the official side would say something about this

question. She thought that the doctors themselves must feel that if they were going to do good sanitary work, they must have proper instruments with which to work.

Dr. Arthur King (Watford Urban District Council) said he would like most emphatically to say at first that his sympathies were entirely with the proposal that had been placed before them that morning with regard to the unification of the public medical service, a unification which he hoped was only the first step to the union of remedial measures with preventive measures under the same control. But there was one point he thought, if pushed too far, might endanger success, and that was the part which was to be played by the larger urban districts in the arrangement. As far as he could interpret, the proposals had rather reminded him of a consultation of surgeons, who had come to the conclusion that because some members of a certain class would be benefited by the amputation of a limb, all the members of that class should have their limbs amputated, regardless of whether those limbs were sound or not. It was proposed, he believed, to remove freedom of action from all sanitary authorities, with the exception of County Boroughs, under the County Council, regardless of whether that freedom of action had been exercised in a proper manner in the past. They must not forget that the main part of the public health work that had been done in the past had been done by these local sanitary authorities, under the advice and direction of the local medical officers of health, and he thought they must acknowledge that that work had materially contributed to the improvement of the national health, and he thought, in consequence, some consideration was due to those local sanitary authorities in sketching the new plan. (Hear, hear.) Further, in the larger urban districts, if they considered the matter, public health work must of necessity be of a local character, and must be taken up by the local sanitary authority and local officials—(applause)—and the control, if there were any, from the County Council must be almost nominal, and if those sanitary authorities were superseded without asking their leave at all and placed under the control of the County Councils, he felt convinced that it would lead to an immense amount of friction. He thought the least that could be done was by some scheme of unification, under the County Council, to allow them the same freedom of choice that was allowed when the Education Act was passed; that they should have the option of relegating their duties to the County Council if they wished, but that they should also have the power of retaining them in their own hands if they desired to do so. This would not interfere at all, he thought, with the unification of the public medical service. It would only mean that a few more districts would be placed on the same footing as the County Boroughs, and be directly responsible to the Local Government Board. He suggested this because he thought some consideration was due to those bodies who had carried on public health work before County Councils were even thought of.

Miss Edith Maynard (Inspector, Medical Officer of Health's Department, Leeds) said she was in the unfortunate position of being obliged, under the force of conviction, to deal with a matter which she felt would not be very popular. There was one sentence in Dr. Fremantle's paper which ran, "The training of the sick nurse is the best training for a health visitor." In Leeds she had had experience in public health work for the past twelve years, and she hoped that in any case if they could not agree with her that they would try to see her point of view. She knew she was striking a jarring note, but personally she felt that statement was not true, and she had reasons for it. First of all, the training of a nurse was a routine training; a nurse for three or four years was being taught to do exactly what she was told. A woman health visitor must not do exactly what she was told—(laughter)—because she would not be told anything. She did not want any nurses who were present and who were health visitors to think she was saying for one moment that they were not good health visitors. What she did say was that it required to be an extremely exceptional woman who could rise above that routine training and the deadening effect it had upon the initiative, for often a public health worker must have very great initiative. Another important reason was that during that three or four years the work of a hospital nurse was extraordinarily hard, and she could not follow all the things that were passing outside the hospital. If they put the hospital nurse on to health visitor's work and turn her into the home she was liable—she did not say it was always so—but her training made her liable to pay too much attention to the little ailments of the family and not think so much of the preventive side of the work. On the other hand, the hospital training taught her absolutely nothing that would be of any use to her whatever as a health visitor. She was not saying that without

knowing absolutely what she was talking about. They might say, "Oh yes, but what are the Queen's nurses?" The Queen's nurses were most excellent nurses; they had a most excellent training with a good knowledge of physiology and hygiene, but it was all of an absolutely elementary kind. She had had to do personally with the training of the Queen's nurses, but they were taught nothing at all about baby feeding, etc. That was a point they must realise. She was not by any means asking them never to appoint nurses, but what she wanted them to realise was that if a nurse were appointed she must have some qualifications other than those of a nurse.

The CHAIRMAN expressed the opinion that that particular subject was not within the scope of the papers.

Miss MAYNARD said it was in Dr. Fremantle's paper. Continuing, she said that many people seemed to think that in being a public health worker a woman was doing merely what was called "baby" work. Health visiting could be done by anyone nowadays, it was said. She maintained, however, that the statutory work of a sanitary inspector was child's play compared with the health visiting work, because by the latter they were brought into touch with the women in their homes. It was an insult to send a woman to talk to a working woman unless she knew what she was talking about. She must be a very skilled woman who would dare go into a working woman's home and dare to give her instructions. A health visitor should have her certificate as a sanitary inspector, and in addition to that she must know all about the handling of babies. She would like to speak on one or two other matters. One speaker had referred to border-line work. She did not know what they would do without the voluntary agencies in that respect. They always had to know about them and refer to the border-line cases, but they wanted a very capable person indeed to know all about them and to work in with them comfortably. Another speaker had said that we wanted voluntary agencies because we wanted human sympathies. When she heard that she felt as if the poor inspectors, like herself, were people without human sympathy at all. But the fact was that the working classes did not want to be patronised, and in her opinion a working woman, from a mother's point of view, did not feel she was being patronised when she was visited by the inspector. She knew she paid for the inspector, and they were both working women talking to each other. In fact, the working woman took a great interest in the inspector and had been known to say, "The young lady round here has gone; I hope she has bettered herself." It all showed that they welcomed the inspector as a woman, and because she was a woman, and she could assure them that because she was an inspector she had not lost her human sympathies; in fact, they became wider. (Applause.)

Dr. MEREDITH YOUNG (County Medical Officer of Health, Cheshire) referred to the fact mentioned in Dr. Lyster's paper that public health affairs in the hands of County Councils were vague and unsatisfactory. For a very large part of their time county medical officers were playing a game of bluff, and those who were practised hands at it had often very much fault to find with the powers that they possessed at present, but they could generally manage to work in what they wanted to get under one heading or another; whether it exactly fitted in with that heading or not it did not matter, and so long as they got the work done they allowed the District Councils and the district officials to go on imagining that they had more powers than they really possessed. They could really do all they wanted with the exercise of the powers they already possessed, and he always thought that those who asked for further and increased powers were the people who did not use properly the powers they had at the present moment. He took exception to the statement of Dr. Lyster that each public health authority went along the line of least resistance and did things which were likely to be popular instead of considering what work was most urgently needed. Dr. Lyster was a personal friend of his, and he certainly took a strong exception to this statement, and would like to ask him whether he knew what was being done under the Housing Act in the matter of the abolition of those abominable insanitary privy mediums, in the construction of sewerage schemes and sewage disposal works, in the closure of polluted wells, in the provision of water supply, and the provision of isolation hospitals. They had a large total of work which public health authorities had done, and he did not think they quite deserved censuring in that offhand fashion —(hear, hear)—and that part of the argument might have been omitted. The responsibility where public health work was not well done was not the fault of the medical officer, or if it were, it was the fault of the conditions under which he was

labouring, and the fact that he had not security of tenure, he dare not move because his bread and butter would go. He came across an instance a few months ago; it was a small district near Cheshire where the whole of the district happened to belong to a printing association. Most of the houses belonged to them, and it was a little 2½d. Council of nine members, the population being about 600 or 700. Every single one of the nine councillors were practically appointed by the printing association, which had control of the whole place, and the medical officer of health was also medical officer to the printing association. If he moved, everyone knew quite well what would happen to him. Could they blame him? The man must have some regard for his bread and butter. Give security of tenure, and without any further powers and without unification at all they would turn out work which was quite satisfactory. With regard to the inspection of workshops and factories, Dr. Lyster stated that the position was unsatisfactory, and that the medical officer of health had few powers in such places. That might apply to factories, where the power of the medical officer of health was certainly limited, but in the matter of workshops he had all the powers he wanted, in his opinion. He might like to have the cubic feet of air space and that sort of thing to define, but if he used the powers he had he could deal with ventilation, air space, sanitary accommodation, drainage, and general cleanliness, and what more did he want? If he came across anything he could not deal with a mere memorandum to the factory inspector only was necessary. With regard to the voluntary agencies, several people had alluded to the necessity for training the people who went in for voluntary health work. He had had a fair experience of voluntary health workers, and he must say that he had formed the opinion which was expressed in Dr. Fremantle's paper towards the end, viz., that the work of these workers was not worth recording or talking about. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. FREMANTLE interrupted and said that that was not his expression of opinion at all. His was just the opposite. (Laughter.)

Dr. MEREDITH YOUNG said he was much obliged to Dr. Fremantle for correcting him, but towards the end of the paper Dr. Fremantle dissented from that view, and that was what misled him. He was talking about voluntary workers and the necessity for training. The greatest fault he had to find with them was that they were selected not so much on account of the possession of heads as the possession of hearts and purses.

The CHAIRMAN said he must ask the speaker to deal with general principles as much as possible without going into the small details.

Dr. YOUNG said there was a statement in Dr. Fremantle's paper which he did not understand, and if he really meant what he said then he entirely disagreed with it. He said, "If the direct work of public health in its various departments is, as I maintain it should be, entrusted rather to general practitioners than to specialists and mere inspectors, the relationship between the official and private agencies working for the public health will be much enhanced." He thought that those of them who had had experience of general practitioners who were also working as medical officers of health, was that the combination of the appointments was a very bad one indeed. He knew men who had relinquished a public health department out of sheer conscientiousness that they could not work the two together successfully. There was only one other thing he should like to say with regard to voluntary health agencies, and that was in a properly organised and properly managed public health scheme there should be no room left at all for voluntary agencies. The medical officer of health had cast upon him by the regulations of the Local Government Board the duty of inquiring into and doing what he could to remedy all causes which affected or threatened to affect injuriously the public health of his district. What wider words did they want? If put into operation by a well-organised scheme of public health inspection and treatment there would not be much room left for voluntary health agencies.

Miss A. E. HALL (Organising Secretary, Poplar Health Visiting Association) said that in most of the speeches they had had that morning the appointment of health visitors had been deprecated. As the order of the day seemed to be to relate what each of them had done and what experience they had had, might she say that she spoke after having had experience as a nurse, as a midwife, as an inspector of midwives, and as a sanitary inspector and health visitor, and she totally disagreed with the speakers who said that the bed rock of training for a health visitor should be a sanitary certificate. (Hear, hear.) She maintained that the bed rock, the foundation of a woman's training in connection with public health work should be

a nurse's training. She thought the speakers they had heard on that subject gave one of the most important reasons why this should be so, and that was that in every service—army, navy, or medical service, take whichever they pleased—the two first essentials for nurses were loyalty and obedience, and she thought from the way some of the speakers had spoken on the subject these had been entirely absent from their training. With regard to the work of the voluntary agencies, might she say that with the permission of the Borough Council for whom she worked, she had the honour to be organising secretary of the Poplar Health Visiting Association and that she believed they worked quite amicably together. There were represented on that voluntary association all the religious, political, and social bodies in the borough, and with regard to the point made by one speaker that Borough Councils seemed to be against the organisation of giving any status to voluntary agencies her experience was that the opposition came not from the Borough Councils but from those officials who had only undergone this course of training for sanitary inspectors.

Dr. BYGOTT (Medical Officer of Health, Barking) said that this subject was one of the most interesting and most important that had been brought forward of late years. He wanted to make this statement very clearly: that the public did not receive from the medical profession that assistance which they might if the work were better organised; and he wanted them to look for a few moments at the difference that had taken place in medical work during the Victorian era. In the commencement of this period, nearly the whole of the work of this country was done by small craftsmen, who started and finished the work. At the end of that period, nearly the whole of the work was done in large institutions, in which certain bits were done by those people who were best able to do these little bits; and that was the position to-day. If the public were to receive the very best assistance that medical science was able to give to it, the work must be done by people who were able to do their little bit in the best possible way, *i.e.*, the work must be organised. Dr. Abbott once said that the public health service was like a regiment of colonels, and that the Poor Law service was practically a regiment without any officers at all, and therefore it was desirable to put both these together. The whole situation as regarded medical treatment had been changed by the introduction of the Insurance Bill, and he would ask them to think for a moment upon the position of the private soldier, *i.e.*, the general practitioner. That man was working under conditions which meant that he was not able to do his duty to the public. He said that as the result of seven years' experience in a very large, poor district. A medical man was not able to lend that assistance to the public which he would like. For instance, he had no leisure. If they wished to do anything successfully, they must organise well, and that meant they must have leisure. The general practitioner's life was distressful, and one of unceasing toil. He need not labour the question as to the pecuniary position, but from an intimate knowledge of the subject, he knew that it was very lamentable. He did not say that with a view to encouraging the Friendly Societies to try and take advantage of that poor person's need.

The CHAIRMAN said he was not quite clear how this exactly had a bearing upon the subject before them of the need for the unification of the public medical service. Perhaps it would develop later. (Laughter.)

Dr. BYGOTT said he thought it did have a bearing upon the papers, because in the medical service, if the private soldier——

The CHAIRMAN said he quite followed the speaker's argument, but thought he should manage to bring it within a narrower basis.

Dr. BYGOTT replied that he would make it very brief. The position was as he had stated it. They would have to work this scheme practically with the help of the private soldier, and that man must work under conditions which would enable him to do his best for his patient. As he was saying, in the first place that man's life was made burdensome on two grounds. First, because of the carelessness of his patients, who were continually sending for him at all hours. Under the Insurance scheme, it must be definitely laid down that all work that was done, so to speak, out of hours, must be treated as emergency, and must be paid for. The second thing was that a great deal of his time was taken up by dealing with midwifery work, in connection with which his position was somewhat anomalous. It was absolutely necessary that a woman in child-birth should be provided with a trained midwife, and that the doctor should simply supervise. It was most necessary that their attention should be directed to this. It had often been said that they ought to

abolish quackery. If attention was properly directed to this they could abolish the quack simply by supplying good and proper medical assistance for the people.

The CHAIRMAN said he was afraid he must really rule that the speaker's remarks were not quite directed to the matter under discussion. He quite understood that it might be the basis for a very interesting argument, but it was so large a basis.

Dr. BYGOTT said he thought he had better not weary the meeting any longer.

Mrs. DEANE STREATFIELD (President, Women Sanitary Inspectors' Association) said she would not keep the meeting more than a few minutes. She had been immensely interested in what had been said upon the need for unification and reorganisation of the public health service. She agreed that it was a national matter, and she wanted to refer to one point in Dr. Chalmer's paper, where it seemed to her that he put his finger upon the most important development which had recently occurred in public health service, namely, that the work had become personal; a matter of dealing with the individual rather than with the environment. If that were the case, they must inevitably include in the public health service the large feminine contingent of health workers. She pleaded that this large element of women workers coming into this public health service should be properly organised, and should come in on a proper basis. The desire to improve existing conditions and to deal especially with the difficulties in the home itself had resulted recently, she was afraid, in the rushing into the public health service sometimes of inexperienced workers, and sometimes of workers who, though in other ways they might be thoroughly capable people, were not thoroughly trained. If this continued it would result in the existence of a large body of workers who would ultimately represent vested interests, and it would be very difficult to get rid of them or to raise their status. Consequently, she implored those who were considering this question of the unification of the public health service that they would really set their minds upon the position of the women health workers, their status, and their qualifications. Personally, as representing the Women Sanitary Inspectors' Association, she thought they should have legal status with a right of entry, which would make them officials with a sense of responsibility which they could not get from a person who had not got that power. Most of the women who were interested in public health service felt the same, and she could only ask those who were going into this matter to consider very carefully whether it was wise to allow a quantity of people to come in, who were kindly, good, and friendly women, and would be excellent voluntary workers, but many of whom should not be admitted as officials and as health visitors. Health visitors should be properly qualified, and to be effective should also have a proper status. (Applause.) She most earnestly asked the meeting to believe that a woman did not become less kindly and less friendly because she was an official. She could assure them, working as she had done for the last sixteen years among all classes of industrial workers as a sanitary inspector and as senior Inspector of Factories, that this was not so, and that a woman, when an official, was no less careful and had no less tact and general sympathetic qualities than when she was merely an honorary official.

The CHAIRMAN said he was afraid that if the last speaker had continued he would have had to rule her out of order on somewhat the same lines as her predecessor, and he must ask those about to engage in the discussion not to deal with a particular point or particular class distinctions or particular class qualifications, but merely to use this sort of argument as an illustration.

Mrs. ROGER GREEN (Burton-on-Trent Health Society) said they were all anxious to do something, but she thought there was a little too much tendency to throw over some of those agencies which were doing their best before this unified proposal had really come into being. In Burton they had tried to bring unity about, they had constructed the Burton Health Society on unified lines as far as they had been able to do it—they had what was practically a council of social welfare. They had the Medical Officer of Health at the top, they had their Education Authority, they had the Guardians, they had their Health Committee, and they had all their charitable organisations brought into one common council. They heard a great deal said against the voluntary worker. They must remember that owing to the difference in social conditions a number of women with the best intentions had a considerable amount of leisure, and what were they going to do with that leisure? It was a very serious responsibility if they were going to be abolished altogether. What were they going to do with their time? (Laughter.) They might laugh, but if they did not give such women something useful to do, they would do something that was not useful. They were very few now at Burton-on-Trent, and it was perhaps imprudent

for her to speak, but they did try to let the professional do the professional work. They tried to let the health visitor do her work, and owing to the fact that they could not get more money—they could even not get as much money with the present state of public things as was spent to water the roads—the voluntary worker came in to fill the gap, and she thought they had been very useful members of society so far. (Hear, hear.) The whole thing was in the transitional stage, and the point to be puzzled out was, where was the voluntary worker coming in?

Councillor C. J. Scott (Northampton) said that the point upon which he wished to speak was the relation of the public service to the voluntary service, and he hoped to say a few words upon what were the best means, in his judgment, of removing the destitution which had been so marked a cause of ill-health and also of the inability of the public health service to deal with it effectively. He had been very much puzzled to observe the antagonism between the spirit of the public health service and the spirit of the voluntary service. He thought it might be attributed to the fact that the first work of public authorities when they were first organised was more or less repressive. The fundamental work of public authorities was, first of all, the organisation, he believed, of the police force. That was one of the first public services, and it was, in a sense, repressive, and for a long time the work of public authorities had been to compel certain sections of the community to do things that they ought to do and which formerly they had neglected to do. Thus the various sections of the community that the public authorities were dealing with developed a feeling of antagonism between the individual members and the collective powers of the community, but during recent years the conception of the work of public authorities had very considerably altered. It had been aided by the introduction of the idea that public authorities should take upon themselves the duty of dealing with the position of the people and making them better and happier, and that had to a very considerable extent introduced a new spirit into the public service. It had developed into a kind of noble and sacred feeling, which influenced the best of the voluntary workers to help in connection with the solution of the problem of misery to-day, and he looked for an increase of that spirit as public authorities undertook more and more of the work of the amelioration of destitution and the prevention of disease. Therefore he thought that in time this antagonism between the voluntary worker and the public health service would cease by the public health service being bound together by the best spirit of voluntary service, and he thought there was every reason to expect that that would be so from the evidence during that conference. He noticed that the medical gentlemen had indignantly repudiated any suggestion that when a doctor became a servant of the public authority he lost any of his humanity or of his desire to do good. All that morning, also, they had heard from certain ladies who had addressed them that the workers looked upon the public health visitors as their friends and welcomed them enthusiastically and did all they could to benefit by their instruction and advice, and therefore he thought that in time the voluntary service would be superseded by the public service, and that the spirit of the voluntary worker falling upon the public service would lead to such an efficiency that voluntary workers would be unnecessary, because the public generally would be prepared to supply all the funds necessary in appointing sufficient health visitors, and sufficient public servants to do all the work required. The problem had been raised by a lady speaker as to what certain members of the leisured classes would do with their time. He was afraid that idleness—the want of ability to use their time properly—must be regarded as one of the penalties of the possession of great wealth, which was inevitable under the circumstances, to a very great extent.

The Chairman intervened with the remark that the speaker was rather trenching upon social questions of very great interest but not quite material to the particular subject of a unified medical service.

Mr. Scott said he was entirely in favour of the unification of the public medical services because it would secure better organisation, *i.e.*, greater efficiency in doing the work. In conclusion, he referred to another question, and that was the effect upon destitution of an efficient organisation of these various public services. He certainly thought that destitution was at the bottom of everything, and it was due to the fact that there was a superfluity at the top. If they would take strong measures to transfer more of this superfluity into the possession of the public bodies to be used for the amelioration of social conditions and bettering the organisation of the medical service, he thought they would effect the desired end in time.

Mr. Thomas Dee (Secretary, Sanitary Inspectors' Association) said that in address-

ing that conference, which was a conference upon the subject of destitution from the public health point of view, he thought they would not do any harm if they looked a little, as a previous speaker had said, upon the road along which they had travelled. In 1850 the average death-rate in England and Wales was 23 per 1,000 per annum; in 1875 it was reduced to 21 per 1,000, and 13.5 per 1,000 was the average death-rate of England for the past year. He contended, therefore, that the sanitary service, as carried out at the present moment, and as had been carried out during those years, had done a large amount to prevent destitution by the improvement of public health, as shown by those figures. (Applause.) In 1854 the first Nuisance Removal Act was passed. In 1875 the first real amendment for the urban districts, other than London, was made to that Act, and an immediate improvement took place, and since the London administration had been improved, in consequence of the 1891 Act, they had been able in the country and in England generally to reduce the death-rate to 13.5 per 1,000. He did not claim that all had been done in dealing with the environment of the home, but he did ask them not to forget that with regard to the environment of the home officers were appointed under both these Acts, namely, the medical officer of health and the central inspector (or the Inspector of Nuisances) and that these officers had been daily engaged in carrying out this work.

Mr. Montague Harris (Secretary, County Councils' Association of England and Wales) said he wanted to say a few words on the one main point of the question which was before the meeting. It seemed to him that there was a unanimous agreement that it was desirable that the public health service should be unified, but there was not quite so much unanimity as to the question of the unit of area for this unification. As regards the great towns, of course, there was no question. As the Medical Officer of Health for Acton pointed out, the desirability of the unification within a great town was agreed, and no one would suggest anything but the area of that town as the area which should be used for the purpose of this unification; and it seemed so obvious that one was surprised that in the great towns that unification had not already been brought about. With all our pride with regard to the sanitation of this country, it was surprising to find that in other countries that unification had been carried out: in Milan and elsewhere the whole of the sanitary arrangements of the town were gathered together under one roof. But when they came to the question of the counties the matter was a little different, and here he was afraid he must admit that as far as the speakers that morning were concerned, the counties had rather had the advantage in number at any rate. Dr. Buchan took the other side and spoke for the District Councils. He said they must look at the matter not from the county point of view but from the national point of view. He, personally, must admit that those who spoke on behalf of County Councils were thoroughly prejudiced and biassed, and yet at the same time they did think they were speaking from the national point of view. They believed that their solutions were from the national point of view; Dr. Buchan considered that his also were from the national point of view, and they must put it before those who were thoroughly unprejudiced and unconnected with either authority to judge between them. Of course, there was the great difficulty that the counties in England differed very largely in area; some of them covered a very great amount of space, and it was sometimes found—sometimes considered, at any rate—that the centre was a little too far from the circumference. But to take Dr. Buchan's point, the joining together of sanitary districts for the purpose of forming the unit of administrative area in which the public health service was to be under one control. Perhaps it might be considered a small thing, a matter of sentiment. The Council areas were known—the district areas, he ventured to say, were not—and the question of sentiment or pride in the area to which they belonged might often go as far as competition between the different areas. The Devonian was very proud of Devonshire, and wished it to be better than any other county, and so on, but he questioned very much whether there were many people who looked upon their district area in the same way that counties were looked upon. Then there was the further point that the object of this unification was wholly co-ordination, and co-ordination not only of one but of all public services. Public Health must overlap with a lot of other services administered by the County Councils, and it was surely inconvenient to complicate matters more than they were at present. They wanted unification and simplification at the same time, and surely to bring all the public services as far as possible together must be a practical measure, a work for the good of the community as a whole. He took the county area because nobody wanted to abolish the County Councils altogether. It would be a very difficult

thing to strip County Councils of all the sanitary powers that they had at present and hand them over to newly-created bodies made of a combination of various areas which were already somewhat artificial in character. But to put all these services under the County Council did not by any means imply that these services were all to be carried out direct by the County Council, nor did it imply that all the separate interests of the localities were to be overlooked. (Hear, hear.) He could say confidently that it was not the desire of the County Councils to interfere with the executive work of the large urban districts. But with regard to the rural districts, the question of co-ordination was very important, and the difficulties which had been pointed out as to the amount of rate which could be arranged and the amount of payment which could be made to the medical officers and so forth were all matters which required to be taken into consideration. Dr. Fremantle had referred to the fact that in Scotland the District Committees were the sanitary authorities, and those who had not reason to look at the administration in Scotland may have thought that they meant the same thing as that the District Councils in England were the sanitary authority, but they were absolutely and entirely different; and he must say that it seemed to him in some respects that Scotland was more fortunate in its legislation than what was generally called the "predominant partner." The District Committees in Scotland were entirely independent bodies; they were practically committees of the County Councils formed of members of the County Councils, together with members appointed by the Parish Councils within their own particular areas, and these committees carried out the executive work within their own areas, but they reported directly to the County Council; consequently the County Council was able to co-ordinate all their work. That seemed to him a practical method of carrying the matter out—more practical than the method of having entirely independent bodies, independently elected and without any direct connection with the larger authorities which covered the same area. And there was yet one more point, and that was that if the small sanitary authorities continued to be looked upon as more or less independent sanitary authorities, independent of the County Councils, and connected direct with the Local Government Board, there was a very great fear that local government would suffer very considerably. The large County Councils, the larger County Boroughs, and the large towns were better able to stand up for themselves; the smaller authorities were not, and it seemed to him that when they showed themselves ready to hand themselves over body and soul to the Local Government Board rather than to admit any control by the County Council, they were endangering altogether the principle of local government in this county to which we were very much attached and which was the admiration of other counties. That was one reason why he thought the County Council should be brought in in some way or other in all these matters. It would help enormously in co-ordination, because without an enormous increase in its officials and its buildings the Local Government Board could not possibly cover everything directly in an effective way or obtain the variety of information which it would be necessary to get together from the different localities to keep an eye on everything that was going on. The County Council, as an intermediate authority, could do this far more easily. It did not want to interfere with the executive affairs of the larger Local Authorities, but as a supervisory body it could help very considerably the work of the minor authorities as an intermediary between them and the Local Government Board, and be the best safeguard against that centralisation which, in one or two quarters, was creeping into our administrative system and which all interested in the local government of this country and in its history would wish to avoid.

EDUCATION SECTION.

Prefatory Statement.

THE PRESENT POSITION.

In a sense it might be said that all the work of the Local Education Authority tended to the prevention of destitution, and notably to preventing child neglect. The economic and industrial advantages to be gained by schooling as well as physical and moral improvements certainly had their place among the motives that produced the Act of 1870, and the School Boards were expressly empowered to administer the Industrial and Reformatory Schools Acts. But the School Board was commonly understood to have as its task the prevention of one form only of child neglect, namely, illiteracy. Only in the legislation of the past decade do we find at all clearly the conception that the Local Education Authority is concerned as definitely and as directly with the body of the child as with its mind; and that that which it ought to prevent, with regard to the children of school age within the district, is not illiteracy alone, but every form of neglect likely to impair its healthy development. "It is cheaper," observes Sir Lauder Brunton, "to spend pence on children than pounds on paupers." This statutory transformation of the Local Education Authority, by the Acts of 1902-9, from a mere scholastic agency into the local organ of the community, for nearly all that concerns the child of school age is not yet commonly appreciated.

(i) The Law.

The first "education authority" in England was the Parish Overseer, who (under the Elizabethan Poor Law) had to "get to work" and apprentice all orphans or neglected children. The Poor Law Authority remained the only "Local Education Authority" down to 1870. By the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1909 (which badly need codifying), it is now the statutory duty of the Local Education Authority to provide and maintain in efficiency enough elementary schools for all the children of school age resident within its district; and it is equally its statutory duty to take whatever steps it deems desirable to supply or aid the supply of every other grade of education, including secondary and University, day and evening, with board and residence or without. It must, in particular, supply efficient education for all blind and deaf children. It must make arrangements to search out every child within its district liable to attend school, and secure its attendance. It must arrange for the periodical medical inspection of all children in attendance at all the public elementary schools, provided and non-provided, so as to become cognisant of the physical condition of every child.

So much is statutorily obligatory on every Local Education Authority, and to the Board of Education is committed the responsibility for seeing that all these obligatory duties are performed, as a condition precedent to its paying over any Grant in Aid. But the Local Education Authority has also large optional powers. It may, if it thinks fit, provide throughout its district anything whatever that can be included within the term education, without restriction of age, sex, kind, grade, subject, or amount. Subject to any necessary sanction by the

Board of Education, the Local Education Authority may, in particular, establish and maintain residential boarding schools for children or hostels for adult students; it may establish and maintain day feeding schools; it may establish and maintain vacation schools and open-air schools; it may provide completely for mentally defective children, for criminal children, for truant children, for children suffering from serious parental neglect; it may provide in all its day schools meals for necessitous children; it may establish and maintain school clinics, or otherwise provide medical attendance to all the children requiring it. It may appoint, not teachers alone, but doctors and nurses, and any other officers necessary to its work.

For the complete performance of these duties, Parliament has endeavoured to ensure that the Local Education Authority shall have daily under the eyes of its officers, as a matter of course, practically the whole child population of the manual working class, together with a steadily increasing proportion of the children of the other classes. This puts the Local Education Authority (and that Authority alone) in a position to take notice of the first patent beginnings of neglect in any of its forms, but only so far as children of school age are concerned. Efficient elementary education is compulsory for all children; and attendance at an efficient school is compulsory for all within the school age (fixed by bye-laws, but not beyond the statutory limits of 5 and 14) who have no reasonable excuse for non-attendance.

"Partial exemption" (popularly known as "half-time") may be allowed by local bye-laws, approved by the Board of Education and subject to conditions as to educational proficiency or previous due attendance, at 12 or upwards, and for children to be employed in agriculture as young as 11. Total exemption may be allowed subject to similar conditions for all children at 12, except children employed in agriculture who have obtained partial exemption at 11. These latter children cannot obtain total exemption till 13. Blind, deaf, dumb, and defective or epileptic children are required to receive instruction up to 16, and are not entitled to total or partial exemption before that age. The Local Education Authority may, within statutory limits restrict by bye-laws, to be approved by the Home Secretary, the employment of children of school age outside school hours. The Factory and Workshop Acts forbid the employment in factories and workshops of children unless they have satisfied the requirements of those Acts as to attendance at school or continue to attend school half time.

In Scotland the state of the law is in general the same, but the following particular points of difference may be noted:—

(1) The provision of meals, clothing, boots, and personal attention is not left optional to the Local Education Authorities, but is a duty which must be performed if the parents or guardians are unable through poverty or ill-health to attend to the matter, provided always that the resources of voluntary agencies are first exhausted.

(2) On the other hand, though medical inspection is a duty of the Local Authority, medical treatment is not yet even a power.

(3) The Local Education Authority (the School Board) has not the same range of control over all grades of education as in England. This duty of general co-ordination is exercised to a considerable extent by the secondary education committees.

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, prescribed the various duties and confers the various powers appropriate to the extended conception of education

referred to above. It has also sanctioned a comprehensive re-arrangement of various grants previously in force and instituted the "Education Fund" for the general promotion of all grades of education. This fund is administered through the Secondary Education Committees.

(ii) The Authorities.

The administration of the law is committed in England and Wales to the Local Education Authority, which is everywhere a Council directly elected by the ratepayers (including women householders) either annually by thirds or triennially *en bloc*. It is generally the same Council that administers the other Local Government services (with the single exception of the Poor Law). Thus in London and other Counties it is the County Council; and in the County Boroughs, it is the County Borough Councils. But in the smaller towns the duty is divided. In Non-County Boroughs exceeding in 1901 10,000 in population, and in Urban Districts other than Boroughs exceeding in 1901 20,000 in population, the Town or Urban District Council is the Local Authority for Part III. of the Act of 1902 (Administration of Elementary Education), and may expend up to a penny rate on education other than elementary, whilst the County Council is responsible for everything else. Such Town or Urban District Councils may, however, cede their responsibility to the County Council, and seven of them (six Boroughs and one District Council) have done so, leaving altogether only 327 Local Education Authorities for all the 35,000,000 population of England and Wales. It should be added that the Council is in all cases required to appoint an Education Committee which may include a minority of co-opted members and must contain some persons of educational experience and at least one woman. The Council must consult this Committee, and may devolve upon it as much as it likes of the work, except the raising of a rate or the borrowing of money. Everywhere there must be voluntary "managers" for each non-provided school; and, in Administrative Counties, for each provided school. In London and elsewhere similar voluntary machinery is made use of also for every evening continuation school, secondary school, and training college.

In Scotland, the Local Authority remains, as in 1872, the School Board, elected *ad hoc* for each parish or burgh. There are 970 Boards, of which 82 are for combinations of small parishes. Election is triennial and on the Parish Council register. The larger Boards work through committees, but the great majority are for relatively small masses of child population, and accordingly deal directly with their business. There is no area of the country uncovered by a School Board.

For the purpose of co-ordinating secondary education and administering the Education Fund already referred to, there is for each county and for certain of the larger burghs a Secondary Education Committee, appointed by Minute of the Scotch Education Department. Each committee is made up of representatives of the various educational bodies in the area—School Boards, Managers of Secondary Schools, governing bodies of central institutions, etc.—and of the Local Authority (Town or County Council). There are thirty-seven such committees. They have no powers of rating.

Managers for the schools of the Local Education Authority practically do not yet exist, although they are sanctioned by the Act of 1872. In Edinburgh, Local Care Committees are, however, just in course of establishment.

The voluntary schools are in much less close relation to the Local Education

Authority than are in England the non-provided schools. But the Local Authority does enforce attendance, must provide medical inspection, must deal with child neglect, may provide books and apparatus in such schools.

(iii) The Facts.

The children of school age in Great Britain (with the exception of the children of canal boat men, of a few of the travelling show men, of some gypsies and of habitual vagrants), so far as regards those of families under about £150 a year, as well as an increasing proportion of families above that income, are now almost all on the school registers, or at any rate on the school attendance officers' lists, and thus actually within the purview of the Local Education Authority. The attendance of nine-tenths of the children is surprisingly regular, whilst even the one-tenth who are frequently absent are nearly all at school on one-half or two-thirds of the days that it is open. Thus the officers of the Local Education Authority are able to watch the condition of the children from day to day. Systematic medical inspection now takes place nearly everywhere, though as yet often to a very limited extent; and any child suffering from neglect in any form can be thus specially examined. But we are still far from the position of preventing child neglect. It is, in England and Wales, not obligatory on the Local Education Authority to take action, though it is obligatory on the School Board in Scotland. It is not yet clear how far the Local Education Authority in England and Wales can spend money on enforcing its requirements on negligent parents. And hardly any such Authorities are yet doing more than begin to use such powers as they possess. We are now officially informed by the Board of Education that, of the six million children in the Public Elementary Schools of England and Wales—Scotland and Ireland being at least as bad—"about 10 per cent. suffer from serious defect in vision, from 3 to 5 per cent. suffer from defective hearing, 1 to 3 per cent. have suppurating ears, 8 per cent. have adenoids or enlarged tonsils of sufficient degree to obstruct the nose or throat and to require surgical treatment, 20 to 40 per cent. suffer from extensive and injurious decay of the teeth, 40 per cent. have unclean heads, about 1 per cent. suffer from ringworm, 1 per cent. are affected with tuberculosis of readily recognisable form, and $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. are afflicted with heart disease." Steps are everywhere being taken to overtake these arrears. Only one Authority (Bradford) has yet set up a complete School Clinic in daily use, though Cambridge has a well-organised Dental Clinic, and there are various voluntary School Clinics which the Local Education Authority aids in one way or another. Nearly all the Authorities are, however, making more or less systematic arrangements for the provision of the medical attendance found to be required by any of the children, and for seeing that they get spectacles where necessary. Many children, especially in winter in the great urban centres, are found to be in lack of food, and about one-third of the Local Education Authorities in England and Wales (those in nearly all the large towns) now have systematic arrangements for providing meals for those in need of food, and about 100,000 are so fed for longer or shorter periods in the course of each year. Other forms of neglect are provided against, here and there, by the use of Day Industrial Schools (where the children of parents unable or unwilling to provide proper parental supervision can be kept all day, properly fed and looked after, without breaking up the family), or by the residential schools (to which children can be admitted voluntarily as well as by order of a Magistrate). These, however, do not yet deal with more than a small fraction of the cases of neglect.

With regard to (*a*) promoting the attendance of children at continuation schools, and (*b*) directing them into suitable situations, many Local Education Authorities are now beginning to take action, in more or less intimate relation with the Labour Exchanges, and joint committees are being formed with this object in connection with every "special school" and every secondary school and training college. In London and many other towns there is also a voluntary "Children's Care Committee" or "School Canteen Committee," made up of men and women who devote much time to (*a*) supervising the arrangements as to weakly or ailing children, (*b*) managing the supply of meals, and (*c*) visiting the homes. There are also committees for "Country Holiday" Funds Committees, and for the provision of spectacles, boots, etc., "After-care" Committees, Apprenticeship Committees, etc.

In Scotland the number of children on the rolls of public schools is 714,899, of voluntary schools 109,770. The number of teachers is, in the former, approximately 16,678, in the latter 2,383. The Act of 1908, which provided for medical inspection and the systematic dealing with child neglect, has so recently come into force that no complete survey of the results has yet been made. In the large centres (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Govan, Leith) the problem is, however, being vigorously attacked. The following lines of action may be mentioned: Searching out of children who are underfed in need of boots, or clothing, affected with vermin or dirt, or in want of medical treatment; warning and prosecuting the parents responsible for such neglect; dealing directly with all these types of neglect (except by medical treatment); extending and developing the Continuation Class system (bye-laws for compulsory attendance at such classes up to 17 years of age may be made); instituting employment agencies in conjunction with the Labour Exchanges, etc.

First Day, Tuesday, May 30th.

MORNING SESSION.

(Joint Meeting with the Public Health Section.)

The chair was occupied by the President of the Public Health Section, Sir T. Clifford Allbutt, K.C.B. The subject discussed was The Medical Inspection of School Children. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Pressing Administrative Problems of Medical Inspection.*
By the Right Hon. Henry Hobhouse, Chairman of the Somerset County Council.

2.—*Some Administrative Details of Medical Inspection.*
By Dr. E. W. Hope, Medical Officer of Health, Liverpool, and Dr. A. A. Mussen, Assistant Medical Officer of Health, Liverpool.

Pressing Administrative Problems of Medical Inspection.

By The Right Hon. Henry Hobhouse.
(Chairman of the Somerset County Council)

1. By a single clause in the Education Act of 1907 the local authorities superintending our elementary schools were entrusted for the first time with the supervision of the health of the children in those schools. Medical inspection became compulsory, and was to be carried out by the direction of a central authority but at the cost of the local rates. Up to the present time no Government grant has been given in respect of medical inspection. Considering that in many localities there was no demand for such inspection, and that the end in view was rather a national than a local one, it is not surprising that many County and Borough authorities have been slow to carry out the provisions of the Act. It has taken several years' pressure on the part of the Board of Education to bring the great majority into line. Their task would have been far easier had not the Treasury persistently declined to give any grant in aid for efficient inspection.

2. The after-treatment of children inspected and found to be diseased or defective was not a duty imposed upon local authorities by the Act, but they were empowered to make such arrangements as might be sanctioned by the Board

of Education for attending to the health and physical condition of the children. Parliament evidently shrank from recommending State action in this matter, as express provision was made in the Act for the encouragement of assistance by voluntary agencies, and the association of the public authority with voluntary agencies. This indecision of Parliament has been reflected in the partial and unsystematic action of the local authorities, who, while usually recognising the desirability of following up inspection by treatment of the defects disclosed, have not unnaturally shrunk from imposing any large expense on the ratepayers and relieving parents from what has hitherto been regarded as their responsibility.

3. The present position of after-treatment is consequently most unsatisfactory, and will remain so until the duties of local authorities are more clearly defined and a more uniform system of treatment is introduced. This can only be done by the action of a central authority able to make substantial grants in aid. In answer to the objections raised to what might be called a "socialistic" policy, it may be pointed out (1) that in country districts the expenditure ordinarily involved need not be great, except perhaps for tuberculosis and dental treatment, and (2) that if a proper system of administration is adopted it may tend to increase rather than diminish the parents' sense of responsibility. It is to be feared that at present many parents do not recognise, or at any rate will not perform, their duty of attending to their children's defective eyes, teeth, or throats. Some of them do not even think it necessary to keep their children clean, though they would regard it as wrong to let their children go without proper food. Many people, therefore, who are in no way "Socialists" would regard the treatment of the defects of children by public authorities as far more legitimate than supplying them with food or clothing. Moreover, it is to be remembered that certain defects, especially short sight, are often developed, or even caused, by long hours of compulsory attendance at school.

4. If, however, the local authority undertakes supervision of the children's health, it must be armed with proper powers of requiring parents to perform their share in the task so far as their abilities extend. At present there is no law requiring parents to submit their children to medical inspection, nor has it been made directly an offence for a parent to send a child to school in such a condition as to be likely to cause injury to other children. Both these enactments are required to supplement the very useful provisions of the Children Act, and to relieve the local authorities from the apparent absurdity of summoning children for non-attendance at school after they have expressly prohibited them from coming there.

5. In order to assist the poorest class of parents to perform these duties, the local authority ought to make proper arrangements for cleansing the children and for providing them with spectacles and necessary medical apparatus at reasonable rates. This has been done already by many authorities—*e.g.*, the Somerset County Council, having made large contracts, can supply spectacles of any kind (including case) for 2s. 6d. apiece. Where the sums are small they ought as a general rule, to be paid by the parent, but in cases of proved poverty, local committees should have power to recommend payment of the whole or part of the cost out of the rates. This would be the more necessary in the case of trusses or expensive medical apparatus.*

6. On the difficult question of co-operation between the public authorities and the hospitals I can only briefly touch. It would obviously be unwise and

* In Somerset, during the year 1910, out of 1,360 children supplied with spectacles in only 26 cases was the cost defrayed wholly or partly by the County Funds.

uneconomical to set up school clinics everywhere without regard to the facilities for treatment that already exist; but in many districts there has, unfortunately, so far been a reluctance on the part of the hospital authorities, mainly for professional reasons, to receive fees or subsidies from the public authorities for the treatment of elementary school children. It is hoped that these difficulties will be removed in future by a re-organisation of the present hospital system which will secure proper payment for the hospital staff, and a scale of charges for treatment graduated according to the means of the patient. These reforms can, however, hardly be initiated except by the heads of the medical profession, and will take some time to carry through. Meanwhile, a *modus vivendi* might be adopted by the local hospitals consenting to receive contributions out of the rates for the treatment of the children of the poor.

7. The question of systematic dental treatment is a formidable one, owing to the widespread nature of the evil and the expense involved in dealing with it, especially among scattered populations; yet it will have to be faced if we are to secure a strong and healthy race in the future. A good deal can be done in the way of prevention by the public authorities at very little cost. In some counties already, large contracts have been made for supplying cheap tooth-brushes to the scholars, and instruction is given in the schools as to the use of them. Besides this instruction, lessons in hygiene might well be given explaining the importance of a wholesome dietary for the preservation of the teeth. As regards curative treatment, it may be hoped that when the parents are once convinced of the necessity of careful attention to the teeth in early life, sufficient voluntary contributions will in many places be forthcoming, with the aid of local charities and the parents' payments, to justify the school authority in employing one or more school dentists.

8. There remains the still more serious question of mental defects. Many of these are irremediable even after the most expensive training. Even where they can be modified by special treatment the public authority naturally shrinks from spending large sums of the ratepayers' money on the least profitable portion of the population. This is especially felt in country districts where the children have to be boarded out at special schools. Proper dealing with feeble-minded children has hitherto been impossible, owing to the absence of power to retain them in institutions after the age of sixteen. We are probably all agreed that this question deserves the early attention of Parliament.

9. As regards the machinery of administration, it is impossible for local authorities in large districts to attend themselves to the details of after-treatment. There should consequently be Children's Care Committees established everywhere for large single schools or groups of small schools. However helpful the teachers may be in the work of medical inspection, it is neither wise nor fair to over-task them with the care of the children's health.

10. It is a question of some importance out of what rate the cost of inspection and after-treatment should be paid. Hitherto its expense has been charged on the Education Rate, which is already over-burdened in many ways. If we are not to discourage improvements in education, it would be wise in any readjustment of taxation to put the cost of attending to the children's health, so far as it is not borne by the National Exchequer, on the general County or Borough Rate. As a corollary to this charge it will probably be found desirable for the county or borough to refer the matters in question to a Joint Committee composed partly of members of the Education Committee and partly of members of the Health Committee.

Some Administrative Details of Medical Inspection.

By Dr. E. W. Hope (Medical Officer of Health), and Dr. A. A. Mussen (Assistant Medical Officer of Health), Liverpool.

It will be sufficiently obvious that difficulties in ensuring attention on the part of parents to the needs of their children are most accentuated in the case of those families whose social condition renders them likely to become claimants from time to time upon Poor Law relief; and in those cases not only help involving medical treatment, but also help involving cleanliness must be looked for either at the hands of those who are charged with the relief of the destitute, or at some other charitable or rate-aided centre.

It has been found convenient in Liverpool to associate the Medical Inspection of School Children with the Medical Officer of Health's Department, and to place the administration under the control of the Medical Officer of Health. An immediate outcome of this is that a member of the large female staff of the Health Department is placed at the disposal of each of the four Medical Inspectors.

The arrangements by which, with the consent of the Health Committee, the Female Sanitary Inspectors have regularly assisted the School Medical Officers at the schools have been continued during the last two years.

The city has been divided into eighteen districts, and the Female Inspector who is attached to each district has been placed at the disposal of the School Medical Officers whilst they have been inspecting schools in her district. These officers, it will be appreciated, are absolutely distinct from the School Nurse, whose duties are entirely apart. The Female Inspector follows the children to their homes whenever necessary, and the large number of visits to the homes, resulting from the inspections at the schools, has contributed in no small degree to a higher level of cleanliness and parental attention—more appreciable to those who are working constantly at the schools than to those who have only statistics placed before them.

The work of the Female Inspectors in relation to school children during the last year may be classified under the following heads:—

(i) Assisting the School Medical Officers at the schools and investigating the condition of the 23,000 (approximately) cases at the routine inspections and of certain special cases as to cleanliness, etc.

(ii) Visiting the homes of children who at the inspections are found to be verminous or dirty, or who are reported by the School Nurses as persistently neglected. During 1910 special visits were paid to 5,110 children at their homes on account of verminous conditions, and to 3,909 for other conditions of neglect.

(iii) At intervals these inspectors pay visits to the schools in order to see in school the children just referred to for the purpose of noting improvement; they also see other children whom the teachers are anxious for them to inspect.

(iv) In 860 instances the Inspectors paid visits to the parents at the request of the School Medical Officers, to urge the necessity of paying attention to various defects or for the purpose of giving advice to the parents.

(v) Visits were paid to the homes of 13,716 school children suffering from various communicable conditions, including ringworm, itch, ophthalmia, and impetigo. These visits are part of their routine duties as Sanitary Inspectors, and are paid for the purpose of urging the parents to obtain treatment.

(vi) It was found necessary to revisit the homes of 4,714 children, chiefly cases of verminous or otherwise neglected children who had relapsed after a preliminary improvement.

(vii) During last year the Inspectors served notices upon the parents of dirty or verminous children, either under the Liverpool General Powers Act or under Section 122 of the Children Act, and 1,556 children were removed by these Inspectors from the schools for the purpose of being cleansed under these sections at the disinfecting station.

The disinfecting stations alluded to are those belonging to the Health Committee, and although they are not perhaps as well equipped as might be desired, they at all events, pending additions, do supply an extremely useful help in dealing with such verminous children as may be found. Whilst the children are being washed by a female officer appointed by the Health Committee, the clothing can be disinfected in the immediately adjacent disinfector. A difficulty which has to be met is that arising from the circumstance that many of the schools attended by the poorer children are a very considerable distance away from the cleansing stations.

With reference to the powers to inspect children in school, I have delegated the authority under the Children Act, Section 122, to all of the female staff, to each of the School Nurses, and to a considerable number of teachers who have asked for it, and who use it with immense benefit and to the interest of the school.

The work of the School Nurses is carried out by an arrangement with the Queen Victoria Nursing Association, under which, for an annual payment of £280, the services of four nurses are placed at the disposal of the Committee during school hours. The nurses act under the control of the Medical Inspection Sub-Committee, and under the supervision of the Medical Officer of Health. Their duties comprise the following:—

(1) At each school at which she may attend, a nurse will examine all such children as, in the opinion of the head teacher, require attention. If the teacher is in any doubt as to which of the children require attention, the nurse at the request of the head teacher may assist in the selection of the children.

(2) The nurse shall examine all such children, and shall ascertain if:—

(*a*) Clothing deficient.

(*b*) Head, many nits and/or verminous.

(*c*) Body and clothing dirty and/or verminous.

(*d*) Any infectious or other complaints present or requiring medical attention. The presence of ringworm or scabies should especially be searched for.

(*e*) Any cuts, bruises, sores, or other minor ailments present.

(3) In the case of minor ailments such as cuts, bruises, sores, broken chilblains, etc., the nurse shall apply suitable dressings as a temporary measure, and she shall, when she considers it necessary, refer the case to the District Nurse, or to the parents, to secure proper medical treatment, giving such instructions as may be necessary, either verbal or on a form to be

provided by the Committee. On her next visit she shall ascertain whether these cases have been treated, and, if there is evidence of neglect on the part of the parents, report the case to the School Medical Officer. She shall enter in a book kept for the purpose the name of each child treated along with the conditions requiring treatment.

Where medical attention appears to be necessary, and is not provided, the nurse shall report the circumstance. Infection of any kind, ringworm, or serious defects, shall also be forthwith specially reported. Some forty of the poorest schools were selected, and the nurses were each allotted ten schools which they visit once a week, the day being changed from time to time as certain children got to know when the nurse was coming and stayed away in order to avoid being found dirty. The nurses are required to note the children who are found to be verminous or dirty, and, after giving them printed instructions with regard to cleansing to take home to their parents, are required to see them at the following visit to the school. Children in whom no attempt at improvement is manifested or who are found to be very neglected are reported to the Medical Officer, and the female sanitary staff co-operate by paying visits to the homes and, where necessary, taking proceedings against neglectful parents.

With regard to minor ailments the nurses attend on the spot to any requiring attention, and then give the children for the parents printed forms containing instructions how to deal with simple sores, etc., or if the condition is a more serious one, instructions to take the child to a doctor.

The work of the School Nurse is no new thing; it is merely a transfer of the nurse to the supervision and authority of the Education Committee, and the nurses report that since they have been under the control of the Committee they have been much more successful in getting the parents to co-operate in the case of the treatment of these sores. In no instance does the nurse undertake the continued treatment of minor ailments because the visits cannot be paid sufficiently frequently to justify this procedure. In a small number of cases these minor ailments are referred to the District Nurse to visit at the home. Children with various communicable diseases, such as ringworm, mumps, ophthalmia, etc., are reported to the Medical Officer of Health. In addition to these four nurses the Association has voluntarily arranged that three other schools shall be visited weekly by nurses from three of their homes in order to give these nurses more experience of school nursing.

Owing to the method adopted in Liverpool of linking up medical inspection with the large existing staff of the Health Department, the results flowing from medical inspection pure and simple have been very gratifying, the large staff available for following up cases of neglect and defect, whether of person or clothing, have been able to effect many improvements which it was well within the power of the parents to accomplish. Improvements in clothing, the effectual treatment of many minor and even greater defects which interfere more or less with the work of education have been removed, and it has been found that the amount necessary to be expended on the feeding of school children has been considerably less than was anticipated, owing partly to the advice given to parents, and partly no doubt to the inquiries made by which those parents who were well able to provide their children with food were required to do so.

In conclusion it may perhaps be repeated that inquiry, supervision, and advice result in bringing about improvements in conditions due solely to ignorance, thoughtlessness, and neglect.

Discussion.

The Right Hon. Henry Hobhouse (Chairman of the Somerset County Council) said he understood that he might take this opportunity of making some remarks supplementary to the paper he had written. There was no doubt, looking back at the last few years, that the clause in the Act of 1907, which first made it incumbent upon local authorities to inspect the children in the schools, opened up a new chapter of social reform. It was clear to many of them from the first that the authorities could not stop merely at inspecting and recording the results of their inspection, and that they would infallibly be induced, nay, compelled, to go further. They must do something not only to record the defects discovered but to advise the parents as to how to remedy these defects and give them all reasonable assistance in that direction, and the Act had in this way raised the very serious problem which he would put before them in general terms. "How far could the action of the public authority go in the way not only of advice but of assistance without destroying the independence and self-reliance and responsibility of the parent?" (Hear, hear.) He would like to illustrate that problem in one or two directions. He would take first the question of defective eyesight. There, he thought, the local authority had a special duty incumbent upon it, because it first compelled the children to go to school, and then it compelled them to read while they were at school. He hoped the time had gone by when books which they were set to read were ill-printed and the buildings in which they read were ill-lighted. He hoped that the Education Authorities had seen to those defects already. But notwithstanding that, they knew from the results of their inspection there would still remain a large proportion of children with defective eyesight, and so long as they kept them in their schools they were bound to give proper facilities for removing those defects, or at all events mitigating them. They ought to see in the big towns that proper eye-testing stations were established and that proper advice was given by an oculist engaged by the local authority. With regard to spectacles, he had mentioned 2s. 6d. as the cost in his paper, but further inquiry had convinced him that to provide a really substantial type of spectacles, including the case, they ought to charge about 3s. That was not a large sum for any parent to contribute, and he was bound to say that in the great majority of cases they found the parents were quite willing to bear this small burden themselves. Then again he did not think it was demoralising to the parents that hospital treatment should be provided for such cases as the removal of adenoids and so on, and, in fact, it was done already by means of hospital letters and so on. It might be hard on the hospitals, and probably they would hear something from the medical profession as to having a very large number of operations on children suddenly thrown upon them without any remuneration being provided. Then again it was surely their duty to see that the heads of those children who were forced to attend school were properly cleaned, and in seeing to this not only might they not demoralise the parents, but they could educate the parents and teach them a good deal with regard to the cleanliness of the children. He was glad to think that under Section 122 of the Children's Act the local authority could do a great deal by means of notices to and ultimately by means of fining the parent who would not keep a child clean. One general question which would have to be considered was as to the amount of compulsion to be put on the parents, because it was a question which was often burked now. It was very pleasant to provide benefits, but sometimes rather difficult to apply compulsion. It was quite certain that the parents should do their share in the matter. To begin with, they ought to make the parents submit the children to proper inspection, and secondly to insist on their duty of affording adequate medical aid. That was to some extent recognised by Section 12 of the Children's Act. Thirdly, there should be a clear duty on the parent to send the child to school in proper condition so as not to injure other children. This must be insisted upon even if it involved some inspection of the condition of the home, for after all that lay at the root of the condition of the child.

Sir John Gorst said the papers admirably pointed out the position in which the question of medical inspection now stood, and how absolutely essential it was if medical inspection was to be any remedy that they should not stop where they now were but go forward, and not only have the inspection of children, but should make remedial measures for the evils which the inspection disclosed compulsory upon all

local authorities. The principle of the medical inspection policy which was inaugurated a few years ago was this—that it should be compulsory and obligatory on all local authorities to institute the medical examination of children. There might be a good deal to say in criticism of the particular kind of inspection which was ordered. Many reforms could be suggested and many improvements of the method of examination, but still, such as it was, it secured that all children attending the elementary school should, during their school career, be examined, and that the defects and ailments from which they suffered should be ascertained and recorded. Remedial action, however, was not compulsory, but was left to the discretion of the local authority. It might remedy the defects which were proved if it liked, but it could not be compelled to do so. Now the effect of this policy had been that in most of the great cities, like Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, and even in London (where the Local Education Authority had been driven by the stress of public opinion to take some steps in the direction of remedies), some kind of remedial measures have been instituted and promoted, but in many of the rural districts there was absolutely no attempt of any kind whatever to remedy the defects which the doctor found out. Many of the urban local authorities, many of the smaller boroughs, and even great boroughs such as Leeds, for instance, had done absolutely nothing, he believed, at present in the way of carrying out the permissive part of the Act. His object in addressing the meeting was to urge upon them all that the time had now come when they should not only permit, but should compel, every local authority in the country to take such steps as might be efficient for remedying the evils which had been revealed by inspection. He would like to give them one example, and that was the cleansing of children's heads. The cleansing of children's heads could be accomplished in a week by the appointment of a school nurse. He had himself been in two districts in which school nurses were for the first time appointed. In one case it was assisted by the parents of the children in the schools themselves, who formed a committee to pay a nurse and secure her services, and in the other case the funds for the employment of the nurse were provided by a private charity. In both cases within a week after the appointment of the nurses it was reported that the whole of the children in the schools who had been found by the medical authorities to be suffering from uncleanliness of their heads were absolutely cured. But in country districts other diseases besides dirt were prevalent, such, for instance, as ringworm, which required very prolonged and adequate treatment. Yet he had no doubt but that the institution of the school nurse would not only cleanse all the children in country schools, but would also produce such a treatment of ringworm as would very soon extirpate that very difficult complaint. He did not think that people generally had any idea of the enormous extent of both verminous heads and ringworm troubles in country schools. This urgently demanded attention, because it was not only that the parents of clean children had the right to have their heads protected against being infected by the dirty, but also the dirty condition of the children was a very great detriment to their health. So far as parental responsibility went, for the last ten years he had often heard that bugbear against any attempt to deal with children in the schools. It was always being said that they were weakening parental responsibility. In this particular, so far from sapping parental responsibility it had brought the parents to see what their duties were and to carry them out, and in this and in many other cases of experiments tried, not only in Great Britain but in foreign countries, in the way of relieving the ailments of children, it had been proved that the more the attention paid to the needs of the children the greater becomes the sense of parental responsibility, and so far from the parents being induced to consider they have nothing to do with their children they were often for the first time brought to realise that they are responsible for their children and can ameliorate their condition and can be compelled by the local authority to do so. There were two great things to contend with in the treatment of the young. The first was ignorance, and the second was neglect, and both could only be dealt with by the local authority. The ignorance which prevailed amongst parents as to the mode of treating their children was incredible. It was not surprising, because in the public elementary schools where they brought up their girls they taught them grammar and geography and history, but they never taught them how to take care of children, how to keep house, or how to do their duty as heads of families, and until they radically reformed their elementary education and taught domestic economy as well as grammar and geography they would never get the same kind of house mother that they had in Germany, where the whole family was well cared for. The other great thing was neglect, and that

was very great indeed. There were many parents who neglected their children simply because they had not been summoned to the consciousness of their duties, and if the principle, which was now the law of the land, that every child must be sent to school in a condition fit to receive instruction were steadily enforced by the managers of public elementary schools and by the County Councils who were their masters, he believed they would very shortly see a great improvement in the health and the condition of the children of the nation.

Councillor J. H. Palin (Bradford) said he felt some diffidence in following the distinguished gentlemen who had spoken on the subject, but as a member of that class which was being inspected and which was unfortunately afflicted with destitution, and as one who had had some experience in this particular phase of the work perhaps he might be permitted to make some remarks on the question. In the first place he would like to express his indebtedness to Mr. Hobhouse for the clear and precise method in which he had put some very real problems before them, and also to Dr. Mussen, who had told them what to avoid. Mr. Hobhouse first complained that the Government had not made this a national charge, and they would all share his regret, but he believed the responsibility rested quite as much upon the local education authorities as upon the Government. He came there a few months ago to a conference which was to devise ways and means of placing before the Government the necessity of making this a national charge, and they went before Mr. Asquith and some of the permanent officials, and Mr. Hayes Fisher made an eloquent speech. But the Prime Minister put his finger on the spot when he said: "What have you done to carry out the law? If you have done nothing it has cost you nothing. Let us first find out the cost, and then the Government will consider what assistance it can give." He (the speaker) did not know, however, that he was particularly concerned in assisting the Government to get statistics. No one who visited schools, either in the country or the town, could possibly avoid seeing the defects unless they were absolutely blind. He was sure the financial problem was not the real difficulty at all. Mr. Hobhouse put the real difficulty before them when he told them that a large number of people were afraid of undermining parental responsibility. In fact, he heard people talk as if it would be the end of all things if they gave a child a bath or relieved it from ringworm and lice and things of that sort. He agreed with Sir John Gorst that instead of undermining parental responsibility it inculcated and developed it to a great extent. For fourteen years Bradford had had baths in some of its schools, and this touched on the point of neglect of parental responsibility. Did they think the mother was going to allow her boy to go to the school bath in a dirty shirt and get a note from the teacher? Did they think she was going to give the other boys the chance of saying, "Johnny Smith was at the bath in a dirty shirt"? No. Out of very shame the mother would send the boy in a clean shirt, and did they not agree that this was doing something to inculcate and develop parental responsibility? They knew from statistics which their medical officer, Dr. Williams, could give, that so far as the question of clean heads was concerned that the number of dirty heads that he found in the schools had gone down 50 to 60 per cent., not as the result of one year's or of one month's experience, but as between one visit of the school nurse to the school and the second visit. One visit had been enough. The mothers had been ashamed of the condition in which their children had been found, and had been very anxious to remedy it as soon as possible. Dr. Hope told them they should take this duty away from the education committee and place it under the control of the health authority, but he thought that would be a mistake—indeed, a very great blunder. There must be the closest co-operation between the teachers and the doctors and the school nurses. They had found that very evil defects had resulted from the fact that the Local Government Board took the control of the school baths from the local education authority and placed them under the Baths Committee of the City Council. They found that the baths attendant would not act under the direction of the head teacher of the school and co-operate with the head teacher as he or she ought to, and the same thing would take place if they had school doctors controlled by another department. The school doctor must be the head of this particular department, and the teachers and all others must recognise him as the head. They could not have two captains of a ship unless they wanted to run on the rocks. He did not want to see them run on the rocks in regard to this work, but he was afraid that Liverpool would do so. With regard to treatment, everyone seemed to think it was going to cost a great deal, but he considered they could dismiss from their minds altogether the idea of elaborate

dispensaries and a large expenditure on drugs. The form of treatment they found most beneficial was baths, school meals, and the open-air school, and all other treatment was nothing as compared with those three things. They talked about the provision of spectacles, but he believed the further they got away from the contractors in regard to this the more they would reduce the cost. They had supplied spectacles in Bradford for fourteen years, and when they first began the school doctor used to send the child with its parent to the contractor to have the glasses fitted, and what was the result? It was the inevitable result. The man was in business for profit, and he persuaded the fond mother that a gold-rimmed frame or something of that kind would make the little girl look much prettier, and the effect was that the average cost worked out at something like 6s. 6d. a pair. During the whole of the time the spectacles had been supplied in bulk by the contractors the cost had gone down to an average of 1s. 6d. a pair.

Miss COCHRANE (Cambridge Education Committee) said she hoped that all who came from the country would study the paper of Mr. Hobhouse very carefully. She stood there not as an expert, but as a woman in the street, who had spent a long life in the rural districts and taken a keen interest in many ways in village children. All of them who were interested in children could not be too grateful for the institution of the medical inspection of children and for the good it was going to do when they got it properly organised. She was quite certain that a considerable cause of destitution in this country was due to the past neglect of the health of the children, and in speaking of some of the difficulties they had in rural districts she did so because she wanted it to be borne in mind when any future legislation was brought about that country needs should be considered. They were not so numerous as the town people, whom she was afraid sometimes swamped them. If, however, the town people would not assist them out of right feeling, might she appeal to the selfish side of their nature and say that if they neglected the health of the children in the country districts they would suffer from it in the towns. One of the difficulties they had in rural towns—and she was speaking particularly of Cambridgeshire, where the villages were scattered—was that when defects were found in the children they could not get them to a hospital or any place where they could be treated. Lately the Education Committee had promised a grant of £50 to Addenbroke Hospital at Cambridge for the treatment of such things as adenoids and the eyes, which were things the general practitioner did not care to undertake. The medical officer would have letters of admission to give to different children, but those who lived in the remote country districts would not be able to avail themselves of them. Several villages she knew of were ten, twelve, or fourteen miles away from the county hospital, and there was no railway station within five or six miles, and how were these children to get to the hospital to be treated? She certainly did hope that when fresh legislation was introduced it would be remembered that some provision must be made for conveying these children to the places where they were to be treated. It was not merely a case of one visit. There were some things like eye complaints which required constant visits to the hospital. She herself took in one little boy every month or six weeks for two years before the doctors could do anything. It was really a serious matter and one which must be considered. She was told it was almost impossible to have a clinic in very remote districts, but she thought it might be possible for some of the medical men to lend their surgeries for children to be treated at. It was very disheartening and heartbreaking where a child was suffering from an eye complaint to know that it had to come to school and use its eyes, and that it was impossible to get the child to a proper place where it would be treated.

Sir GEORGE FORDHAM (Chairman of the Cambridge County Council) said he thought some answer should be made to the very general, sweeping, and, he thought, vague and unfounded condemnation of the work of the rural education authorities which, he was sorry to say, had fallen from his neighbour, Sir John Gorst. It would, he thought, be very unfortunate if at such an important gathering as that something was not said in reply to what Sir John had laid before them. Sir John Gorst spoke in the first instance of medical inspection, and said that very often in the country districts it was of a very perfunctory character. He claimed for the rural districts and for the County Councils which were dealing with the medical question in the rural districts that they were, as a rule, quite up to the average of intelligence and of activity in this matter. He had no particular experience directly with the work which was being done in the towns, but he could tell the conference that in many districts of the country the attention which was being given quietly and unostenta-

tiously to the general question of medical inspection had now arrived at a very thorough and complete state. He would like also to say something with regard to the statements as to the dirty condition existing in rural districts. He believed it would be found on an examination of the statistics which had already been obtained that the statement as to the enormous extent to which ringworm and dirty conditions exist in the country schools was not founded upon fact. His experience, after a very careful examination of his own district, which he took to be fairly typical of the country areas, was that these diseases were only prevalent to any serious extent in particular areas. It might be said that the disease was patchy, and that in villages here and there there was a considerable amount of the trouble, whilst in others they found the population was almost entirely free from it. He might say that the attention which was being drawn to these matters in the schools, and particularly with regard to cleanliness, was working out very marvellous results without the necessity of applying any really serious compulsory pressure upon the parents. He preferred to effect a raising of the morale and the health standard of the people by persuasion to the imposition at the present stage of that general and drastic compulsion which seemed to be somewhat in the air in this connection. He also desired to offer an observation with regard to the teaching of domestic economy and questions of health in the country districts. He believed they were making very considerable progress in inculcating health knowledge and the conditions which ought to obtain in human life. They were doing it not only by set lessons, which, no doubt, were of great importance, but also by improving the character of the environment of the children in the school. They were elevating the standard of the surroundings and the sentiment of the child population, and out of that would grow an enormous improvement in the health conditions of the country. That, to his mind, was a safer hope of progress than any really drastic method of compulsion which at this stage could be profitably employed by the local authority. When they had to deal with the extremely difficult problem of how to treat the diseases which had been detected and scheduled, he thought they would do wisely, in the country districts at all events, if they relied largely at present upon voluntary effort. They had attempted—he did not say it had been carried very far—to bring to the notice of the managers in the country districts and to impose on them the duty of looking after the children in respect to the ailments which required treatment outside the schools. The managers of these country schools, in common no doubt with the managers of town schools, complained that they had not sufficient duties under the present system of educational administration under the Act of 1902. This, no doubt, was a perfectly sound complaint, because the education authority itself as a body really did everything and the managers, however energetic and however interested they might be, were little more than the hand of the authority. Now this was a field to which he invited the attention of managers because it was one which would fill a void they seemed to feel in their existence and in connection with their school duties would supply them with a direct field of usefulness of the best sort, because it was directed to home services which must necessarily, in the best manner, improve the lives of the population. He did desire to urge on that assembly that they in the country districts were endeavouring, according to their lights and according to the circumstances in which they are placed, to bring about this great reform, little by little, in the health of the people.

Mr. Norman G. Bennett (Hon. Sec. of the British Dental Association) said the Lord Mayor that morning raised a storm of cheers by referring to the good which might be done by remedying the alcoholic habit. He would like to remind this audience that no less an authority than Professor Osler, of Oxford, had stated as his conviction that more harm resulted from diseased teeth than from the misuse of alcohol, and it was quite evident to him that Mr. Hobhouse appreciated the importance of diseased teeth. It had become nowadays almost a case of flogging a dead horse to insist upon its importance and to enumerate the diseases which were dependent upon it. But it might be of some interest to that audience if he said a few words as to the views of the dental profession and as the representative of the British Dental Association on the best means of coping with this problem. It was in the main a question of expense. He was referring now to treatment. But the broad fact remained that in the long run it was cheaper to prevent than to cure. It was better to spend money on the children in testing their diseased teeth before the conditions got too bad than it was to pour money into hospitals that try to cure the diseases which were the result of oral sepsis. He would like to say in this matter that he did

not think the voluntary agencies were to be depended upon. The difficulty with regard to hospitals was largely a geographical one. The hospitals were in the wrong places for the children who could not be taken a long distance to them, and apart from that the principle of subsidising the hospitals for State treatment was a very doubtful one. The only satisfactory plan, and the one which had been started in the large cities, was dental clinics, and although in the public mind the old university cities were not usually associated with radical progress, yet it was greatly to the credit of Cambridge that it started the first dental clinic in this country; and it was still more to the credit of the generous donor, who was a member of the university, that he offered the opportunity of demonstrating how much might be done in a year, the result being that the council had no option but to take the work on at its own expense at the end of the year. Now what Cambridge and Norwich and Bradford had done, and what Coventry was just going to do, all the large towns in the kingdom could do, and some of the smaller ones too. Mr. Hobhouse, in his paper, referred to the difficulty in rural districts, and it was a very great difficulty. Miss Cochrane said she thought an attempt had been made to deal with it by travelling dentists, and that was so in the western district of Dorset. In that district a dentist had been appointed for a year to travel round and treat the children of the different villages, and he thought it would be found that the only ultimate solution was not only for the dentist to travel but for the dentist's equipment to travel with him. The equipment of the travelling caravan was, in his opinion, the ultimate solution of the rural problem, and it was greatly to be hoped that what one generous donor had done in demonstrating to its value in the towns would induce some other generous donor to equip a caravan for the experiment to be tried in a typical rural district, and so show the way for others. He need hardly say that in any methods which might be adopted of this kind the assistance of the British Dental Association would always be given. He would like to say a few words about prevention because of the two it was the more important. The main fact was that clean teeth did not decay, and the question was how to maintain cleanliness. It was generally believed that the use of the toothbrush by the children twice a day or more, if sufficiently well done, would keep the teeth clean. It would do a great deal towards it, but it would not do everything. The main cause of the decay of the teeth was not quite what Mr. Hobhouse said, civilisation, but their failure to adapt themselves to the habits of civilisation. The cause of the decay of children's teeth was wrong feeding from the start and right through. It was too technical a point to deal with at any length; but the point he wanted to insist upon and emphasise and which he wished might be carried throughout the land was that from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 years of age every child had a dental equipment at least as good as that of the adult and at least as capable for mastication as that of the adult, and yet they found that children from 3, 4, 5, and 6 years of age were fed on a sort of diet which required no mastication at all. Children of 3 years and upwards should be fed on plain but solid food. It had been proved if this was done the teeth hardly decayed at all. He felt certain that if these measures of prevention were inculcated—proper diet and tooth brushes—the number of children needing treatment would be much reduced, and then by means of dental clinics in the large towns, and, he hoped, travelling clinics in the rural districts, the great problem of the treatment of the teeth of the children would be successfully dealt with.

Councillor YOUNG (Edinburgh School Board) said he rose to call attention to the fact that they in Scotland were strictly limited to the medical inspection of children. In spite of the fact that the Act for England was passed in 1907, the Scottish Education Act of 1908 did not confer upon the Scottish authorities the same power which was given to the education authorities of England. He thought it desirable to call the attention of the conference to the fact that out of their absence of power arose their inability to cope with the evils they were dealing with that day, and there was an urgent need for an extension of their powers in Scotland in this direction. So far as simple medical inspection went, they had a system which was quite satisfactory. Speaking from his own experience in Edinburgh, he could say they had a system which was based upon the school doctor and not upon the medical officer of health; but they found absolutely no difficulty in securing the heartiest co-operation between the medical officer of health and his staff and the school doctor and his staff. They also found that the work given to the medical officer of health by the school staff in regard to the homes and the conditions which prevailed there was very great. The result of their medical inspection and the defects revealed also brought them into co-operation, or attempted co-operation, with the voluntary

agencies, but there they found themselves up against difficulties which were not so simple of solution as was the co-operation with the fairly adequate staff of the medical officer of health. When a condition of defective eyesight was disclosed the mere provision of spectacles seemed a comparatively trivial matter, but the provision of spectacles was often most required where there was least capacity to provide for them. When they were dealing with casual labourers whose maximum wage ran to about 21s. a week, and whose minimum wage ran down to nothing at all, and whose average wage for the whole year was 12s. or 15s. a week, then 2s. 6d. or thereabouts for spectacles for perhaps two of the family was an almost unattainable luxury. They attempted to meet it by voluntary agencies, but he had heard so many complaints about the amount of red tape which surrounded the attempt to prevent the voluntary agency being imposed on and parental responsibility being undermined that many children were left unprovided with the things which ought to be provided directly by the education authority if they who had means of knowing the circumstances were convinced that such a thing was necessary. Then with regard to the hospitals, they found they had no objection to do as much work as they could, but they did object to be flooded with cases which they had neither the means nor the time to deal with. They flooded the different departments of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and the dispensary. Their medical officer avoided the difficulties he would get into with these institutions by simply recommending the parents to have the defects of the children attended to, but if he ventured to tell them to get the child attended to at a certain institution they would soon be "up against" those institutions for loading them with work which their machinery did not enable them to tackle. Their experience had demonstrated to them that there ought to be an extension of the powers of the Scottish Education Authorities to enable them to establish school clinics and run them effectively in the interests of the children as English Education Authorities had done, and it was in the hope of calling forth an expression of that opinion from the conference that he had ventured to address them.

Dr. Hodgson (Chairman of the Cheshire Education Committee) said he would not have addressed the conference except that he felt that some of the remarks which had been made might misrepresent the aspect of the work which was being done generally in the counties. Probably no one more than Sir John Gorst desired to be fair to the local authorities. They owed a great deal to Sir John for many humanitarian impulses which had done all authorities a great deal of good. In his opinion no one could carefully read the paper of Mr. Hobhouse without saying that if it was the county point of view it showed the vast amount of good which was being done. It was a paper full of sanity and caution, and yet full of a desire to ascertain the facts and afterwards to do what might be necessary in the way of further effort. If they took the question of medical inspection in most of the counties, what did they find? They found medical officers of health appointed as chief medical inspectors of schools, and there were quite a number of assistant medical officers who inspected, whilst they would find school nurses in almost every county. (No, no.) Well, he thought he knew something of what he was talking about, and certainly the county for which he spoke had provided several school nurses for the children in the schools. Many of the nursing societies contracted with the county authorities for their nurses to be available, and special school nurses also were appointed. Now what was happening? They had a large collection of information which was laid before the responsible committee of the district, and every case of defect was given to a nurse and properly investigated; the homes were visited and the parents reasoned with, and usually some ameliorative measures followed. Of course, nobody was better acquainted than the local authorities with the fact that a great deal more was required, but there was one thing all of them must realise, which was that there was nothing more demoralising and nothing more pauperising than the unnecessary multiplication of eleemosynary aid to people who did not need it. That point was well put in a very brief form by Mr. Hobhouse, and he would not labour it any further, but it was very important. They must encourage and persuade people who could secure a remedy to see that their children were attended to. After that, of course, there was a residual element which would be with them for a very long time, and this would have to be met by the public authorities, and if properly dealt with this element must be a diminishing quantity. He thought the county authorities were fully alive to this fact, and no greater work could be done than in bringing first of all home to the parents of the child in the village that there was something wrong with the child, and that a remedy must be obtained. They knew what happened in a village. The nurse

went to a home and talked to the parents, and all the neighbours knew it, and the amount of quiet moral suasion and personal influence which went on in this way must be taken into account. A very great deal of work was being done, and as he happened to know this, it was only fair from the county point of view that it should be properly acknowledged. The health of the juvenile community who would be the future citizens of the country was, after all, really a matter of public health, and this ought to be remembered in connection with the proper distribution of financial aid. He thought if the conference would carefully and fairly read Mr. Hobhouse's paper they would see a real determination to do what was best.

The Rev. C. G. GARDNER (West Bromwich Union) said that he represented a class of district and perhaps an authority which had scarcely so far had a voice in the conference. What had been said with regard to the work being done in the counties and that being done in the large towns sufficiently revealed the fact that in the counties they had a very large number of people with a certain amount of leisure who were prepared to give much of their time and their valuable intellectual capacity to the work of looking after and assisting the poor. Whilst in the large towns this same kind of work was being done very thoroughly, in the intermediate districts such as the great Black Country district, with which he was acquainted and over which the Board of Guardians which he represented exercised authority, there was and must be a considerable amount of need for that compulsion of which Sir John Gorst spoke. He had come forward to support Sir John Gorst in his contention that the things which ought to be done should be done, and, if necessary, should be done under compulsion. The great district from which he came, stretching six or seven miles from north to south and five or six miles from east to west, and having a labouring population of 250,000 to 270,000 people, was one which needed all the help it could get, and yet had least of that moral and intellectual force at the back of it which would force people to take part in a great work such as this. It was the dirt in which many of these children lived which, after all, was the basis of much of the trouble which had to be dealt with by the doctors and the school nurses. Dirt was the great cause of moral degradation. To live in a dirty home was to take away all incentive to cleanliness and good moral thought and intention. He spoke from the point of view of a member of the Relief Committee dealing with a poor population of some 30,000, and he said there was an absolute need that all that could be done to compel local authorities generally to deal with these matters in an effective way should be done. They had some 500 or 600 children in their district schools coming from Walsall, Handsworth, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Oldbury, and other places, who were as well looked after as any of the children in the great boarding schools of the country. But they had a very large number of what they called "ins" and "outs." These were children who were constantly in and out of the school. They come to them frequently in a dirty and verminous condition, and often in a very low state of health. In the school they had their nurses, their medical inspection, their baths, and their trainers for the development of these children physically, and they did all they possibly could to deal with them when they came. They got them into condition, but after being with them a few weeks they went out and very frequently took with them a pair of spectacles. Spectacles had been spoken about a good deal, but he ventured to say that in many cases these children, after leaving the school, never put them on. Then the parents got into prison or somewhere else, and the children came back in six weeks or so in exactly the same condition as they were before they first entered the school. They were dirty and verminous and run down in health, and perhaps still further deteriorated. They dealt with them again and built them up, and they went out again and came back again. Some children passed through that experience over ten or twelve years of their lives, and it seemed to him to prove that the local education authorities and the local health authorities were not doing their work. He knew something of homes, and he said that the condition of the health of the child depended on the home in which it lived. Finally, he would like to say that if they were to keep their children healthy after they had got them clean they would have to provide proper playing places. Children ought to be able to go into clean and healthy and wholesome places to play. This was an educational question, and therefore he pleaded that the education committees should see that their large and admirably equipped playgrounds were thrown open after school hours for the use of the children. Give a woman a clean house, and she would try and keep it clean, and when the house was clean she would want to keep her children clean. Give the children fresh

air, and it would improve their eyesight. But, after all, so much came back to the old fact, that the two things which stood in their way were low wages and low morals.

Dr. NASH (Medical Officer of Health, Wimbledon) wished to make one observation with regard to the remarks on the question of solving the difficulties in rural districts. The most important factor, it seemed to him, had been left out altogether, and that was the general practitioners in rural districts. He found that not only in the rural districts but also in the urban districts many people with charitable aims were filled with the idea of taking these children to some institution, and he found in frequent circumstances they would spend more in taking the child up to and back to an institution than would be charged by the local practitioner as his fees. In addition to that if the parent went with the child there was often the loss of a day's work. There was another thing which was likely to have a far reaching effect. If these charitably minded people were continually telling people in the villages that they had better go to a hospital they were quite unwillingly undermining the prestige of the local medical practitioner, because they gave the people the idea that the local doctor could not properly treat the case. He contended that the problem could be solved by co-operating with the local practitioners. There was practically no district in the country where, by taking the local doctors into co-operation, all the cases could not be treated without taking the children miles and miles to some hospital where, in the large majority of cases, they would be attended by an assistant who had been qualified for twelve months. A closer co-operation between the able practitioners who lived in a district and the education authority would be better for the doctor and better for the children. Then with regard to verminous children and the question of compulsion. Moral suasion to a certain point was all right. They might try it, but what were they going to do with cases which were examined week after week by the school nurses and yet no matter what they did turned up verminous as regularly as the clock went round. The children were told to come up on a certain day, but they knew that their heads would be inspected, and they did not turn up. Their educational system must be absolutely rotten when it would allow such a state of things as the teaching of nature study and all the rest of it to these children who were absolutely filthy. It should be the fundamental principle of education to teach cleanliness first of all, and all the other things come afterwards. The question of dealing with the verminous child was an extremely complicated one, and the condition of the home was one of the great difficulties. He had known cases where they had had the whole of the clothing and the bedding of the house cleaned, but a week or fortnight later the homes were verminous again. The house seemed to be absolutely alive with vermin. In some cases there were eight, nine, or ten paperings on the walls which simply harboured swarms of vermin. It appeared to him that larger powers were wanted, and that where they had a verminous boy or girl they should be empowered to notify the landlord of the house and compel him to take some steps to clean it. The landlord would soon turn a dirty family out. There was also another point he would like to refer to, which was that raised by Miss Cochrane as to the doctors lending their surgeries in the rural districts. He presumed Miss Cochrane meant that they should lend them for other people to come and do the work, because she never referred to the local doctor doing the work. That seemed to him not only a most absurd idea, but an absolute insult to the man they asked to do it. Why not ask the doctor to do the work himself?

Miss COCHRANE: I meant for him to do it himself if he could, and if not that the work should be organised with his co-operation.

Dr. NASH said he was afraid that that was not the impression Miss Cochrane conveyed to the meeting when she first spoke. There was another and very important point which had been overlooked by a great number of people when they talked about referring these cases to different authorities. The speaker from Edinburgh talked about referring cases to different hospitals and to swamping the hospitals. But the medical officer of health had absolutely no right to do it. The wording of the Memorandum was that in all cases the children should be referred to the private practitioner in the first instance, and if that were done a large number of these cases would be seen to. He had taken a very strong line in his district, and had absolutely refused to send any child to an institution until it had been visited by the nurse, and he was perfectly convinced that they required competent treatment and could not afford to pay for it. Then only, he contended, were they justified in referring these cases to an institution under the Memorandum under which they worked.

Mr. Robert Lambie (Lanarkshire County Council) said the first duty of the nation was to educate its children. The nation which did not look after its children was neglecting its duty as a nation, but the nation had also to see that the parents did their duty. He maintained that the nation which robbed the child of parental responsibility was doing that child an injury which nothing it could do otherwise would make up for. They had the right to see that the child was educated and the duty to pay for its education if the parent was unable to do so. The nation was beginning to recognise the value of the children, and in the income tax they had a national recognition of them for the first time. But there were neglected and verminous children coming to school whom the parents were perfectly able to keep right and ought to keep right, and it was the duty of the local authorities to see that they kept them right. He was glad to hear the Lord Mayor of London state that one of the great causes of destitution was the thriftlessness and drunkenness of parents. He knew it was not popular to take that view, but it was true all the same. He would go as far as anyone in seeing that the landlord did his duty in the way of putting the houses in a proper condition for people to live in, and after they had done that he would make the parent do his duty by his children.

Dr. Butler (Medical Officer of Health, Willesden) said he would like to point out that medical inspection was not itself a problem at all, but only an aspect of a very much bigger and more important problem. There had been a somewhat curious mistake in looking on medical inspection as being an end in and for itself, and that probably was responsible for many of the difficulties which had been referred to as to where the administrative centre of medical inspection should lie. How had medical inspection come to be a question with them at all? It had arisen quite naturally out of the problems of public health administration with which this country had been concerned for a great number of years. Medical inspection had come as the result in the first instance of the representations which had been made by medical officers of health and by officers of the public health service generally, and arising out of what they had discovered in the course of their work. It had been found that the insanitary condition of the houses were responsible for diseases far beyond those of which official knowledge was derived from the notification of infectious diseases, and there was a desire to know to what extent illhealth in the community was caused as the result of the conditions with which the public health departments of the local authorities were dealing. That was the first demand, and it was rather as an accident of their method of administration generally that the request was made not by the Health Authority but by the Central Education Authority on whom the results of these conditions were pressing most heavily. Unquestionably medical inspection and medical treatment were in their first instance and first intention public health questions, and that the education authority should have been responsible for bringing in a measure to deal with this aspect of the problem was an anomaly which could probably arise only in England. It became obvious that the money being spent by the State on the education of the children when their health was being neglected was mere waste, and that therefore the matter called for urgent remedy, and thus it was that the education authority dealt in the first instance with the matter. That a new service should have been created as a result was far indeed from the intentions of the education authority itself. If there was one thing which was insisted upon more strongly than another in the Memorandum of the Board of Education—that classical memorandum which had laid the foundation for medical inspection in this country—it was that they should have uniformity of service. The control and administration of public health was to be in the hands of the Public Health Department, and it was very curious now that some few authorities should have found it necessary to develop an entirely independent organisation not subject to or in any way controlled by the Central Health Department of the local authority. He did not think much friction would arise, because fortunately medical men did manage to agree when they had to. (Laughter.) But if any friction did arise it would only be in those cases where there had been that divorce of one aspect of the problem from another. He thought it was unfortunate that it should have been looked upon as being a new problem to be dealt with by a new administration in more ways than one. Medical inspection was only one aspect of the problem and should not for a moment be divorced from treatment. There was too much inclination to suppose that they were faced with something new in the treatment of the diseases which were discovered by inspection. When they remembered that they had had a medical service organised on a private basis in this country for years

it was somewhat astonishing that it should now be considered that this problem of treatment called for new organisation which could not be based on the existing organisation. The medical practitioners of this country had succeeded in some way or another in dealing with the diseases from which the people of the country were suffering, and no new thing had come about because more diseases had been discovered as the result of inspection. All that was wanted was normal natural development of the existing organisation and provision that had been doing the work so admirably for so long, and he was sure nothing was more likely to end in failure than some academic experiment in organisation which had not got any roots amongst the people of the country. The treatment of the diseases discovered as the result of inspection would have to be undertaken by the medical men who had been treating those diseases in the past. The talk of creating a new type of practitioner who had no knowledge of the homes and the living conditions of the people of this country would be to make a failure of the treatment. If school clinics were to be developed they would have to be developed in harmony with the existing methods of practice in this country. It was only by some scheme by which the general practitioners who had been doing the work could be gathered together to do the work more efficiently that they were going to ensure success.

Mr. McCrindle (Secretary of the Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children) said that three points had emerged from the discussion, and the first one was by Mr. Norman Bennett, who made a statement to the effect that it was not drunkenness but teeth which was the great cause of the children being in bad condition. He wanted emphatically to dissociate himself from that statement and to say that from his experience in connection with children, which had extended over a considerable number of years, and from the experience of his association, which dealt with about 22,000 children every year, whom they found in a neglected condition, he contended that poverty had practically nothing to do with the horrible condition in which the great majority of those children were found. They had again and again made up statistics from the records and found that men earning wages of 30s., 40s., 50s., and £3 a week were sending their children to school in a condition which would be a disgrace to any family, and they also found that out of the total number of children they dealt with at least 90 per cent. of them were neglected because of the intemperance of one or both of the parents. He wanted to make it clear that so far as Scotland at any rate was concerned poverty had nothing to do with the question. The second point was the question of expense in connection with dealing with those children who were sent to school either in an underfed or underclothed or verminous condition. He did not think it was necessary, so far as Scotland was concerned, to raise up any new body for dealing with this aspect of the question. Dr. Hope had referred to the large number of lady inspectors in connection with the schools in Liverpool. In Glasgow they did not deal with the matter in this manner. What happened there was that an officer inquired into the reason of the absence of children from the school, or the head teacher sent a report that certain children were attending school in a dirty and verminous condition and were being objected to by the parents of other children. These persons were summoned before the School Board and warned. If that was not sufficient an intimation was sent to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and one visit from an inspector of that society was generally found to be sufficient to work the cure which was desired. No further body was necessary it seemed to him. The question of expense was always a serious one when legislation arose, and often caused requests for things to be done to meet with a refusal. In Glasgow they had the Corporation Health Department with sanitary inspectors and family visitors and the police and the School Board officers. All these people were directly interested in the condition in which the children attended school, and some of them had sufficient influence amongst the parents to prevent children being sent in a bad condition. One other point was the suggestion that power was required to take children away from their parents when the parents were found to be utterly unfit guardians. It had recently come to the knowledge of his society that in Argyllshire there were a very large number of families of the tinker or tramp class living in the Highlands district who did not send their children to school at all. Two inspectors were sent down to deal with the matter, and they found many families living in tents on marshy ground. They found families of four, five, and seven children sleeping on the ground with the steam coming out of their clothing. This was in March, and in the winter months they were in a very cold and bad condition. Hardly one of those children

had a clean head, and many of them who were 10 to 12 years old had never been to school. The question must strike them at once how they were to get rid of this tramp class in the country if children were to be permitted to grow up in the same habits as their parents. They could not expect them to be anything else, and the only thing they could do in such a case was to remove the children entirely from the control of these vicious parents and let the nation take charge of the class of children who had not competent guardians to look after them. It would pay the nation to do it. He urged the conference to say that in rural districts they should bring influence to bear on Members of Parliament to urge on legislation to give ample powers to remove such children from their parents, so that ultimately this class would disappear from the land.

Dr. FOSBROKE (County Medical Officer, Worcestershire) said there were two difficulties they encountered in the agricultural districts of Worcestershire, and one was the dirty heads, of which mention had been made. He did not agree that the magic wand of the nurse was going to make the child free. Their nurses had to visit and revisit, and then they had found it necessary to summon and get many parents convicted. The other difficulty was in regard to ringworm, and the question was how it could be treated. He found the tendency was for the children to come back to school too soon, and, of course, the result of many absences meant a great loss of grant to the education authority. His committee thought it should be a case of the health of the children first and not a matter of grant. Personally he did not favour the education authority undertaking the medical treatment if it could be avoided. He thought that parents should be responsible for it, but the loss of grant to the education authority was so great that something would have to be done. Arising out of the question of loss of grant he would like to ask the education authorities to consider one point. It was well known that up to 1903 an epidemic grant was in existence and allowances were made for children excluded from school. For some reason or another the Board of Education stopped that grant, and the result was that if children were excluded from school it meant a serious loss of money to the county. In Worcestershire it cost them £800 to £900 a year, and he therefore hoped the education authorities would do their best to get the Board of Education to reconsider the question of giving that grant.

First Day, Tuesday, May 30th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

(*Joint Meeting with the Public Health Section.*)

The President of the Education Section, Professor M. E. Sadler, occupied the chair. The subject discussed was THE MEDICAL TREATMENT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The School Clinic.*
By Dr. LEWIS WILLIAMS, School Medical Officer, Bradford.

2.—*The Need for Dental Clinics.*
By Mr. A. W. GANT, Borough Dental Surgeon, Cambridge.

3.—*The Medical Treatment of School Children by General Practitioners.*
By Dr. LAURISTON SHAW.

The School Clinic.

By LEWIS WILLIAMS, M.D., D.P.H.
(Medical Superintendent, Bradford Education Authority)

PREVIOUS to the time when the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act became law, Bradford had, for some fifteen years, enjoyed the benefits of medical supervision of the school children, and was therefore in a fair position to judge as to the efficiency of medical inspection alone. In 1908 my predecessor, Dr. Ralph Crowley, stated that in spite of the various agencies available for treatment, the majority of children had remained untreated, and that the mere fact that skilled medical advice is available is not, in itself, sufficient to ensure treatment.

It would appear, judging from the reports of many school medical officers, that certain diseases and conditions commonly found amongst school children are for some reason or another universally neglected; in fact the diseases which are most prevalent are considered by parents to be trivial complaints, and are consequently not attended to at all, or are not treated sufficiently persistently to effect a cure.

The conditions I have referred to include ringworm, suppurating ears, defective vision, chronic eye inflammations, adenoids, decayed teeth, itch, impetigo, and other contagious skin diseases, and verminous and sore heads.

All these conditions are more or less detrimental to the health of the children, and have a serious effect upon their school life and school attendance.

The private medical practitioner is not usually consulted with regard to these so-called trivial diseases, and often where a doctor is called in the treatment applied is not effective owing to a lack of time or of apparatus; to parental neglect or inability to meet the expense incurred.

Attempts have been made in some towns during the course of the last few years to obtain treatment for these children at the hospitals, but the results have been far from satisfactory.

Sir George Newman expresses the opinion that the only sound basis for a scheme of treatment is an adequate and effective scheme of medical inspection, the inspection part of the work being intimately correlated and co-ordinated with the treatment part of the work. He further says that the whole undertaking, to be effective, must be worked as one piece of machinery, well correlated and adapted to its purpose, and "experience has amply shown that unless schemes of inspection and treatment are actually worked together and under unified control, the result can only be leakage, waste, confusion, and administrative chaos."

As a matter of fact, in the past, there has been no adequate provision for the treatment of the conditions I have named. It is therefore entirely new work, and for which fresh provision must be made, and I venture to think that the School Clinic can be made to supply this provision.

A School Clinic was established by the City of Bradford Education Authority in May, 1908, for the treatment of defective vision and eye inflammations, ear discharge, ringworm, and sores of all kinds, *e.g.*, sore heads, impetigo, scabies.

Subsequently the control of scarlet fever and diphtheria and the treatment of defective teeth and stammering were included in the scheme.

The staff consists of three whole-time medical officers, one dentist, two nurses, and two clerks, the medical officers and dentist being engaged partly in inspection of children in the schools and partly in treatment at the Clinic.

The functions of a School Clinic are by no means restricted to the treatment of the above-mentioned conditions. The Clinic can be made of very practical value in many other directions.

(1) Cases which cannot be thoroughly examined in the allotted time at a school during medical inspection are referred for fuller examination at the clinic. For instance, cases of early lung disease, throat conditions which require laryngoscopic examination, suspected kidney cases, diseases of the ear and deafness, and diseases and defects of the eye.

(2) Children who habitually attend school irregularly on account of illness, or whose parents consider unfit for school attendance, for physical exercise, bathing, swimming, etc.

(3) Examination and re-examination of children for open-air school, and examination of children for admission or transference to or from mentally defective, blind, and deaf schools.

(4) The examination and treatment of children who stammer.

(5) The control of infectious disease, which includes the examination before re-admission to school of all children who have been suffering from scarlet fever or diphtheria, and of all children of school age from a house where there has been a case of diptheria, and the carrying out of a bacteriological examination of the throat in all cases of diphtheria and contacts, and in many scarlet fever cases.

These are some of the more important lines upon which the Bradford Clinic is at present administered.

In every case the parent is asked to accompany the child, so that advice may be given verbally by the medical officer with regard to treatment, and after treatment of the condition.

The children are referred to the clinic by the medical officers, by school nurses,

by teachers, or by attendance officers. Many are brought by their parents without any reference whatever.

After examination by one or more of the medical staff, the parents are advised as is considered necessary. Some are referred to the family doctor, some to the infirmary or hospitals, some are treated at the school clinic. In some instances the children are transferred to the open-air school or other special school.

The medical officer, after examination of a child, refers it for treatment elsewhere, or places it for treatment at the clinic; he then decides whether or not the child is fit for school attendance, and a notice of admission or exclusion is sent to the head teacher.

A list of these admissions and exclusions is sent to the attendance department, and the attendance officers, whose duties formerly consisted of little more than pressing for regular attendance of children at school, are now engaged in securing not only the regular attendance of normal children, but also the exclusion from school of certain abnormal children.

Children excluded from school thus form two groups:—

(1) Those who are referred for treatment to private doctors or hospitals.

(2) Those who are treated at the school clinic.

Once excluded from school by the school medical officer, no child is re-admitted until a certificate of re-admission is received by the head teacher from the school medical officer—in the first group of cases a certificate from the private doctor or hospital doctor being usually endorsed by the school medical officer.

Those who are excluded from school, and do not attend the clinic for treatment are reported upon by the attendance officers in order that we may be assured that they are under regular treatment.

The attendance officers also visit any children who attend the clinic irregularly, and inform the parents of the seriousness of any further neglect on their part.

Children who attend the clinic, and at the same time are in partial attendance at school, such as for defective vision, daily attendance for running ears, etc., have their attendances registered, and forwarded to the schools concerned. Thus, a child in attendance for running ears or chronic eye inflammation may be at first excluded entirely from school—in a week or a fortnight its condition may be improved so much that, though not cured, he or she may with safety resume school attendance though still under treatment, perhaps daily, at the clinic.

The sending of notices of exclusion and re-admission, and registration of attendances forms a most important and bulky proportion of the work of a clinic, and would cause no end of confusion if the clinic were not administered by the machinery of the Education Department, whose medical staff works in intimate relationship with the teachers and attendance department.

Difficult as it is to keep under observation such a large number of children, many of whom are excluded entirely from school, the arrangements in Bradford have worked wonderfully smoothly.

Treatment.

Ringworm of the skin and scalp is treated by drugs, and of the scalp alone by X-rays. During 1910, 337 cases of ringworm of the scalp were treated by drugs, and at the end of the year 109 of these were still under treatment—the average time to effect a cure being over eight months. Two hundred and eighty-six similar cases were treated by X-rays, and at the end of the year thirty-two, which were mostly treated during December, were still under observation. At the end of January of this year the whole of these thirty-two cases were

discharged as cured. The average time from application of the rays to discharge was thirty-three days.

Cases of Defective Vision are sent for by appointment, and after examination spectacles are prescribed if necessary. The spectacles are supplied by a local firm of opticians, and are sent to the clinic, where they are placed upon the children by the doctor who prescribed them. Five hundred and fifty-nine pairs of new spectacles were supplied during 1910, in addition to many cases of repairs or changing of lenses. The cost of spectacles varies from 1s. 3d. to 2s. 5d.

Suppurating Ears and Chronic Eye Inflammations.—These cases are in the first place examined by the medical officers who prescribe the requisite treatment for the following week, the treatment itself being carried out daily by the school nurses, each child being further examined weekly by one of the doctors. We have found that the dispensing of lotions, drops, and ointments in these cases is absolutely futile; the parents cannot, do not, or will not follow the instructions given.

Skin Diseases are treated by lotions and ointments, or antiseptic fermentations, the children visiting the clinic twice a week, or oftener when necessary.

Dirty and Verminous Heads.—After being seen by the medical staff printed instructions for cleansing are handed to the parent, and he or she is given a few days in which to treat and bring back the child in a clean condition. If due attention is not paid to the directions the child's hair is usually clipped by a nurse, the head thoroughly shampooed with hot water and some antiseptic soap, and often the child is then ready for re-admission to school.

Stammering.—The children, with their parents, attend the clinic after school hours, where each one is carefully examined in reference to family history, cause where ascertainable, etc., and advice and demonstration given regarding treatment by special breathing exercises.

Infectious Disease.—Children excluded from school in the first place by the Medical Officer of Health on account of suffering from scarlet fever, diphtheria, or coming from a house where there has been a case of diphtheria, attend the clinic before re-admission to school. Information of these cases is supplied by the medical officer of health, and is entered on special cards, which are filed in readiness for use when the children come up for inspection. The diphtheria cases and contacts are not re-admitted to school until free from rhinorrhœa and otorrhœa, and do not, on bacteriological examination, show evidence of the diptheria bacillus in the throat. The scarlet fever cases, likewise, must be free from rhinorrhœa or otorrhœa, and the suspicious throat cases free from diphtheria bacilli, before re-admission to school.

Results of one year's work in connection with the control of Scarlet Fever and Diphtheria.

Disease.	Number pected.	Found free from infection and re-admitted to school.	Still in an infectious condition.
Scarlet Fever	597	512	85
Diphtheria	121	91	30
Home contacts	246	191	55
School contacts	88	55	33
	1,052	849	203

Defective Teeth.—The scheme for dental treatment has been in operation for only a few months. It provides for one whole-time dentist, who visits the schools and inspects the teeth of the children with a view to treatment of any cases considered by him to be suitable to treatment.

It is proposed to inspect only those children aged from 5 to 8 years, as it is considered that by so doing the maximum mount of benefit to the children will be obtained, and to re-examine annually at least all those children who have received treatment, in order that further treatment may be carried out where necessary, and if this can be accomplished the children in question will all leave school with sound dentitions.

The parents are encouraged to attend with their children so that their interest and co-operation may be secured regarding the care and cleanliness of the teeth, and at the same time to afford an opportunity for educating them in matters concerning the teeth.

Arrangements have been made whereby any school child may attend the school clinic at a specified time for the treatment of any urgent condition, such as alveolar abscess, or violent toothache.

Particulars of the number of children dealt with at the Bradford School Clinic during one year.

Disease.	Total Treated.	Total Attendances.
Defective vision	611	1,284
External Eye diseases ...	586	3,192
Ringworm of Head	623	3,823
Ringworm of Face and Body	122	372
Verminous heads, etc. ...	402	1,154
Scabies, impetigo, etc. ...	419	1,394
Suppurating ears	285	4,213
Defective teeth (2 months) ...	472	552
Stammerers	156	180
Examination only	1,720	1,980
Infectious diseases	1,050	1,171
	6,446	19,315

Altogether, 6,446 cases were dealt with at the clinic during last year; 3,520 have actually received treatment, and of these 3,000 have been cured of disease, had vision corrected or teeth attended to; 1,720 were examined only, and referred elsewhere for treatment, or transferred to special schools. Over 1,000 children were examined on account of diphtheria or scarlet fever prior to their re-admission to school.

Effect upon School Attendance.

When medical inspection of school children was first introduced it was feared that there would be very serious effect upon school attendance, as a result of the number of children who would be excluded owing to the presence of physical defects.

It must be admitted that it is a wise procedure to exclude from school certain children, firstly, in order that they themselves may benefit by being placed under

suitable treatment or conditions, and, secondly, in order to protect healthy scholars from infection, children suffering from such diseases as phthisis, suppurating ears, ophthalmia, ringworm, skin diseases, and verminous conditions, etc., must be removed from contact with healthy children. But mere exclusion of these children from school is not sufficient, and the utmost difficulty has been experienced by most authorities in securing their return to school within a reasonable time.

Having been excluded from school, it is surely the duty of authorities to see that adequate treatment has been obtained for these children, and that their educational advantages may suffer as little as possible by their speedy return to school. Perhaps one of the most forcible arguments in favour of school clinics lies in the fact that when a child is excluded, no time is lost in placing it under treatment, that it is kept regularly under treatment, and that the child is re-admitted to school at the earliest possible moment. There is thus an enormous advantage to the child itself, so far as its education is concerned; there is an advantage to the teacher, in that the child is not long absent from school, and also the not unimportant fact that money, in the form of grant, is saved.

For instance, in Bradford last year 286 cases of ringworm were treated by X-rays. The children returned to school after an average absence of thirty-three days, whereas they would have remained excluded for many months if under the old-fashioned drug treatment.

Hundreds of children who were absolutely unfit for school attendance, on account of inflammatory diseases of the eyes, running ears, skin diseases, etc., and who would in all probability have remained excluded from school for a considerable time, were cured in what is probably the minimum period, and returned to school.

What is perhaps of more importance than mere school attendance or grant, many of these children have been relieved of much suffering and disability. By improving the eyesight or hearing, or by ridding them of some objectionable disease, they have been rendered of much more value, both physically and educationally.

There is undoubtedly reason to believe that the discovery of abnormal conditions in early life and the prompt application of suitable treatment will exert a very beneficial effect upon the future life of our children.

Many a child will be saved from the dreadful affliction of blindness or deafness which is so serious a handicap during adult life. The great majority of children will leave school with sound teeth which are absolutely necessary adjuncts to good health. The weaklings, by means of the Open Air School treatment, will be made more healthy, and consequently better able to perform their allotted tasks in life; and the education afforded to the children by the obvious concern of the School Authorities for their welfare will cause them to appreciate and preserve the health with which they have been blessed. All this must necessarily result in what is confidently anticipated by all who are interested in child life, namely, that in the near future there will be a marked diminution in the number of crippled, helpless, and dependent individuals.

The Need for Dental Clinics.

By A. W. Gant, L.D.S.
(Borough Dentist, Cambridge.)

Although the question of dental caries has become a topic of the hour, there are few even now who realise how great a proportion of our population suffers from this defect. Every year particulars are published of the number of recruits rejected by the Army Medical Officers on account of defective teeth. These rejections range in various years from 5 to 8 per cent., and in the Report issued recently it was stated that this percentage was greater than from any other cause excepting lack of height and chest measurement. These figures, however, do not give the slightest clue as to how many of the men willing to join the army are debarred from entering on account of the total loss of the power to masticate their food. I have seen a carefully kept record of the number of applicants whom a recruiting serjeant himself rejected in one year, which prove that were the proportion of men added whom the recruiting officers reject and who are not represented in the official medical reports, this 5 or 8 per cent. would rise to over 30. Nor does this latter figure include those men who would apply, but for the knowledge that their teeth are in too hopeless a condition for them to be accepted. Making the most moderate estimate in order to allow for variations in different parts of the country, our standing army would be at least 40 per cent. stronger in numbers if there had been no need to examine the recruits' teeth. The standard of dental efficiency is so lenient that there must be many men in the army whose teeth are a menace to their health. In the South African War 3,000 men were invalided home on this account. All this disability could have been prevented, but it would have been necessary to start conservative treatment as soon as the first permanent tooth became carious. Our experience at Cambridge has proved clearly that provided the children can be examined early enough and treated at regular intervals, it will be their own fault if they do not reach adult life with a serviceable or even a perfect denture.

The rejections from the army on account of defective teeth have been quoted at some length since they provide, perhaps, the only reliable figures concerning a large number of our adult population. Many examinations of the teeth of elementary school children have been made recently, but unfortunately it has not been possible for all of them to conform to one standard. From the most stringent examinations, made by dentists using a mouth mirror and a probe, there is no doubt that over 90 per cent. of all elementary school children have traces of caries in their teeth. Some years ago the members of a committee of the British Dental Association made an examination of the teeth of 10,000 school children, giving nearly the same result. At Cambridge, before treatment was started, 50 per cent. of all the children aged 13 years had each nine or more permanent teeth carious. At this age also there were 75 per cent. whose permanent teeth were so carious that some in each mouth were "unsavable."

The rapid spread of caries is not caused by one tooth infecting another, but there is no doubt that a carious molar mechanically makes others carious. As the caries increases toothache is caused, when the whole function of mastication is thrown on the other side of the denture. This allows the food débris to remain undisturbed on the affected side, so giving rise to more caries. Even after this phase the process still continues, as when a tooth is destroyed the corresponding tooth in the other jaw is rendered valueless. Then the incisors of many children

have to perform every function of mastication on account of the total loss of the molars. This unnatural strain seems to destroy them very quickly, but one rarely finds the front teeth carious whilst the molars remain intact. It is obvious from the intimate relation of one tooth to the others, that when the treatment of elementary school children is started, the object must be to keep the denture unbroken or "artificially sound."

The only economical plan consists in examining the children at the ages in which the first permanent molars appear and treating them when necessary. Then by annual re-examinations it will be possible to discover any fresh caries in such an initial stage that the insertion of any filling will be an exceedingly short and painless operation. An impression prevails that the first permanent molars appear always at six years of age; so far from this being the rule, these molars appear often one after the other, and not at the same time, at any age between 5 and 8 years. Thus if we are to follow the principle of saving the molars immediately they become carious, we must examine children who are between the ages of 5 and 8 years in as many schools as possible.

The objection to this scheme is that in the large towns, where at first only one dentist can be appointed, it would be necessary to choose a particular area and leave the children untreated in other districts. Already the alternative plan has been started elsewhere, and to a great extent the children are allowed to attend for treatment at haphazard after the examinations by the School Medical Officers. Such an examination, made without the help of a mirror and probe, overlooks the very teeth most suitable for treatment, which are the molars, in which only the faintest traces of caries are to be discovered. Apart from this, after such conservative treatment as is possible has been given, no more will be seen of the child until the next medical inspection in three years' time; by then the denture may have deteriorated so much that all the previous treatment will be rendered valueless.

When the dental clinic was started at Cambridge, the children of all ages were examined in every school, for which purpose the Borough Council were able then to make a special grant. The cost of treatment was defrayed entirely by a private donor. All the children under 12 years of age, who had only a few permanent teeth carious and none unsavable, were invited to attend for treatment. This scheme was carried on for about eighteen months, in which time it was possible to visit every school. Two years ago the Council assumed the whole financial responsibility, and the system was re-organised so that each round of visits to all the schools could be completed in the year. In the first year all the children were examined who were between the ages of 5 and 9 years. In the following year these children were re-examined with the addition of the new five-year children, and in the present year the work relates to the children in all the schools from 5 to 11 years of age. Two guiding principles are kept always in view: the children once treated must be followed up throughout school life, so that every permanent tooth can be treated as soon as it becomes carious; and most of the children needing treatment must be persuaded to accept it, if the system is to be a complete success.

Nearly all the children within the above age limits have been examined, and in many cases treated when necessary, for the second or third year in succession. It is possible now to compare the first year's statistics of children who had never been treated, with last year's figures, and so obtain a general impression of what value the work has been.

Taking the children with permanent teeth examined in the first year (2,400 in

number, out of a total of 3,000), there were only 15 per cent. who had all the permanent teeth then in the mouth sound. This proportion is somewhat misleading, as it includes 5- and 6-year children who had only the points of one or more molars just piercing the gums. Only 6 per cent. of those between 8 and 12 years of age had sound permanent teeth, and over 40 per cent. had their teeth so carious that some were "unsavable." Even when the younger children of 5, 6, and 7 years were included, whose teeth had not been exposed in the mouth long enough to reach such a condition, there were 31 per cent. with "unsavable" teeth. The following tables have been prepared to show how much treatment has been given to the children since the first examinations:

TABLE GIVING THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN EXAMINED AND TREATED SINCE THE CLINIC WAS STARTED.

Year.	Number of Children Examined.	Total treated for Fillings.	For Fillings only.	For Fillings and Extractions.	For Extractions only.	Total for Extractions.
1907 (2 months)	124	126	96	30	22	52
1908	2,828	787	458	329	380	709
1909	2,843	777	438	339	511	850
1910	2,784	935	456	479	746	1,225
TOTALS...	8,579	2,625	1,448	1,177	1,659	2,836
GRAND TOTAL				4,234		

TABLE GIVING THE NUMBER OF OPERATIONS PERFORMED SINCE THE CLINIC WAS STARTED.

Year.	Fillings.	Temporary Teeth Extracted.	Permanent Teeth Extracted.	Teeth Dressed with Silver Nitrate.
1907 (2 months)	427	73	6	74
1908	2,832	1,008	37	1,254
1909	2,581	1,121	61	1,042
1910	2,886	1,481	113	946
TOTALS..	8,726	3,683	217	3,316

It is only to be expected that such a large amount of treatment should produce a considerable effect. Even if it had been given to children from every district in a larger town, they themselves would have benefited by it. The chief test, so far as the ratepayers of Cambridge are concerned, is what benefit has accrued to the school population of the town as a whole, and what prospects are there of the outlay being returned with interest in the future. It is impossible to answer such questions finally until the scheme has expanded so that every child

in the schools is included. We can, however, take the condition of the teeth of the children from 5 to 11 years of age in 1910 as an indication of what the results will be.

Of the 2,370 children examined, about 2,000 had one or more permanent teeth; if those children who were made artificially sound during the year are included, 70 per cent. of this number of children had these teeth free from caries. This does not show the full extent of the benefits arising from the treatment, as many children were examined who had joined the schools after 1908 already having "unsavable" teeth. Also, it being impracticable to constantly retrace one's steps to examine former absentees, some of the children must be omitted who would be willing to accept treatment on a later occasion. There is every prospect that we shall be able to report almost as high a percentage of sound or artificially sound dentures in three years time. When the results of the re-examinations of those children over 10 who were treated in other years are added to the above figures, there were 72 per cent. with all their permanent teeth free from caries. In the higher ages those children who had refused treatment previously were not re-examined, but during last year 85 per cent. of all the appointments sent for fillings were accepted. Amongst the children who attended the clinic were many who had refused treatment in previous years; if this improvement continues we may presume the inclusion of refusals will not have much effect on the final percentages. It is certain that if the older children who enter the schools from other districts are omitted from the totals, we shall be able to keep even more than 70 per cent. of the permanent dentures free from caries. As was mentioned earlier, only 15 per cent. of all the children had sound permanent teeth before treatment was started.

Another method of estimating the value of the work done is to compare the average number of carious permanent teeth per child in the different years. The number of carious teeth per child in 1908 before treatment amounted to about one, two, three, and four for the ages 6, 7, 8, and 9 respectively. From these figures it appears that on the average one tooth per child becomes carious each year; the same results are found with children who have been treated previously. Last year the average before any more fillings were inserted was 1, 1.5, 2, and 2 for the same ages, and as none of the children at the time of the examinations had been treated for a year, one tooth in each year's average represents the usual progress of caries. When the 2,886 fillings inserted during 1910 are taken into account, the average number of permanent teeth carious per child only amounts to .3, .6, 1.5, and 1.6 for these ages.

I do not make any attempt to save teeth of the temporary dentition. In a few cases it is probable that such treatment would be of advantage, but generally the temporary teeth of children, even at the ages of 5 and 6 years, are so carious that it would be impossible to systematically treat these as the permanent teeth are treated. The average number of carious temporary teeth per child is seven at 5 years of age. At present all that can be done is to give palliative treatment for the relief of pain and to extract teeth when they become septic.

During our examination the children are classified according to the condition of their gums, irrespective of how many teeth may be carious. It is possible for one tooth, being septic and discharging pus into the mouth, to cause more immediate injury to the system than several others only slightly carious. Three divisions are formed: A, gums healthy; B, where the presence of free pus is detected arising from the roots of one or more teeth; and C, where the oral sepsis is so severe that serious injury is threatened to the general health of the child.

The difference in each division between the percentages of children who have been treated and of those who refused treatment in previous years is given below :

	A. per cent.	B. per cent.	C. per cent.
Treated previously	73	27	.1
Refused treatment previously ...	42	53	5
New patients	58	37	5

The improvement effected in this direction is but faintly shown by these figures, since many individual cases lose their significance when they appear only as a part of a large percentage. The following particulars, which were supplied by the headmistress of an infant school, illustrate this point. A child suffering from severe oral sepsis was absent constantly on account of toothache and general ill-health. During the year she made only 64 per cent. of the possible attendances. Immediately the septic teeth were removed her general health showed a marked improvement, and during the subsequent year she attended school 123 more times than before, and the total for the year amounted to 91 per cent. of the possible attendances.

One of the chief objections raised against the dental treatment of school children is that it will prove too expensive. The expense, however, is trifling compared to the loss caused by the evils attendant on defective teeth. This objection would not arise but for the fact that nearly every child in the elementary schools has defective teeth; which fact can be applied with even greater force in favour of dental clinics. The cost of dental examination and treatment per child for a year compares very favourably with the cost per child for medical inspection alone in any one year.

The most varied opinions have been expressed concerning the possibility of preventing caries of children's teeth. It has been stated, on the one hand, that there is no relation between caries and uncleanliness of the teeth, and therefore any improvement must depend entirely upon the appointment of dentists, and on the other, that if methods of prevention are impressed upon the children for a few years, there may be no need for conservative treatment, since there will be no caries. The basis for the latter statement is correct, as no teeth other than those deficient in structure would become carious if food were not allowed to collect around them and ferment. But it will take many years to persuade all children to form the habit of brushing their teeth with unfailing regularity. And after this has been accomplished dental caries will be abolished only when no developing teeth are ruined by the unwise feeding of infants, and when the cleansing of the teeth is so thorough that no particle of food ever gains a lodgment. It is an axiom in surgery that one must remove the cause in order to prevent or cure a disease, and although a complete and continuous removal of the causes of dental caries is not possible, the nearer the children get to this desirable end the more will they retard and control the progress of caries in the teeth.

The following paragraph, taken from the report to the Cambridge Education Committee, indicates what we hope to accomplish in the future:—". . . It is here that so much good might be done by inaugurating tooth-brush clubs in the infant schools, or some similar plan by which the necessity for cleaning the teeth regularly can be impressed on the children. Although it must be considerably retarded, it is not reasonable to expect that further caries of the teeth will be entirely prevented by such means after so many teeth have already become carious. In the first place a complete denture has a tendency to keep itself clean,

and what food remains on the teeth can be easily removed by a tooth brush with a suitable tooth powder and by rinsing out the mouth with water. When some teeth have become broken down by caries, it is impossible to thoroughly cleanse them, although with care nearly all the food lodged in the teeth can be brushed away. Secondly, the mere brushing of the teeth at night and morning, which is the most that we can expect the children to do, will not prevent food from collecting on the teeth during the day. However, if the toothbrush is used in a most perfunctory manner, it must effect a great improvement when used regularly compared with the uncleanly conditions which now prevail. The greatest benefit will arise with the youngest children. In shallow cavities the caries is arrested naturally in many instances, provided the food is not allowed to remain in them. Whilst a few teeth would still become septic and have to be extracted, a thorough cleansing of the teeth, sound and carious, would go far towards keeping the children's mouths free from oral sepsis. Could these clubs be started it would be a most important step towards persuading the parents that all teeth should be brushed from the time they appear in the mouth. When this is accomplished, and when a better selection of diet is made for some of the young children, it will be possible to treat the temporary as completely as we now deal with the permanent dentitions."

Medical Treatment of School Children by General Practitioners.

By Lauriston E. Shaw, M.D., F.R.C.P.

The ill-health of a school child is by no means so sure a road to destitution as that of an adult. Presumably there stands between the sick child and destitution a parent or guardian. Nevertheless, in the case of a large number of the children in our elementary schools persistent ill-health may constitute an important factor in the ultimate destitution of the family. Chronic ill-health in one child may so lessen the available resources in food and clothing for other members of the family as to lower the physical condition of all.

We may therefore assume that the form of medical treatment of school children regarded as desirable by the members of this National Conference will be preventive treatment, or curative treatment so easily accessible and so attractive as to be likely to be applied at the first onset of disease when rapid and complete recovery is possible. To what extent and in what manner the general practitioner can be used to secure such form of medical treatment constitutes the inquiry which this paper is designed to answer.

At the outset a definition of " a general practitioner " is necessary. No official definition is available. No professional regulations limit the scope of work of different classes of doctors. For our purposes to-day I think we may take it that we mean by a general practitioner a doctor who is prepared to take primary charge of patients suffering from every class of disease, to visit them in their own homes whenever necessary, and to co-operate with any specialist or consultant who may be called in to advise as to or to undertake serious surgical operations

or other elaborate methods of treatment. The wide range of his services and the domiciliary element in his treatment are perhaps the distinguishing feature of the general practitioner. The fact that he is constantly available for paying visits to the patients in their own homes sometimes leads to the addition of the adjective "local" to the descriptive title—as "local general practitioner." Unfortunately the relationship between the general practitioner thus defined and the practitioner usually called a consultant or specialist often introduces to the public an erroneous impression of inferiority of the general practitioner's work. The fact that a second opinion becomes necessary at a critical stage of a patient's illness and that this second opinion is sought from one who restricts his work to certain departments of practice and receives higher remuneration for his individual service encourages the view that the consultant or specialist is in some way a *superior* kind of practitioner, whereas as a matter of fact he is necessarily only a *different* kind of practitioner. For certain classes of work the general practitioner is obviously by his training and experience much better fitted than his specialist colleague, just as his specialist colleague is for other classes of work much better fitted than he is. This appreciation of this conception of different classes of the profession each having their own proper work and each best fitted to do their own proper work I find it necessary to lay stress upon, because a widespread want of clear thinking in the matter has been very obvious in recent discussions both in regard to this and to other problems of medical treatment.

And now may we turn from the doctors to the patients? The school children whose treatment we are discussing to-day are, of course, day-school children only. The comparatively small number of children who are in boarding-schools, either in the public schools of the wealthy or in the Poor Law and reformatory or similar schools, need not detain us. The fact that the children we are dealing with are living in their own homes with their parents or guardians and are making visits to school for a few hours only on five days only of each of some forty weeks only in each year is a matter of great importance to our inquiry. It becomes a matter of still greater importance when we remember that these children are all living in their homes for some years before they go to school and will most of them live on in these same homes for many years after they have ceased to go to school.

Heredity is a subject upon which one finds the widest differences of opinion, but few medical men will deny the general statement that disease is the result of the conjoint effects of heredity and environment. Heredity is a matter upon which, when we are dealing with the existing child, little can be said or done that can be immediately useful. On the other hand, any methods of curative or preventive treatment of disease which do not take constant note of the effects of environment are unscientific and almost necessarily futile. A knowledge of the environment is an essential factor in the proper appreciation of the exact nature of most diseases. A persistent amelioration of the faulty environment is in nearly all cases necessary for permanent restoration to health. Where shall we look for the faulty environment responsible for the conditions of ill-health we are setting out to treat? In the school or in the home? The school environment causing ill-health is, fortunately, rapidly disappearing; bad ventilation, bad lighting and bad drainage will soon be things of the past in our elementary schools, though they seem likely to linger yet for a while in the public schools of the wealthy. The risk of infection is inseparable from a system where many small children are daily collected together from their scattered homes. The advance of school hygiene may, however, be trusted to diminish even this risk to a minimum.

Undoubtedly it is in the homes that the conditions exist which are responsible for most of the ill-health of school children, and it is to a modification of these conditions that we must look for cure and for prevention. For the successful treatment of school children it is essential that the child must be regarded as primarily a unit of the home and not a unit of the school. It is in the home that the majority must be treated. In all serious illnesses a first step in effective treatment is cessation of attendance at school.

On these grounds it seems desirable that the treatment of school children should be undertaken by medical men who are prepared, whenever it appears necessary, to follow the case and carry on its treatment in the home. It is only by taking the opportunity provided by such domiciliary treatment of investigating the home conditions of the child that it becomes possible to establish the essential cause of most diseases. It is only by taking advantages of such opportunities that parents can be personally instructed how so to modify the child's environment as to prevent recurrences of similar illnesses. To provide such domiciliary treatment as a routine matter for sick school children it is essential that the local general practitioner should be made use of as our first line of defence. It is true that under existing conditions domiciliary treatment is hardly provided at all for the poorest classes, and that these people have been accustomed to receive medical advice for themselves and their children in charitable dispensaries and out-patient departments of hospitals. But this is a well-recognised defect in our existing system, and is due chiefly to the want of any proper means of remunerating the medical profession for paying domiciliary visits, which in many cases entail not only an expenditure of valuable time, but actual physical discomfort arising from the dirty condition of the homes. We have now fortunately decided that public provision must be made to meet the cost of treatment in cases too poor to pay for it themselves; there is little doubt that occasional doctor's visits would prove a powerful incentive to lessen the terrible condition of some of the worst homes. In any case it must be remembered that these extremely poor cases form a minority only of the total school children whose treatment has to be provided for.

If it is by occasional visits to the home that the doctors are able to gain an insight into the primary cause of many diseases, it is in the home that those alterations of conditions must be made which will secure and maintain health. To endeavour to make well and keep well a child without the co-operation of its mother is generally a thankless task. To a youth in wealthy circumstances who had secured the arrest of consumption at a sanatorium, I recently said: "I suppose you always sleep with your windows wide open now?" "Oh, yes," he replied, "but I have to lock my door." "But why is that?" "Because otherwise my mother generally comes in and shuts them." This tale is illustrative of the difficulty which faces all those who believe that the invalid child attending a day school can be effectively treated as a unit of the school whilst still living with its parents. A local general practitioner cognisant of the home surroundings, and accustomed to deal with patients and parents of a similar class, with frequent opportunities of seeing the child in the company of its mother, and occasionally of seeing it in its home, will have a better chance of successfully varying its environment than will any member of a school medical service appointed by the Education Authority and approaching the case primarily as a unit of the school.

But there is another factor apart altogether from the opportunities and experience of the general practitioner as opposed to those of a member of a special school medical service. The difference in status between these two classes of

the medical profession is often indicated by a still fuller adjective being applied to the class whose use in the treatment of school children we are considering. *General* practitioners are often alternately called *private* practitioners. Now of course the essential difference between a private doctor and a public doctor, such as the medical officer of a school, or sanitary, or any other municipal or State service, is that the private doctor is chosen by the patient, whilst the service doctor is chosen by the authority which controls the service. If one did not know how impossible it is for philanthropic social reformers to put themselves in the place of those they are trying to serve or reform, it would be difficult to understand the failure of many of them to appreciate the poor patient's attitude to the question of the private or public doctor. It is sometimes thought that the attempt to allow to all classes of poor patients the privilege of choosing their doctors is a device planned for the benefit of the doctor. Thoroughly considered, however, it becomes clear that the question of choice of doctor is a most important element in successful treatment, and therefore essentially a matter of chief concern to the patient. Those reformers who urge that to allow a poor person to choose his own doctor is likely to lead to prolongation of illnesses and laxity of discipline on the part of the doctor, have never been faced by the possibility of being required to regulate the course of their lives by the instruction of a dictator appointed by an authority of whose goodwill and sympathy they are doubtful. Complete sympathy between doctor and patient is in nearly all cases essential for successful treatment. Mental influence counts for more in therapeutics than can ever be accurately estimated. The merest suspicion that the doctor is more interested in the public welfare than in his patient's private pains and discomforts will lessen the enthusiasm with which his instructions will be carried out, and will actually militate against the good effect of his material drugs.

The doctor chosen by the Education Authority to treat his child may easily come to be regarded by a liberty-loving Englishman in much the same light as the parson appointed by the patron of the living to look after his morals is regarded by the average Nonconformist layman. The proposal to carry out on a large scale the treatment of poor people by a service of whole-time officers, each attached to a small section of the community, is equivalent to the setting up of an established church of medicine, and will undoubtedly lead in this country to a widespread distrust, if not actual refusal, of the services thus officially offered or imposed. In the particular case we are considering the treatment recommended or carried out by a school doctor is likely in many cases to be submitted by the parent to the criticism of the private medical attendant, who perforce must be called in to attend the parents themselves or others of their children not of school age. With the best intentions in the world differences of opinion must arise, and in the case of unsuccessful results of treatment, may easily lead to actions against the school authority by dissatisfied parents who feel that they have been insufficiently informed as to the nature or scope of the official treatment.

It is only by the employment of the local general practitioner for the treatment of school children that we can secure for the parent the great boon of choice of doctor, and when this fact is added to the fact already stated, that it is only by the same arrangement that we can conveniently secure domiciliary treatment whenever required, the proposition that the general practitioner is the right person to undertake the duty seems to be established.

One ought, perhaps, formally to set out and endeavour to answer the claims of the objectors to this work being entrusted to the general practitioner. These objections come from two quarters, first the supporter of the specialist, and secondly

the supporter of the whole-time medical officer. The supporter of the specialist says that the general practitioner is not sufficiently clever and experienced to deal with these cases. This claim fortunately appears to be quite untenable, for if it were true, a situation would exist which it would be impossible to deal with effectively. The general practitioner is the person who takes first charge of all the wealthiest children in the land. When the sons of the aristocracy are ill at Eton or Harrow it is to a general practitioner that their lives are entrusted. But if it were true that the general practitioner who treats the child before it reaches school age and after it passes school age and whenever while of school age it is too ill to attend school is really insufficiently experienced to be trusted to treat it while it is attending school, where can we possibly hope to find an efficient substitute? No one conversant with professional matters will believe that an army of specialists can be created *ad hoc*. No one can believe that special doctors appointed exclusively to carry on this routine work will find in the performance of their duties sufficient experience to enable them to become "specialists." A training in specialism is only possible when opportunity arises for dealing with large numbers of selected cases. The essential condition of work amongst school children precludes such selection as a routine proceeding. Specialists will, of course, have to be called in from time to time to deal with special cases arising during the course of treatment, however carried out. Specialists do not exist and could not be trained in sufficient numbers to undertake the primary treatment of all cases, and even if they could be so trained they would be unsuitable by their experience and training for work which essentially demands a wide knowledge of all varieties of diseases and patients rather than an exhaustive study of a limited branch of medicine or surgery.

The supporter of the whole-time medical officer will object to the general practitioner on the ground that being chosen by the child's parents he will be "too conformable to the wishes" of that parent. He will be too disposed to accede to the parent's request to grant exemption from attendance at school, too easily persuaded to acquiesce in insanitary arrangements and evil habits, lest perchance any thwarting of the parent's desires should lead to another private practitioner being preferred. The belief by some social reformers that parents and doctors will be actuated by such motives as these except to a quite negligible degree is an indication of the difficulty of the well-off members of a community appreciating that their poorer brethren are actuated in nearly all cases by motives quite similar to their own. People, rich or poor, whether for themselves or their children, will choose the doctor who they believe will most speedily cure their ailments. A few silly people, rich and poor alike, are so wedded to their bad habits or to their pet imaginary diseases that their choice of a doctor may not be determined by this otherwise universal consideration. The private doctor who relied on obtaining his practice amongst the poor by pandering to such morbid tendencies would assuredly have a very small visiting list compared with that of his brother practitioner who honestly tried to secure for his patient a rapid cure. The answer to the people who always see before them the terrible danger of the drunken parent bribing the dishonest doctor to overlook the evil environment of the sick child in order to maintain his position as medical attendant is that we must base our general plan upon what we know to be common human motives, and that these exceptional criminal tendencies must be met by special regulations.

If it is agreed that the primary treatment of school children should be entrusted to the local general practitioner, it remains to consider what special arrangements should be made. Having set up a system of medical inspection of school children because we recognised that large numbers of children who require medical

attendance are not receiving it, we must hope to encourage the parents to regard it is an indelible disgrace for their children to be reported upon adversely by the medical inspector if not already under medical care. We must recognise that it is not entirely carelessness or indifference on the part of the parent that treatment is not in many cases now provided. The arrangements for the medical treatment of the working classes have not in the past been conspicuous for organisation convenient either to the public or the profession. For those who are better off there is little doubt that the ordinary methods of private practice are found to meet the requirements satisfactorily. For a considerable number, probably a majority, of the parents in elementary schools some system by which they can make small periodic payments in order to provide by the system of insurance for the costs of medical assistance is essential. However thrifty they may be, many wage-earning parents cannot possibly make private provision which will enable them to pay a really remunerative fee to a doctor during any prolonged illness. The question of whether the arrangements for this insurance system should be made in connection with some large scheme for "breaking up" or reforming the Poor Law, or should be an intimate part of a universal system of insurance against sickness and invalidity, or should be organised independently by the medical profession, will probably become ripe for discussion in the course of the next few months. In any case, as I have already indicated, if the arrangement is to be popular with the people themselves and to receive the sympathetic support of the medical profession, it must provide for a free choice of doctor by the patient or parent of the patient. When this is once settled the question of the actual place of treatment will be of small importance. The prominence given to the establishment of local centres for treatment commonly called School Clinics is largely due to the fact that in the absence of any general scheme for providing treatment for both parents and children it seemed possible that it might be necessary to provide for the entire treatment of the school children at least through the agency of these institutions. The prospect of a complete scheme of treatment in association with sickness insurance or Poor Law reform will enable the school clinic to be relegated to its proper place as a very useful but strictly limited institution for dealing with certain diseases of those children who are able to attend day by day at the school, and whose parents have not in their homes certain necessary facilities. For such children the daily attention of a nurse acting under the supervision of one of the medical officers of the school clinic would prove very valuable. It would probably be found most convenient when the work of the school clinic is thus restricted that the medical officers should be chosen in rotation from among the local private practitioners by the same medical committee which has in hand the organisation of the medical attendance in the locality on the insurance system. For most ailments, however, it will obviously be desirable that the place of treatment, when not the child's own home, should be some place specially convenient either to the parent or the doctor. In many cases it should clearly be the doctor's surgery or consulting room or the rooms at the dispensary at which the doctor is in the habit of seeing his "provident" patients. It is the parent and the doctor that one wants to get to see each other as often as possible as the two people by whose co-operation a complete and permanent cure can best be obtained. In whatever way the ordinary routine treatment of these school children is carried out by general practitioners occasion must arise when additional medical services are required. Second opinions on obscure diseases, specialist advice and operations in difficult cases, institutional treatment in chronic and critical conditions, will

necessarily be required from time to time, and it is perhaps well to note here that these would be equally necessary even if attempts were made to place all primary treatment in the hands of so-called specialists. In large towns, and at any rate as a transitional measure, these special services can no doubt best be obtained by the help of voluntary hospitals. This is indeed the proper function of the voluntary hospital in connection with the more efficient treatment of school children. Here the specialist and consultant, while securing the training which is necessary for his professional position, can place their services at the disposal of the general practitioners taking primary charge of the school child, and thus will the children of the poor be placed in as nearly as possible a similar position to those of the rich—a plan which, when one comes to think of it, will generally be a useful guide to the social reformer who is setting out to discover the best means of meeting the disabilities of poverty.

Discussion.

Dr. Lewis Williams, in the course of some supplementary remarks, said that at the morning sitting stress was laid on the fact that the education and health authorities should work in co-operation. That was very true, and no one appreciated it more than the medical officer and the school medical officer who held independent positions in the same town as was the case at Bradford. There was perfect unity of action between the school medical department and the health department of Bradford. With regard, for instance, to scarlet fever and diphtheria, all the notifications received by the medical officer of health were sent down daily to the school medical officer in order that he might be cognisant of the existence of such disease in a particular neighbourhood. He also sent the names and addresses of all children of school-going age who had the disease or were living in the house where the disease existed, and all children were sent up to the school medical officer before they returned to school. There was a period of quarantine which extended from the time of the notification of the disease by the private practitioner to the medical officer of health until the school medical officer signed a certificate that the child was free from infection. In the discussion that morning Dr. Hodgson built up a beautiful edifice as to the conditions in the rural districts, and said a great deal was being done in the way of inspection and amelioration. Dr. Hodgson spoke of the way medical officers and assistant medical officers and school nurses were appointed and the homes of the children were visited. That was all very fine, but with his next sentence his house of cards collapsed. He said, "And usually a certain amount of ameliorative measures follow." He asked them to mark the word "follow," and he challenged that statement positively. Ameliorative measures did not follow, but had to be made to follow. Let them have parental responsibility by all means, but let them help the people in that responsibility. A great many parents did not realise what it meant. They had been brought up in certain surroundings and lived in narrow streets in little houses, with little light and air. He had heard it stated over and over again that a child who did not grow nits was not healthy; and this was the sort of ignorance they had to overcome. They could not do this except by demonstration, and he ventured to say there was no better demonstration than to get the children to the school clinic and show the parents how it could be done.

Mr. A. W. Gant said it was common knowledge that there was at present a large proportion of the children leaving school whose teeth were so carious that they could not masticate any food properly. This disability of itself must cause incalculable harm, but it was greatly increased by the *oral sepsis* attendant on carious teeth. Unless extracted at an earlier age every carious tooth must sooner or later become septic and discharge pus, which mixed with the food and was swallowed continuously.

It was impossible to conceive the effects upon the race when 50 per cent. of the children entering industrial life had from nine to twenty-four teeth approaching such a condition. There must be thousands of people who every year become broken in health and strength, and in some cases destitute, the first stage of whose decline was caused by the deplorable condition of their teeth. The pity was that so great would be the expense that it was impossible for any working man or any public body to provide the money for treating these older children adequately. It was, however, possible to ensure that the younger children now in the infant schools would not reach such a hopeless condition. Any plan for dental treatment must be expensive, since so many children needed treatment. Provided that it were possible the most desirable method of meeting this expense would be for the parents to pay the cost price of the treatment. This plan had been tried at Kettering and Cardiff, and in each case proved a complete failure. At Kettering, out of a school population of 6,000 children, only 39 children accepted treatment. At Cardiff six dentists were prepared to undertake the work at nominal fees, yet only eleven children presented themselves for treatment in seven months. The ignorance and misunderstanding concerning dental treatment was so great that many years must pass before the parents agreed that money must be spent on children's teeth before the caries was obvious and before toothache was caused. Until that time came other means must be found to provide the funds for dental treatment, but however great the sums of money that were spent in this way they would be returned with interest, since they would be used in removing one of the most prolific causes of disease and destitution that could be found.

Mr. D. F. Pennant (Queen Victoria Nursing Institute) said it appeared to him, after reading through the papers, that there was a chance of one very important branch of the medical treatment of school children being overlooked, and that was the provision of nurses to carry out the treatment which was ordered by the doctors. Within the space of five minutes he was not going to attempt to travel over the very considerable ground that had been covered in connection with the supply of nurses for use in the medical treatment of school children. Since the time that the Act came into force authorising medical treatment being applied to school children there had been going on in different parts of the country various experiments as to the best way in which the nurses could be supplied, and they who were connected with the Queen Victoria Institution had had some opportunity of seeing the result of these experiments. It had become quite clear that in dealing with the treatment of these school cases they really divided themselves from the point of view of securing the nurse's services into three classes. There were the cases which could be treated wholly either at the school or the school clinic; there were the cases which might be treated at the school clinic or in the homes of the children; and there was the third class, *i.e.*, those children who were too ill to go to school and who required treatment entirely in their homes. When the question arose as to how the nurses were to be supplied to deal with the matter, the important question to bear in mind from the point of view of the prevention of illness and of the destitution which followed, was that the nurse when she was dealing with the case should come into contact with the parents of the children. It was in that way that the influence which these nurses wielded came to be a very important factor in securing better and healthier conditions in the homes of the children. In regard to cases which were dealt with entirely in the school or at the school clinic it might not very much matter how the nurses were supplied. It did not matter whether she was supplied by the public authority or by one of the voluntary nursing associations, because although the nurse dealt with the child she would not come into contact with the parents of the other children, and it would not follow that her influence would have any effect on the child's life at home. But the moment they came to deal with cases which had to be treated either entirely or partly in the homes of the people, then he believed that the conclusion was irresistible that the nurses who were regularly engaged in nursing the people in their own homes should be also engaged in nursing the cases of these school children. It was only in that way could they hope to bring the very valuable element of the nurse's influence to bear on the improvement of the conditions of health in which the children lived, and the only way they could hope to encourage measures for the prevention of sickness amongst these children and so prevent that destitution which was liable to follow on it.

Mr. F. G. Mackereth (National Temperance League) said he was at the time working on the statistics of drunkenness in different parts of the country, and he

found that where there was a high figure for arrests for drunkenness there was also a high figure for infantile mortality. Of course, he knew that the arrests for drunkenness depended largely upon the force of public opinion, and could not be depended upon to any great extent to show the connection between the amount of drink consumed in a place and the number of defects found in children. In many parts of the country inquiries had been made as to the number of children in the various schools who drank, and as to the effect of their drinking habits upon their educational qualities, and it had clearly been shown that there was a connection between the drinking habits of the child and its power to learn. In England, if they went to the schools, they would be able to prove the number of children who drank alcohol, but it was no use doing this unless the whole country was dealt with. This could be done by the system of medical inspection. He went to two infant schools in London and found that many of the children drank alcohol more or less regularly. In one school where there were 300 infants, 11 per cent. were drinking alcohol every day, and that was a factor which required consideration in connection with the question of defective children.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM (Cambridge Borough Council) congratulated Mr. Gant on his paper and for the statistics he had placed before them, and said he would like to endorse them and carry them a little further. He thought Mr. Gant had practically convinced them of the absolute need of saving the children's teeth and of the fact that there was only one time to do it, which must be before $8\frac{1}{2}$ years of age. Up to that time they could save all permanent teeth as they came through. There was not enough money available for doing this, but there would be many men and women go wrong unless they focussed their attention on the matter. Mr. Gant had made a slight allusion to Germany. (He (the speaker) maintained that they were in a different position to that of Germany. One of their Ministers of Education had said that they did not want to copy Germany too closely, and that was quite right. Talking as a dental expert, he would say, however, that if Mr. Gant's suggestions were adopted they could show from the experience of Germany and from the figures of the work done at Cambridge that a great number of children would grow up with absolutely sound teeth. If the same methods were adopted elsewhere they would be able to turn the children out after school life with sound sets of teeth. But after that was proved came the question of how they were going to carry this work out. There was another country which was pushing them now, *i.e.*, the United States. Now the United States took up the question much later than they did in this country, but once they took a thing up they hustled, and they were now doing sound work. Someone in Boston had given a great sum of money, and they had a wonderful institution there which they could not have here. Still, they could do a great deal here by instruction and lectures. They had now tuberculosis exhibitions going round, and these might be a practical dental instruction exhibit. They were doing this in America. They had a small set for schools and a larger set for college courses, and they had a larger exhibit still to which the public was admitted. He believed if they had more sound teeth they would have less tuberculosis, and he was convinced by his work at Cambridge Mr. Gant had saved many children from incipient tuberculosis. Much could be done by instruction. Why, for instance, should not the teachers in their college course be instructed how to teach dental hygiene? With regard to the work at Cambridge it was stated that it was impossible it could succeed because it was a private venture, but that was the reason it did succeed. They owed a great debt of gratitude not only to the founder but also to Mr. Gant for his intelligence and perseverance in carrying it out. Mr. Gant had not told them of the child who went home and whose parents took out the filling because it hurt, and there was also another situation which was rather worse. They had children in the higher grade schools who were saving up their money to have their teeth seen to, but unfortunately they went to unregistered practitioners. That was not right, and something should be done to rectify it. He urged that there must be inspection with regard to the teeth, and demanded that the Government should recognise the dental expert in the control of such a matter.

Mr. R. S. ALLAN (Chairman, Glasgow School Board) apologised for speaking, because he recognised that Scotchmen were a different race, living under different conditions and under different laws. He did not intend to give a Scotch opinion upon the vexed question before them as to whether the remedial measures should be undertaken by the general practitioner or by school clinics. He rather thought they required them all. They required the general practitioner, and they required

the specialist, and particularly they required the nurses and hospitals, and possibly they also required school clinics. What he wanted to bring out was this. He thought they were likely to be under a misapprehension as to whether they did anything at all in Scotland which was remedial. In the papers the conference had been told that in Scotland they had no power to do anything, and that impression had been strengthened by what they had heard from a gentleman from Edinburgh. But in the western side of the country they took a very different view of their powers. The law on the subject was to the effect that the School Board might, and where required by the Department, should provide for a medical examination of the children attending the schools to such an extent and subject to such requirements as might from time to time be prescribed by any code or minute of the Department, and for the purpose of the section the School Board were empowered to employ medical officers or nurses or arrange with voluntary agencies for the supply of nurses, the provision of appliances, and other requisites. The official interpretation of that clause was that it was possible for the School Board to advise the parents as to what treatment was necessary and where in a particular locality appropriate treatment was to be had, the essential point being that nothing capable of being treated should go without treatment as long as treatment was possible and available. They took it that it was not only permissible but it was compulsory on School Boards to see that the children got proper medical advice and treatment, and they had been acting on this assumption for years. They had supplied spectacles to children for years without any Departmental criticism. They had examined the eyes of the children for years, and had made contributions to hospitals and continued to make them without any criticism at all. So he thought they would agree that they had power, and if it came to be a question of dental clinics they would look upon that as an appliance and proceed accordingly. There was a difference between the dental clinic and the treatment of the eye. In the case of eye trouble they forced the parent to deal with it if he was able to pay, but where the parents were not able to pay they saw that the children were not neglected. The question of the ability to see was, they considered, an educational question, and it was quite a different matter when they came to the dental subject. If they were going to ask the parents to pay for a complete dental clinic to which all the parents, whether well off or not, were obliged to send their children, he thought they were going too far in advance of public opinion. He considered the question of teeth was one of national importance and should be faced by the Government.

Mr. W. M. Ramsay (Edinburgh School Board), having expressed his delight that the conference was discussing the great problem of destitution in such an earnest spirit, said he could not help feeling, however, that the great question with most of them was money. Where was the money to come from? How were they to do all these things without money? He thought they made far too much of the money business. It was a question of saving the nation—not millions of money but millions of lives—and they all knew that the nation's greatest asset was the children. Therefore he would like just in a word to say how much he endorsed everything that had been said in the way of the prevention of these diseases. They had heard of many ways in which it ought to be done. Some had said it could only be done in one way by having the children directly under the control and care of their own medical officer. Others said that it was the ordinary medical practitioner who was the man to put the whole thing right for them. They were all agreed, as the Chairman of the Glasgow School Board had said, that all of these things might be needed, and the great question with them, therefore, was how to put all these things into operation. He might say equally with the Chairman of the Glasgow School Board that in Edinburgh they were fairly broad in interpreting the Government's wishes in regard to educational work in Scotland. They had medical officers and nurses of their own, and they did not in any way get into difficulties with the ordinary medical practitioner. Their duty was to see that these children who were suffering in a certain way were dealt with, and that the parents also must pay what was necessary to save their children from the diseases from which they were suffering. With the medical staff and the nurses looking after the children and the ordinary medical practitioner seeing to the family, he thought they ought in a few years to see a great advance in the direction of health. There was much still to be done, and he was sure the outcome of that conference would be to create an enlightened public opinion on this great question. He must endorse the opinion of one of the speakers during the morning with regard to drunken parents, for he believed the condition of the greater portion

of the hungry, ill-fed and ill-dressed children was due to the one cause. He realised the value of good teeth and of the need for looking after the dental part of the work. He did not know how it was in the south, but he knew in the north if they could close all the public-houses and stop the drinking they would go a long way towards solving the problem which they had met that day to try and solve.

Mr. W. Harris (Merthyr Tydvil Union) said the medical inspection of school children so far as it had gone had brought forward a tremendous number of statistics which showed deplorable facts regarding the health of the nation, and the Act in regard even to this collective work had been a success; but the present system of treatment, after the disease had been discovered, throughout the whole country was altogether individualistic, and had therefore failed. Doctors and the medical inspectors looked askance at the methods and the results of the inspection to-day. They were not able to follow up cases as they would like, and as every humane man would like to. Therefore he fell foul of the last paper read by Dr. Shaw dealing with the private doctor and general practitioner. The argument brought forward was that the private doctor would be able to get into touch with the whole life and environment, and he admitted all that Dr. Shaw had said with regard to the home life and environment of a particular case. No one knew better than he did what an effect on the habits of the house the doctors' visits had. Why not, therefore, deal with the matter of the treatment of the diseases collectively as they were dealing with the inspection? Let the treatment be done in clinics, and if it was not possible to get the children to the clinics have nurses, and if then one or two doctors were not sufficient to go round to the houses, then appoint more. He was afraid the nurses were not trained to do enough. He did not know whether it was owing to the jealousy of the medical men, but he did not see why the nurses should not be trained to do more than they were doing to-day, and if so they would be a great assistance to the medical men in carrying on the work. Personally he would go much further. He would enlist the whole medical service. The State had already told them that a Member of Parliament was worth £400 a year, and he would not hesitate to give the doctor £600 minimum, because he thought he was much better than a Member of Parliament. He would go further, and for particular diseases would appoint specialists, and if the general practitioner was worth £600 a year he would give the man who studied more and went in for research work a higher salary. Then these people earning salaries, not of 6s., but good salaries, would see to it that the community was kept sound, and they would prevent disease. He happened to be a teacher, and he knew they had fought hard to do away with payment by results in the schools. He wanted to do away with payment by results in the medical service. He wanted the doctors to be paid to prevent disease, and to spend more of their time in the service of their people who were working in the industrial towns. He put the point of view as against Dr. Shaw's point of view, for he did not believe they would get a proper solution until they treated the matter collectively in the same way as medical inspection was treated.

Dr. Meredith Young (Cheshire County Council) said he felt it his duty to correct a statement which had been made by Dr. Williams, who had spoken rather disparagingly of the system which Dr. Hodgson had shortly sketched as being carried out in Cheshire. He thought when Dr. Williams knew the facts he would withdraw his statement. As he was the chief school medical officer for Cheshire and knew something about the results of the system he could assure Dr. Williams that during the first year of its operation 88 per cent. of the cases reported as requiring medical treatment received treatment, and last year 91 per cent. of those reported received treatment. Their system consisted of having medical officers and four school nurses, and they subsidised some sixty odd district nurses in various parts. When the medical inspection took place a report was drawn up and the school nurses took the cases they could visit, whilst others were handed over to the district nurses. Reports were made as the results of the visits which came to him. They did not accept in their reports such statements as " better " or " slightly improved," and so on. If such a report was made he would send it back again and wait to know whether the treatment had been actually carried out, or had an operation been performed or spectacles provided, and so forth. It would be seen, therefore, that the whole thing was put on a clear and definite footing. The nurses came across a number of cases where they could not get what was ordered carried out, and then their reports came to him and he took up the cases, and he sent a note on a special form to the clerk of the care committee and asked him to put the case before some

sympathetic member of his committee and get that person to interest himself or herself in the case to see what could be done. It was rarely that he had any necessity to go further than that, for a personal visit from one of the committee nearly always resulted in something being done for the child. In many cases he had no doubt but that the person who undertook to look after such cases put his hand in his own pocket to assist them. In some cases they got the children into hospitals, and in other cases made them members of provident societies. Still, it would be seen that something really was done, and he felt sure that now Dr. Williams knew what was being done he would not make any more disparaging remarks about Dr. Hodgson.

Mr. Gordon Crosse said that he asked leave to intervene in the discussion to protest against the suggestion which was made by one of the speakers at the morning sitting that these questions of medical inspection and medical treatment could be at all adequately treated by any co-operation between the educational and public health committees of the Poor Law authorities. The papers which had been put before them that afternoon on the subject of the actual medical treatment of school children supplied the very best argument against that suggestion, because they showed that the practical methods by which alone this question of medical treatment of school children could be solved were such as could only be undertaken by authorities which were not like the Poor Law authorities, which were simply for the purpose of relieving the destitute. If they waited until the child or the family came under the Poor Law authority the medical treatment could not be effectively pursued. Not only would it be a mistake from the point of view of the overlapping of authorities which would result, but the actual need of the subject itself was such that it was not one which the relieving authority could undertake. He thought that perhaps the speaker he was referring to was thinking mainly of the children in Poor Law institutions, and, excellent as such institutions often were, that was the only way in which the Poor Law authorities could effectively deal with the medical treatment of such children. But a large majority of children under the Poor Law at present were not in the Poor Law schools, and, in fact, the statistics on the subject which had been published showed that the children who were on outdoor relief were, as a rule, below the normal standard in health. That therefore was a strong argument against leaving this subject to the Poor Law. He would like to explain that his remarks were intended in no sense as an indictment against the Poor Law authorities, for he was a guardian himself and knew how conscientious the guardians were and what excellent work they did, but from the very nature of the case he felt that this was a class of work which the guardians could not properly deal with.

Dr. Mussen (Assistant M.O.H., Liverpool) remarked that he only intervened because a speaker from Bradford in the morning's debate had criticised the Liverpool methods of having a dual control in the matter of medical inspection. They found that the dual control in Liverpool by which the medical officer of health acted also under the education committee worked exceedingly well. He found that the supervision of the children in the school and the supervision of the homes from which the children came was most conveniently grouped under one authority, and the result which had accrued from this was undoubtedly very satisfactory indeed. Councillor Palin had gone on to give illustrations as to the difficulties which took place when there were two captains of the ship, and he immediately advocated two captains being appointed, viz., the medical officer of the Education Authority and the medical officer of health, and then went on to talk of the friction which would take place.

Councillor Palin : What I wanted was two ships, and not two captains.

Dr. Mussen said that no better illustration could be given of the result than that of the London County Council. In its early days the London County Council had a medical officer for the Education Authority, but now the medical officer of health for the county was also the chief medical officer for the Education Authority. (No, no.)

Mr. J. Bond (Clerk to the Kettering Education Committee) said they had heard that day a good deal of the experience of the larger towns, and he would like to tell the conference what it had been decided to do in the way of the establishment of a school clinic in a small town. The population of Kettering was 30,000, and a penny rate produced something under £500. At Kettering they had established a school clinic complete in all its branches. They dealt with the treatment of the eyes and teeth and the ordinary school diseases. Before going into the matter his committee acted very wisely, and they went to Bradford—for Bradford was a pioneer in this kind of work. Dr. Williams gave them some most excellent advice, and he would recommend

any committee before embarking in such a work to go to Dr. Williams. Another peculiarity, so far as Kettering was concerned, was that, as a small town, they did not employ a whole-time medical officer of health. The same man was employed as school medical officer and medical officer of health and had private practice also. The ophthalmic surgeon was employed as an assistant medical officer of health, and the same applied to the dental surgeon. By appointing a man their officer and paying a definite salary they had more control over him than by paying fees alone. Their clinic was open three half-days a week—one half-day for the treatment of the eyes, one for the treatment of the teeth, and one for the treatment of ordinary school diseases. He would like just to touch on the practice of medical inspection as it obtained with them. Their school medical officer was very careful with the parents of children in advising them in all cases to consult their own doctor first. The child was followed up by the school nurse, and if treatment had not been secured they issued a notice from the office giving the parents the chance of bringing the child to the clinic. If no notice was taken of that the parents were prosecuted for neglect. They had had only one prosecution in the last five weeks, where the parent refused after five notices had been sent to have the eyes of a child attended to. They had secured convictions in other cases, but the charge was not for failure to secure adequate treatment, but for neglect of the child. With regard to the financial aspect of a small clinic such as they had established, the cost of the apparatus was something under £100. The clinic was established in two rooms in the offices of the authority. The school nurse was employed the whole of her time. The authority also supplied spectacles through a contractor at a cost of from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. a pair. Mr. Gant, who had had some association with Kettering, referred to the fact that so far as dental cases were concerned it had been a failure in Kettering because out of 6,000 children examined only about forty had taken advantage of the treatment. He would like to say in explanation that the question of dental inspection at Kettering was initiated by two dental surgeons in the town four or five years ago. They asked to be allowed to make an inspection, and the authority gladly agreed to it. They did make an inspection, and tabulated their results and sent them to the authority, together with a scheme for treatment and a scale of charges for such treatment, and they would understand when he referred to the scale of charges that this killed the matter entirely. Since then the Council had taken the bull by the horns and were treating dental cases directly, and, he thought, satisfactorily.

Dr. WATSON (Chairman of the Cathcart School Board) said that they were in rather a peculiar position, because to-day they stood with three medical authorities. They had the general medical officer of health; they had the school medical officer, who was supposed to look after diseases of the ears and eyes and nose; and then they had the general medical practitioner, who was supposed to look after the children in their homes. What he wanted to bring before the conference was the fact that they had a multiplication of these various medical officers, and it had been told them that day that by far the most economical thing was to have a school clinic. Then they had been told that there was a duplication of work in regard to the work of the medical officer of health. Under the Invalidity and Insurance Bill all adults above 16 years of age and earning below a certain income were to be entitled to obtain medical treatment. If in addition they were to have school clinics in which the children were to be treated it was an obvious conclusion that the present position of the general medical practitioner could not be maintained and that they were entering on a stage which would lead to the recognition of the medical profession as a part of the civil service of the country. Before entering on this they ought to consider if they were going to alter the whole position of the medical men of this country. He put that in the way of a question so that it might be thought over, because he was afraid if they went on appointing medical assistants for different diseases the profession of medicine which had for so long enjoyed freedom would be placed entirely under State control.

Mr. CONWAY (Bradford Trades Council) said he had had twenty-one years' experience of teaching in a big city, and he came into contact with the children whom they had been discussing. He knew what it was as a school teacher to notice the complaints of children and to call upon parents to remedy them. Frequently the reply he got was, "Where are we to find the money from?". When they got a case of persistent ringworm or a case which required continuous treatment and they told the parent about it, the parent immediately replied, "I cannot afford, with my family and my husband's wages, to pay 2s. 6d. a visit, and I cannot afford to run

up a bill." This was the attitude which working class parents took, and they could not blame them for it. They had all their work cut out to find food for their children without running up doctors' bills. These parents were every bit as well-intentioned about the health of their children as the better classes were, but his experience was that whatever advice they gave these parents there was always the barrier of the inability to pay for treatment. Having seen the result of medical inspection and the failure to secure treatment, he had been forced into the opinion that there was nothing for it but the clinic. It was said in connection with this subject that parental responsibility was going to be undermined. Personally if the question to be decided was whether the parent's responsibility should be undermined or the child's ailments should be treated, he would plump for the child every time. It was far better to treat the child first and then come on the parents afterwards. He did not believe at all in making investigations and letting the childish ailments go on. He believed that as soon as they found the ailment in their child they should treat it at once, and investigate afterwards. He held the view that most of these childish ailments were school-contracted under the compulsory system of attendance, and he held that it was only logical that if they were contracted under compulsory school attendance the education authority should establish clinics and treat the ailments. It was part of the educational system. Then again they had debility arising from compulsory attendance at school; the atmosphere at school weakened the children. They had got their open-air schools, and the children were drafted to them, and there again they had an illustration of the education authority recognising its responsibilities and establishing open-air schools for a specific purpose. He could not see any objection to school clinics being established on the same footing. But there was one point he would specially draw attention to, and that was in regard to infectious complaints. It frequently happened that children had been readmitted to school without being quite free from infection, and they had a recrudescence of the infection throughout the school. In Bradford that had been largely decreased by the fact that the school medical officer insists on testing a child before it was readmitted to the school. In so far as that had gone the school clinic at Bradford had done good work and had improved the attendance in the schools, and thus it had also increased the amount of the grant because by dealing with minor ailments it had improved the attendance. The school medical officer and the school clinic, he took it, had come to stay. There were many other things which the school medical officer had to deal with. There were questions of light and air, and open-air schools. Without there was a school doctor who was in some sense a specialist, this work could not be done. Again, he held that physical health was an indispensable condition of mental training. Without the health being attended to by a proper system, either by private or collective means, they would never succeed in getting the full work of the money which they spent on elementary education.

Dr. Williams said with regard to his remarks about Dr. Hodgson he regretted that he had been misunderstood. He meant nothing derogatory to Dr. Hodgson. Dr. Hodgson described how inspectors had been appointed, and so forth, in Cheshire, and followed it up by saying that usually some ameliorative measures were undertaken. He simply took exception to that as applied to the country generally.

Second Day, Wednesday, May 31st.

MORNING SESSION.

(Joint Meeting with the Unemployment Section.)

The chair was occupied by the President of the Education Section, Professor M. E. Sadler, who delivered his Presidential Address. The subject of discussion was THE PUBLIC ORGANISATION AND CONTROL OF JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Juvenile Employment: The Edinburgh Method of Co-operation between the Education Authority and the Labour Exchange.*
By Mr. J. W. PECK, Clerk to the Edinburgh School Board.

2.—*The Working of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee.*
By the Hon. R. D. DENMAN, M.P.

3.—*The Limitation of Juvenile Labour.*
By Miss N. ADLER, London County Council Education Committee.

4.—*The Social Organisation of Adolescence.*
By Mrs. OGILVIE GORDON, Aberdeen School Board.

The Presidential Address.

BY PROFESSOR M. E. SADLER.

PROFESSOR M. E. SADLER, in opening the proceedings, said that in the absence of Sir Alfred Mond the Committee had laid upon him the double duty both of presiding over the discussion that day and also of introducing it by a short address. As they had four most important papers, and an opportunity which had never occurred before for hearing experts on the subject from all parts of the country, he proposed to make his own remarks much briefer than the ambitious title "Presidential Address" might imply. They most of them felt that the proceedings of this conference would leave a landmark in their own thought about a group of problems which closely concerned the well-being of people. Certain documents had the special power and quality of representing in a characteristic way the social thought and aspirations of their time, and just as they turned to the debate in the House of Commons on the Elementary Education Bill of 1870 to see what were the hopes and fears of some of the most public-spirited of our social reformers at that time; just as they turned to the great Education Minutes of 1846 and to Sir James Kay Shuttleworth's official pamphlet in explanation of them as the clue to the thought of that period as to the relation of the State

to other educational agencies; and to go a generation further back, just as they turned to Robert Owen's essay on a New View of Society and to the earlier volumes of the *Quarterly Review* as reflecting the two main currents in the social and educational thought of those critical years when England first realised what the social problem was that the industrial revolution had caused, so he thought they were not unjustified in hoping that the papers which would be read at that conference and the reports of its discussions would in the same way be felt by later students as reflecting in a remarkable degree the ideas and the new attitude and the subdued passion of the social movement of our own day. If they considered what the characteristics of the social thought of our own day were, should they not think, in the first place, of its faithful observation of facts; second, of its longing for a new synthesis between parallel lines of thought and experience, really related, but in the pressure of life and through the overwhelming mass of detail too often held apart in practice; and thirdly, of its hope that, by applying scientific methods with sympathy and insight to social conditions, they might within the lifetime of the younger of them make a real and decisive improvement in the conditions under which the mass of their fellow-countrymen lived: and underneath all this, hardly expressed when most felt, was the throb of passion, a determination to make great sacrifices and to take great risks in order to seize opportunities of doing great things for the betterment of the condition of the people. All those notes were, he thought, present in the great majority of the papers which would come before the conference, and there he would like, on their united behalf, to express their appreciative thanks to the readers of papers which formed the basis of their discussion on that and on the previous day, and to those who would contribute papers throughout the conference. They were grateful to them for the public spirit which they had put at the service of the community by bringing together so wide a range of exact knowledge on these difficult problems. They were probably not unjustified in thinking that the term of years through which we were now passing was one of the crucial times of change in English social organisation—in fact, he did not think he was going too far if he said that there had only been three periods of like duration and of at least equal importance during the last 100 or 120 years. Throwing their minds back over the sequence of events which had led to their meeting, they saw, he thought, at any rate in the problem of national education in its bearing on industry, four periods of critical significance. One began in 1808—that was so far as anything in English social history could be said to have a beginning—with the public recognition of Joseph Lancaster; leading to renewed effort on the part of the Church of England for the organisation of schools; this ran on for about ten years—until 1818—when Brougham persuaded the House of Commons to undertake an investigation into the charities of the country. The principle which animated the leaders of the educational movement of those earlier times was the determination to test the power of voluntary association among benevolent people for the removal of educational and other destitution. The next period began in 1839 with the establishment of the Committee of the Council of Education, and ran on until 1846, when Sir James Kay Shuttleworth's Minutes set the seal on the new policy of reform; that second movement marked the breakdown of voluntary association as the sole instrument in improving national education; it meant the appeal to the organised power of the central State. The third movement began in 1870, with the great Elementary Education Act, and that ran on again for ten years through the Act of 1876 to that of 1880, accomplishing a three-fold aim in three instalments—the use of the power of organised

local authorities in the provision of schools; the imposing upon every parent the statutory duty of seeing that his child received elementary education, and the imposing in town and country alike of a minimum compulsory attendance at school in the case of every child. The note of this third charge was the systematic employment of elected local authorities in conjunction with the other two agencies—the voluntary association and the State—for the purpose of improving our educational and incidentally our economic conditions. It was not a coincidence that the beginning of each of these movements was separated from that of its predecessor by a period of about thirty years. It looked as though each full generation of citizens in turn gathered force enough to carry forward to a further stage the educational policy which their predecessors had begun; and in the same rhythm of ordered movement, if, twenty years ago, they had been forecasting the future, they would have said that it was probable that about the year 1900 another great movement would begin. As a matter of fact, it did so begin, and these last eleven years had been the period, as he believed, of the most far-reaching and significant change in English national education which we had had since the advent of the modern school. Its great characteristics had been first a desire to think out and build up a reasoned system of national education in which every inter-related part should render its service to the common cause of education, and with it a gradually growing conviction that the care for the physical condition of children, not only in the school but in their homes, was at least as important as the attention to their intellectual development; that the two things were inseparably connected and as an educational problem to be dealt with, and effectively dealt with, together; and thirdly, that the responsibility of the State for the welfare of its younger members must extend beyond the limits of childhood to the furthest frontiers of adolescence. Was it not significant that, apart from what each of those four successive movements had done for our country educationally—and, though the parallel in Scottish history was not exact, it was sufficiently close for his purpose—that, in addition to all that these movements had done for the educational welfare of our country, they had had incidentally this almost unforeseen effect—they had taught a new and stronger sense of responsibility. The first movement—that beginning in 1808—quickened among multitudes of men and women of leisure and of wealth an entirely new sense of personal and public responsibility for the educational welfare of their poorer neighbours. There had been, of course, for generations men and women amongst them who had been shining examples of public spirit in this regard; but it needed a great movement to obtain the quickening of a new and increased sense of responsibility among large numbers of those who were the influential classes in society. The next movement in the same way quickened a new sense of responsibility in regard to education in the minds of those who were the leaders of the modern State in England. The third movement quickened a sense of responsibility in the localities acting through new and systematised organs of opinion; and the fourth movement he thought was going to quicken an entirely new sense of responsibility amongst parents for the right welfare of their children, and amongst employers for the right state of their workpeople. They were often so abstract in discussing questions like responsibility. In order to get a sense of responsibility they had got to quicken it; they had got to give it intellectual content: they had got to make it real in the minds of those in whose hearts it was; and above all things they had got to kindle it with hope, and to set it in social conditions in which it could grow strong and real, and be fortified by the pressure of that social custom which was itself the result of far-seeing legislation. Above all, amongst the good results which the great educational

movement in which we were now concerned might accomplish for English life as well as for English industry, could there be anything of more permanent value to our country than that it should be so directed as in the very heart of the home life to raise a new ideal of duty, a new standard of cleanliness, of health, of competence, and of organisation. If they took a large view, they would see that all the different branches of their educational and social work, necessarily separate in the details of their organisation, necessarily engaging the sympathies of different groups of people, were nevertheless all converging in producing conditions which, in their inevitable consequences, would have as their result the development of communal obligation and personal responsibility. The movement for the improvement of the education of girls and women had been an indispensable preparation for the subsequent advances in social reform; the development of secondary education for boys would have as one of its best results a new state of mind in regard to education in the minds of great numbers of employers and foremen, who, in England, had hitherto been too little concerned with educational ideas; and the larger development of universities and technical institutes, leading as it must lead to the larger endowment of scientific research in England, was going to provide, as it alone could provide, that mass of systematised knowledge upon which all true social reform must be based. He referred in conclusion to the problem—educational, economic, industrial, and commercial—as it affected the period of adolescence. He would only venture to anticipate what might be said later by those who were to address them, by summarising under a few heads what seemed to be the conclusions to which experience and thought and observation were leading workers in this problem, not only here but in other lands, and he should add that in England and in Wales our insight into the problem and our hope of being able to grapple with it had been deepened and strengthened by the fact that Scotland had already begun to deal with it with the help of legislation. In the first place, if they were going to have any satisfactory system for the education and the better care of boys and girls during adolescence, the whole thing must rest upon reforms which would make elementary education much longer continued and much more efficiently organised than the elementary education we were at present enjoying. It was no good building an elaborate system of continuation schools on anything less than a sound basis of elementary education for the masses of the people; and that education must, in its course of study and in its methods of teaching, be given and be carried on under administrative and financial conditions which would permit a much freer adjustment than at present to the individual needs of children, according to their temperaments and aptitudes. Moreover, throughout the period of elementary education they must have closer regard to the physical needs of children and to the conditions of their life at home. Secondly, whatever they did in continuation school work for boys, they must concurrently do as much for girls. One of the real dangers of modern developments of continuation schools by the State was that they were apt to begin with a few platitudes about the needs of the girls but afterwards to relegate them to undue neglect. Many of the evils of unemployment which were felt now in the case of boys through lack of education would be felt even more severely in the case of girls if they protected the boys and left their sisters untouched. In the third place their continuation school work, whatever form it took, must not be such as to impose upon the young people concerned overstrain of body or mind. It must be real; it must impose a task which was serious; but it must not undermine the strength during those critical years of youth by an undue burden of lessons in addition to the daily work of employment.

In other words, a very large part of such education must be given within daylight hours. In the fourth place, they were bound at first to press less heavily on the rural districts than upon the towns in the new requirements which might be imposed in regard to compulsory attendance at continuation schools. Further, systematic continuation school work should be regarded as a normal and necessary part of the life of every boy and girl up to 17 or 18 years of age. And therefore freedom to attend suitable continuation lessons at suitable hours should be part of the normal contract of employment into which any young person entered. Lastly, our continuation school programmes should not be academic. The real difficulty lay in knowing how best to get the young people interested in the work of the continuation classes, and as this was still a new field of experience —as we were only just beginning to train up teachers who would bear part in this new work—he would say, that instead of being discouraged at the slow progress they were making, they might feel confident that in the long run their advances would be sure, if at each stage they carried with them the full weight of public opinion. One benefit of those conferences, bringing together men and women from all parts of Great Britain, from town and country, engaged in every kind of social work and with every shade of educational interest, was that they gave permanent form to experience that had often been unfertilised because it had been kept separate. The criticism of many of those who were present there would keep them from fallacious generalities and make them think of the problem as it affected real boys and real girls whom they knew; above all, would make them realise that, though bold action on the part of the State was imperatively needed, and though that action must be welcomed by them and liberally supported, the best educational results could only come by the combined effort of the State and local authorities and employers and teachers and parents working in skilful combination with those men and women of goodwill who brought to the social service a shrewd combination of sympathy and science.

Juvenile Employment: the Edinburgh Method of Co-operation between the Education Authority and the Labour Exchange.

By J. W. Peck, M.A., F.R.S.E.
(Clerk to the School Board of Edinburgh.)

At these meetings we take as our governing principle the Prevention of Destitution. And it is clear to me that an Employment Agency which attempts to guide wisely and into suitable occupations the flow of young people from our schools ought to be a powerful means of realising that principle. Such an agency replaces haphazard choice of life-work by a serious and disinterested consideration of the problem which each boy and girl has to face. The State organisation is brought in to help, not to curb, the individual, and the mass of adolescence is made if not "good" at any rate better by Act of Parliament. The subject of this morning's discussion is, therefore, closely related to the Prevention of Destitution, and though the particular problem which I am treating is, in the main, one of detail and administrative arrangement, yet, I

think, all the considerations put forward do depend on our general principle—action on the normal and healthy mass before the flaws have occurred and the waste has set in.

In this paper I propose to give a brief account of the organisation of a Juvenile Employment Bureau as conducted in the capital city of Scotland. Some reference to the state of the problem in other parts of that country will also be made.

For convenience of treatment the matter is sub-divided into the following heads:—

1. The conditions of the problem.
   (*a*) Statutory.
   (*b*) As regards the Edinburgh area.
2. The principles of action.
3. The machinery set up.
4. The results.

1. Conditions of the Problem.

The Education Act (Scotland), 1908, which became operative on 1st January, 1909, empowered School Boards to maintain or combine with other bodies to maintain "any agency for collecting and distributing information as to employments open to children on leaving school" (Section 3, sub-section (5)). Thus it became possible for School Boards to use, in their discretion, moneys from the School Fund for this important purpose, and the Scotch Education Department have, in two circulars, dated August 27th, 1909, and August 10th, 1910, respectively, pressed upon all the Scottish Boards the advisability of taking action. No special grant of money was, however, allotted for such purposes. It should be noted that the Act refers to "information as to employments." The phrase might or might not be held to cover the detailed work of registration for specific vacancies.

Edinburgh took immediate advantage of the power conferred. In September, 1909, an Educational Information and Employment Bureau was established on principles which had for long been vigorously and ably advocated by Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, of Aberdeen. Mrs. Gordon was specially consulted by the Edinburgh Board on this matter, and her advice was followed in all essential points.

The situation, however, became changed in 1910, when the Board of Trade, acting under the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909, established a Labour Exchange in the Edinburgh district. It then became necessary to re-consider the problem so as to take account of the fact that two agencies were in the field and that unrelated competition of effort was not to be thought of. The Board's Bureau had been performing all branches of the work, including registration and direct dealing with employers. The Labour Exchange now had taken up the work for adults and could not logically be excluded from certain parts of the work in relation to young persons. A compromise was necessary, and Section 1 (1) of the Labour Exchanges Act afforded the statutory opportunity for such joint action. The Board of Trade is there empowered, if they think fit, to "co-operate with any other authorities or persons having powers for the purpose" *i.e.*, of establishing Labour Exchanges. The details of the agreement arrived at will be described below.

It may be remarked incidentally that the "Special rules with regard to the Registration of Juvenile Applicants" issued by the Board of Trade on February 7th, 1910, do not apply to Scotland. Nevertheless, these rules contemplate the establishment in England and Wales of special machinery approved by the Board of Education for dealing with children leaving school.

Turning now to the general conditions of the area we find that the population of Edinburgh is 320,239 (1911 Census); that the child population in the State aided elementary schools of the area is 47,240, and that the number of pupils that flow from these schools each year is about 4,500. Under the 1908 Act, Scottish Boards may determine fixed dates for leaving school, and in Edinburgh these dates are at present two, viz., 1st March and 1st September. In passing it may be said that the Board are considering the advisableness of substituting three for two dates—first, because of the difficulty of working exemptions stringently; secondly, on account of the disadvantage of such large discharges on the labour market as are involved by two dates. Under the present system about 2,500 children of from 14 to 14½ are released from school at the end of August, and similarly at the end of February about 2,000. Throughout the year a limited number of exemptions are allowed. In 1909-10 there were 602.

To receive this flow of children there is a considerable variety of employment. The following tables show the results of a census of employments of young persons in the city taken by the School Board in the summer of 1910. A young person, for the purpose of the census, was taken as one between 14 and 18 years of age, and the inquiries were confined to houses of a rental of £30 per annum and less. The local industries are arranged in order of numbers of young persons employed:—

	Boys.	*Girls.*
Occupations in respect of which more than 500 workers exist.		
Helps at Home	1	856
Dressmakers, etc.	—	649
Clerks and Clerkesses	699	489
Messengers	931	361
Shop Assistants	105	578
Occupations in respect of which between 200 and 500 workers exist.		
Domestic Servants	2	207
Engineers and Pattern Makers	244	—
Factory Workers	100	297
Printers	176	147
Compositors	83	131
Bookfolders, etc.	2	240
Tailors and Tailoresses	92	238
Van Boys, etc.	213	—
Butchers	214	—
Grocers	205	—
Occupations in respect of which between 100 and 200 workers exist.		
Bakers and Confectioners	116	19
Hosiery Knitters	6	108
Laundry Workers	5	169
Painters	124	—
Plumbers	113	—
Rubber Workers	45	107
Stationers	54	63
Messengers, Telegraph and G.P.O.	150	1
Occupations in respect of which between 50 and 100 workers exist.		
Hairdressers	58	—
Joiners	76	—
Labourers	68	—
Machinists	—	55
Railway Servants	88	—
Tinsmiths	50	—
Tobacco Workers	1	51

	Boys.	*Girls.*
Warehouse Attendants	45	40
Drapers	55	21
Typists	—	86
Chemists and Druggists	54	23
Blacksmiths	50	—
Bookbinders	39	33
Bottle-makers and Workers	89	—
Brassworkers and Finishers	50	—
Dairy Workers	13	82
Electricians	56	—
Paper-rulers, Stampers, Envelope Makers	11	77
Upholsterers	28	25
Waiters	30	21

The remaining occupations, all employing less than 50 workers, are as follows.

Bagmakers	—	38
Boot and Shoe Makers	27	—
Boxmakers	7	29
Brewery Workers	26	—
Builders, Bricklayers, Masons, etc.	21	—
Cabinetmakers	29	—
Cap Makers	—	40
Case Makers	6	17
Coach Builders, Painters, Trimmers, etc.	22	—
Coopers	46	—
Dental Mechanics	21	6
Engravers	21	—
Gardeners	36	—
Glass-makers, Workers and Blowers	18	2
Ironworkers and Moulders	28	—
Jewellers	24	1
Lithographers	28	9
Miners	31	—
Packers	7	28
Pageboys	32	—
Photographers	12	15
Shirt-makers and Cutters	1	20
Watch-makers	23	1
Booksellers	37	1
Fruiterers	9	34
Hawkers	28	8
Ironmongers	28	—
Dentists	24	—
Draughtsmen	18	—

The outflow of 4,500 per annum does not, of course, pour into the city industries alone, and even for that part which does so run, there is in subsequent years a very marked leakage. The following table illustrates this:—

Number of Young Persons from 14 to 18 Years of Age.

Between 14 and 15 years of age.	Between 15 and 16 years of age.	Between 16 and 17 years of age.	Between 17 and 18 years of age.
4,380	4,418	3,461	2,729

The problem, then, is: What machinery links the school system and the industrial system thus indicated, and what steps are taken to guide the flow of children with a view to healthy industrial development?

II. The Principles of Action.

This part of the problem may be best considered if the functions of a juvenile employment organisation are stated. These are briefly as follows:—

1. Advice to young persons as to the pursuits for which they are by ability, taste, character, and education suited.
2. The supervision, in certain cases, of the young worker after he has obtained employment, so that he is induced to take advantage of all educational facilities pertinent to his work, and is advised as to the various steps in his industrial career.
3. The keeping of the system of further education in real touch with the industrial needs of the locality.
4. Advice to young persons as to the opportunities which exist in the various occupations.
5. Collection and promulgation of general information in regard to industrial conditions.
6. Registration, *i.e.*, bringing into contact the employer with a specific position to offer, and the young person suited for and desiring such a position.

The question which the Edinburgh Board had to consider in 1910 was, therefore, the manner in which, from the general point of view of good social organisation, these functions should be allocated as between the Board and the Labour Exchange, and how best the two sets of activities could be drawn together into effective unity of action. The fact that the Board was first in the field was not, it is hoped, allowed to have undue weight in the proposals put forward. At any rate, these proposals were accepted by the Scotch Education Department and the Board of Trade, and are now in successful operation.

The parts of the work numbered 1, 2, and 3, were reserved for the Education Authority, for reasons that hardly require argument. All the special knowledge of the teachers in relation to the children is at the disposal of the School Board; the parents have looked to the schools for advice and guidance during the whole school period of their children; the further education of the young people must be closely related to their employment. After supervision is most effectively carried out by a continuance of action of the body or system of committees (*e.g.*, Care Committees) which have supervised up to the critical point. The business of launching the whole of the child population into work is essentially different from that of re-arranging the employment of accidental masses of adult workers.

The remaining three points give rise to a balance of argument. On No. 4 (advice to juveniles as to general conditions of employment) it might be argued for the Education Authority that it is *in loco parentis*, that the young person is in any case coming for advice on other subjects (*e.g.*, No. 1.), that the Education Authority has a knowledge and control of the whole outflow of juvenile population, that because children form its special business it can give to them a fuller regard than can the Labour Exchange, which is concerned mainly with adults, that it can make a special study of the problem of juvenile employment on a higher plane than a body whose success is, to some extent, measured by its rapidity in filling vacancies and placing applicants, lastly, that the body already in possession of functions Nos. 1, 2, and 3, should, for reasons of organic unity of working, take the others.

For the Labour Exchange it may be said that its peculiar function is knowledge of industrial conditions, that it can draw upon the material collected over a wide area, that it can promote healthy fluidity of labour, because it is part of a national organisation, that the young person after all becomes the adult within at most four

years, and that the separation of juvenile and adult must not, if the industrial system is to be continuous, be pressed too far. It should, however, be borne in mind that juvenile labour must not be considered merely as an economic asset to be moved wherever demand arises. It is probably well that juvenile labour should remain in its locality and under the influences of the home, the city, and the educational system which have brought it thus far. If this be admitted, the argument that the Labour Exchange is national and the Education Authority Bureau local loses much of its significance; for the local survey then becomes sufficient for the end aimed at. In any case, it is easy for the Labour Exchange to place all its collected information and considered conclusions at the disposal of the Education Authority. On the whole, it was felt that the balance of argument lay with the Education Authority.

As regards No. 5 (Collection and promulgation of general information in regard to industrial conditions) it may be said that the matter falls naturally to the Labour Exchange in connection with the wider survey of economic conditions which the Board of Trade organisation can carry out. At the same time, this work should be done as regards juvenile employment in close connection with the Education Authority, so that the special needs of young workers and the discrimination of occupations may always receive due emphasis. A unified organisation must not speak with different voices under the classified points Nos. 4 and 5.

No. 6 is evidently work for the Labour Exchange. The direct bringing together of the employer with a vacancy and the candidate for that kind of employment falls into the general registration work of the Exchange for the district. This point receives emphasis in No. 6 (2) of the Board of Trade's Special Rules for Juvenile Applicants referred to above.

There had next to be considered the best means of giving effective unity to the different parts of the work allocated in the manner described. To house the educational officer in charge of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and the Exchange officer in charge of Nos. 5 and 6 in the same building appeared the practicable method. Accordingly the two staffs were placed in adjacent rooms in the School Board office, and to the parents the fine dividing line between the territory and functions of the two officers is probably invisible. To them the office is an arrangement at which all sorts of information as to likely careers for their sons and daughters can be got, and where, the career being decided upon, a position in some actual business or industry is found. It does for them what the wise schoolmaster would do if they were in a small district of only two or three schools. And that is why the office of the School Authority and not the office of the adult Labour Exchange is the appropriate place for housing the joint organisation.

III. The Machinery.

To carry out the principles described above, the following arrangements have been in force since the beginning of 1911. The Labour Exchange officer, assisted by a typist, has a room in the School Board office adjoining that of the educational officer dealing with the employment work. The latter is assisted by a clerk and a typist. The rooms are connected by internal telephone and the Exchange officer has a direct wire to the adult Labour Exchange. In addition, both sets of rooms are connected by telephone to the city Exchange, so that employers may be communicated with.

The educational officer is also responsible for the organisation of the continuation class system of the city, and to emphasise this most important connection, the

Board have recently placed the work of the Continuation Classes and of the Employment Bureau under the same committee. Formerly they were separate. The officer is essentially a man of educational experience, and is expected to make a special study of the reactions of education and industry.

The Exchange officer is a responsible official, for he has to work away from his immediate chief, the Exchange manager. The nature of his duty is rather different from that of an official concerned with adults. He must be a man of tact and discretion, for he has to work, on the one hand, with the educational officer, to whom he has no official relationship, and, on the other, with employers of all kinds desirous of securing young employees.

The action of the machine is as follows:—Two months before the next fixed date for leaving, each headmaster fills up, in respect of all pupils who will leave, cards giving particulars of age, physical condition, ability, attainment, and employment desired. The card also contains the opinion of the teacher as to occupation for which the pupil is suited, notes as to proposed employment and further education, and spaces for general remarks. Copies of the card and of the instructions for filling it up are given in the appendix. These cards are sent in to the education officer who goes through them, making such summaries of educational and physical facts as may be desired. The cards are then passed on to the Exchange officer, who files them in a cabinet.

Meanwhile the fixed date approaches. The parents of all pupils leaving school are invited to an evening meeting at the school, with tea as an inducement. They are addressed by members of the Board and by the teachers, and stress is laid on two points, viz., (*a*) that though their children are leaving school further education of the kind appropriate to their work should be pursued; (*b*) that the children or their parents or both should call at the School Board office some evening to receive such detailed advice as could not be given at a general meeting, and to register for employment. To these parents, and also to those who do not come to the meetings, a circular letter, as set out in the appendix, is sent. The meetings are attended by about 80 per cent. of the parents concerned.

The consequence is that large numbers of boys and girls come to the Board office to follow up the card. The candidate first goes to the Exchange officer's room and receives his card stamped with reference number of the trade desired. He passes to the education officer's room and has a talk about his aims, his further education, and the suitability of the career for which he has expressed a preference. The parents are strongly advised to be present at this interview. The boy or girl then passes back to the Exchange officer's room and is definitely registered as a candidate for a particular kind of employment. The cards of those who have made this personal application are separated from the others, and such pupils receive priority in filling vacancies

The other side of the process now falls to be described. A circular letter (for copy see appendix) is sent to all large employers in the city informing them of the joint arrangement and requesting their co-operation. When the employer writes or telephones asking for candidates for a certain position, the register of personal applicants is first consulted (and in default of that the remainder of the register) and three or four of the most likely candidates sent along to the employer for interview. Details of the request and also of the candidates sent are entered on the employer's card (see appendix). Beyond the two sets of cards (both of which are filed by the Exchange officer but are always open to the inspection of the education officer) no other registers are kept. In the placing of pupils who left school at either of the last fixed dates the two officers act jointly, and when

any difficulty arises as to those who left prior to those dates, they render each other whatever assistance they can.

Periodic renewal by the pupils is desirable if their names are to be kept on the personal application register.

Both the education officer and the Exchange officer make systematic visits to employers, the former to study industrial conditions, to enlist sympathy with and support for the further education of the employees, and to gain ideas for improving the continuation class system; the latter to bring to the employer's notice the facilities for securing suitable workers through the Exchange.

Reference should here be made to the question of advisory committees. The School Board had established, prior to the advent of the Labour Exchange, a large advisory committee of employers, workmen, educational experts, and others interested in the problem of juvenile employment and trade education. This committee has recently been divided into eighteen sub-committees for the various principal trades and occupations as follows:—

1. Printing.
2. Engineering.
3. Brassfinishers' Work.
4. Tinsmiths' Work.
5. Moulding.
6. Building Construction.
7. Plumbers' Work.
8. Carpentry and Joinery.
9. Cabinetmaking.
10. Upholstery.
11. French Polishing.
12. Baking and Confectionery.
13. Tailors' Work.
14. Plasterers' Work.
15. Art.
16. English.
17. Commercial Subjects.
18. Domestic Subjects.

The duties of these sub-committees are:—

(*a*) To visit the classes of the continuation class system with which they are concerned.

(*b*) To offer suggestions to the Board as to the qualifications of the teachers, the schemes of work, the equipment, and as to further means calculated to increase interest on the part of the workers concerned.

(*c*) To advise as to the general working of the machinery for placing young persons in employment and as to the conditions holding in the various industries.

(*d*) To make an annual report to the Board on all these matters.

It will be seen that these committees serve completely the purpose of the "Special Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment" referred to in Rule No. 2 of the Board of Trade's Special Rules for Juvenile Applicants mentioned above, so that it has not been necessary for the Board of Trade to take any action in this matter so far as Edinburgh is concerned. To ensure co-ordination of the work, the manager of the Edinburgh Labour Exchange has been added recently to this advisory committee.

In regard to the promulgation of general information as to trades and occupations of the area, it should be stated (1) that a full report on the census of occupations of young persons referred to above has been prepared and circulated to all the schools; (2) that a copy of a handbook, entitled "Occupations for Girls," which was recently prepared by the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, is sent to each girl approaching the leaving age; (3) that copies of Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon's "Handbook of Employments" were sent to all the schools; and (4) that the first of a series of pamphlets, dealing particularly with the occupations of the city is now practically ready for issue. These pamphlets will deal with such points as the following:—

1. List of industries, trades, and professions of the town or district, with names of chief employers.

2. Local demands for young workers in the various trades and industries.
3. Qualifications most required in the various occupations.
4. Conditions of apprenticeship for each trade.
5. Beginner's weekly wage.
6. Minimum and maximum rates of remuneration.
7. Possibilities of promotion.
8. Statements regarding further educational courses and the requirements of employers.

In this matter the records of the Labour Exchange will be utilised, the Exchange officer will be consulted, and generally co-operation of the two sides of the organisation will be maintained.

As regards after-supervision, no action has yet been taken, but it is intended to entrust this work to the local Care Committees, of which about twelve will shortly be established, covering the whole area. These committees will be able to furnish the central organisation with facts regarding persistent cases of idleness and non-employment, will advise against unconsidered change of occupation, will lay stress on the need for continuation class attendance, and will focus the help of the large number of civic and social organisations which exist throughout the city. The classification of these committees is by area, and they are not to be confused as regards their functions with the trade advisory committees. The former act on the individual, the latter advise as to principles.

IV. The Results.

The organisation described above has been in action for so short a time that it is not possible to form any general conclusions as to the results. So far as can be seen there is harmonious and effective co-operation. The following figures may be of interest:—

Statement of results from September 6th, 1909 (*date of opening of the School Board Department*), *up to April 30th,* 1911.

Number of pupils concerning whom Cards have been received	5,670
Number of above who have stated their intention to enrol in Continuation Classes	3,266
Number of above 5,670 who have made personal application to the office for employment	1,920
Number of above 1,920 who have entered on an occupation	1,209

Kinds of employment above 1,209 engaged in—

Apprenticed—

Printing and allied trades	120	Drapers and Clothiers	15
Dressmakers	70	Joiners	14
Engineers	56	Upholsterers	13
Domestic Servants	43	Milliners	13
Stationers	35	Chemists	12
Tailoresses	24	Booksellers	11
Painters	19	Ironmongers	11
Grocers	17	Blacksmiths	10
Tailors	17	Butchers	8
Brass Finishers	16	Draughtsmen	8
Plumbers	16	Wireworkers	6

Apprenticed—Continued.

Photographers	...	...	6
Cabinetmakers	...	...	6
Watchmakers and Jewellers			6
Gunsmiths	...	...	6
Embroiderers	...	...	5
Engravers	...	...	5
Electricians	...	...	5
Bakers and Confectioners	...		5
Saddlers	...	...	4
Machinists	...	...	4
Surveyors	...	...	4
Instrument Makers	...	...	4
Fishing Tackle Makers	...		3
Art Designers	...	...	3
Hosiery Makers	...	...	3
Boot Manufacturers	...	...	3
Furriers	...	...	3
Architects	...	...	3
Coopers	...	...	3
Leather Merchants	...	...	3
Plasterers	...	...	2
Gilders and Picture Framers			2
Gardeners	...	...	2
Tinsmiths	...	...	2
Iron Moulders	...	...	2
Portmanteau Makers	...		2
Laundresses	...	...	2
Pattern Makers	...	...	2
Shirt Makers	...	...	2
Chefs	...	...	1
Glassblowers	...	...	1
Glasscutters	...	...	1
Mantle Makers	...	...	1
Organ Builders	...	...	1
Typewriter Mechanics	...		1
Barber and Hairdressers	...		1
Piano Tuners	...	...	1
Masons	...	...	1
			665

Office Work—

General Business Houses	...		184
Legal Offices	...	...	23
North British Rubber Co.	...		3
North British Railway Co.	...		3
Merchant Company	...	...	1
			214

Shop Assistants	86
Miscellaneous	73
Temporary Work	171
Number of employers intimating vacancies	733
Number of separate vacancies intimated	924
The number of applications for advice regarding education and employment may be put down approximately at, say	2,680

These figures cover the period during which the School Board alone was responsible for the organisation (September, 1909, to February, 1911) and also the short period during which the joint organisation has been in force. It should be stated that since the new arrangement was instituted, the number of employers intimating vacancies and the number of candidates placed have considerably increased. The average per month for these two figures was 40 and 60 under the old arrangement, under the new, 146 and 93.

It should be remarked, however, that the averages per month do not, at the present time, furnish a fair comparison, as the new arrangement came into force during the month preceding a fixed date, and the months at that point must of necessity be among the busiest of the year so far as placing is concerned. Further, it has to be kept in mind (1) that one organisation is now dealing with the whole question of juvenile employment, and (2) that the Board's bureau did not deal with applications for messengers, unless there was reasonable prospect of subsequent opportunity of entering upon a permanent occupation. The joint organisation cannot refuse to supply boys and girls for casual work.

The effect of the operations of the Department on the enrolment in the Continuation Schools has been marked even in Edinburgh, where rapid progress had already been made in the organisation of these classes prior to 1909. A few years ago there was a leakage between the Day School and the Continuation Classes of over 60 per cent. It is estimated that now not more than 25 per cent. are failing to take advantage of the facilities for further education.

Even the most careless parents are now constrained by the machinery of the Educational Information and Employment Department to devote a certain amount of consideration to the question of the future career of their children. Though for some time to come there may be no visible results of this movement of the parental mind the community is bound in the long run to reap benefit from the consequent awakening of the sense of responsibility.

Another result is that very important improvements and developments are being effected on the organisation of the Continuation Class system through the working of the scheme of Sectional Advisory Committees of employers, workers, and educational experts.

V. Summary of Action taken in other parts of Scotland.

To ascertain what the more important Boards in other parts of Scotland were doing, a letter of inquiry was sent to all with nine or more members. The replies refer to sixty areas out of the 970 into which Scotland is divided for School Board purposes, and it may be said that all the populous parts of the country are dealt with. It will be seen that the cases fall into three main types—those in which no action has been taken, those in which a special scheme, independent of the Board of Trade Labour Exchanges, has been instituted, those in which a working arrangement with the local Labour Exchange has been arrived at. The details of schemes under the second and third category differ considerably, but on the whole the authorities working independent schemes have followed the original procedure of the Edinburgh School Board.

Summary of arrangements made by the School Boards in Scotland with nine or more members to carry into effect Section 3 (5) *of the Education (Scotland) Act,* 1908.

A.

Thirty-nine Boards have so far taken no steps to carry out the above sub-section of the Act.

B.

The following are the Boards that have established a working scheme of their own:—

1. *Dumfries.*—Dumfries Burgh, Dumfries Landward, and Troqueer School Boards have established a bureau and appointed an organiser for their joint use. A register of all the boys and girls in these three parish areas up to 17 years of age is to be kept, beginning from a census recently taken by the attendance officers. To this will be added quarterly the names of all children leaving school, this information being supplied by the headmasters on cards six weeks before. The director is required to attend on two evenings between 7 and 9 p.m. (Wednesdays and Fridays) to meet parents and pupils, and from time to time he must report to the executive committee.

2. *Fraserburgh.*—Fraserburgh School Board have decided to form an employment bureau, but beyond advertising this fact and requesting employers to notify the clerk when they have vacancies for young persons, nothing has been done in the way of formulating a scheme.

3. *Inverness.*—Inverness School Board have a fully equipped agency in working order, organised, with necessary modifications, on the Edinburgh bureau (old)

model. It is situated in a central part of the town and is open every Wednesday evening for interviewing parents and pupils regarding employment and education. Every pupil is interviewed and occupations of all adolescents, with their attendance at continuation classes, are registered until they are 18 years of age.

4. *Kirkcaldy.*—Kirkcaldy School Board have received a report from their Board of Studies that the several points under consideration in connection with their Educational Information and Employment Bureau should not be discussed or established until the Labour Exchange office, which is to be opened in Kirkcaldy shortly, is ready. It is also their opinion that it is highly expedient an Educational Information and Employment Bureau should be established in the Kirkcaldy and Dysart School Board district.

5. *Oban.*—Oban School Board have resolved to establish in a small way a bureau on the lines of Stirling (No. 9), but owing to a change in the rectorship of the High School nothing definite has yet been done.

6. *Perth.*—Perth School Board have adopted an employment bureau on the lines followed by Edinburgh old model. They have three leaving dates, however.

7. *Peterhead.*—Peterhead School Board have resolved "to form a Children's Employment Bureau as part of a large and comprehensive scheme of Child Welfare and Charity Organisation which the School Board and Parish Council have jointly resolved to carry out." Their attendance officer took a census of the children in March, 1910, which will form the basis of the register to be kept in connection with the Employment Bureau. The cost of inaugurating and carrying on the scheme will be borne jointly by the School Board and Parish Council out of the rates. The scheme covers (*a*) Child Welfare (register kept from date of birth until 17); (*b*) Children's Employment Bureau; (*c*) Medical Inspection of School Children; (*d*) Feeding of School Children; (*e*) Clothing of School Children; (*f*) Charity Organisation.

8. *Shettleston.*—Shettleston School Board, after several meetings with an "Employers of Labour" Committee which they have, adopted forms after the the style of Edinburgh School Board. These, however, have to be discussed by the new Board recently appointed, as also has a circular letter from the Labour Exchange, London, inquiring whether they would act jointly with the Glasgow centre.

9. *Stirling School Board.*—Six weeks prior to the fixed dates the headmaster of each school forwards to the clerk lists giving the names, ability, progress, and conduct of those students leaving school, along with a statement as to what trade or profession the child desires to follow. A register from this is kept in the office for the information of employers. The Board also, so far as possible, attempts to keep in touch with the children after they leave school until they are about 16 years of age, and all young persons who are out of employment and who are between 14 and 16 are entitled to have their names registered. Intimations of vacancies are sent to headmasters.

C.

The undernoted Boards have no separate scheme of their own, but have formed a working agreement with the local Labour Exchange:—

1. Cambuslang School Board co-operate with Glasgow Labour Exchange and are supplied with cards to be filled up by the various headmasters on behalf of those pupils who wish to avail themselves of this advantage.

2. Cambusnethan School Board have an arrangement similar to that of Cambuslang whereby cards are filled up at the various dates for terminating school attendance and sent to the local Labour Exchange.

3. Cathcart School Board have adopted a plan after the style of the above Boards except that the cards are, for registration purposes, handed by the headmaster to the pupils who may desire to secure employment through the medium of the Labour Exchange.

4. Dalziel School Board (Motherwell) are going to work in conjunction with the Labour Exchange, but no information is to hand as to working arrangements, except that a separate door is to be made for juveniles at the local Exchange.

5. Eastwood (Parish) School Board—same as Glasgow, No. 7.

6. Falkirk School Board are to furnish the local Labour Exchange with information on special cards supplied by the latter, but filled up by the headmasters, regarding boys and girls leaving school who desire employment.

7. Glasgow School Board have agreed to co-operate with the local Exchange in circulating information to the parents through the headmasters as to employment. Their cards are filled up in duplicate by the headmasters and sent to the Board offices, where one set is retained and the other forwarded to the Labour Exchange. This Board has also appointed representatives to an advisory committee which has been formed in connection with the local Labour Exchange.

8. Govan School Board have made arrangements whereby the names and all necessary particulars of scholars leaving school and desiring the help of the Exchange are forwarded to the Exchange authorities, and already a considerable number of cards have been transmitted. So far, however, a comparatively small number have availed themselves of the opportunity of soliciting the help of the Labour Exchange.

9. Leith School Board have recently adopted a joint arrangement following closely the Edinburgh new model.

10. Kilmarnock Burgh School have an arrangement with the Labour Exchange to supply their headmasters with cards to be filled up for any pupils who desire to apply to the Labour Exchange.

11. Renfrew (Landward) School Board act in co-operation with Glasgow Labour Exchange and are represented on the Juvenile Advisory Committee.

12. Rutherglen School Board have an arrangement with the Labour Exchange whereby any child leaving school and wishing employment fills up a card and forwards it to the Exchange office.

APPENDIX.

I.—PUPIL'S CARD.

FRONT.

EDINBURGH SCHOOL BOARD AND BOARD OF TRADE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT.

BOYS. Renewals.

..... SCHOOL .....

Name of Pupil ..... Address .....

Date of Birth ..... Date of leaving School

Standard of Education attained .....

Attendance ..... Ex. ..... V.G. ..... G. Behaviour ..... Ex. ..... V.G. ..... G.

Physique ..... V.G. ..... G. Sight ..... G. ..... Def. Hearing ..... G. ..... Def.

Occupation desired (Parent to be consulted by Pupil) .....

Has Pupil already made arrangements for entering upon some Employment, and, if so, what? .....

Opinion of Headmaster and Teacher as to kinds of Occupation Pupil is fitted for by natural bent and educational equipment . . . . .

Does Pupil desire name to be entered on Register?

In what Continuation School does pupil propose to enrol, and for what Course of Instruction? Summer

Winter.....

NOTE.—Remarks by Teacher, Headmaster, or Director should be entered on back of Card.

BACK.

HEADMASTER'S OR TEACHER'S FURTHER CONFIDENTIAL REMARKS (IF ANY).

DIRECTOR'S REMARKS (IF ANY).

Employers since leaving School.	Time with.	Left.	Employed as.	Remarks.

2.—INSTRUCTIONS TO TEACHERS.

Your attention is specially directed to the following instructions regarding the filling up of the cards :—

1. A small and a large card should be filled up for each pupil leaving School. The large cards, arranged in alphabetical order, are to be sent to the Office on or before *Saturday, February 18th.* The small cards are to be handed to the pupils to whom they refer. On making application to the Director or to any employer, pupils should present their cards as a means of identification to the former, and as a source of information to the latter. Pupils should show the small card when making application for enrolment in a Continuation School.

2. Special care must be taken to see that all the information asked for is given as definitely as possible. While the great majority of the cards are filled up with great care and accuracy, there have been cases of inattention to the requirements and of omission to fill in certain particulars. Much inconvenience and delay will be caused if it is necessary to return cards to the Schools for any of these reasons.

3. *Whenever a pupil leaves School between the fixed dates owing to exemption or age qualification, the large Card should be filled up and forwarded to the Director.*

4. *Standard of Education attained.*

The facts to be noted on the large card are :—

(*a*) Division and class.
(*b*) Length of time in the class.
(*c*) Nature of course if the class is supplementary.
(*d*) Whether Merit Certificate has been obtained, and, if not, whether Qualifying Examination has been passed.
(*e*) General intelligence. (Use marks Ex., V.G., G., and F.)

Note.—Typical examples of answering this question :—

Supp. I., 1 yr. 6 m.,	Com.,	M.C.,	Ex.
Supp. II., 8 m.,	Ind.,	Q.E.,	V.G.
Sen. 1/3, 1 yr.,			G.
Jun. 1/5, 8 m.,			F.

Q.E. indicates that Qualifying Examination has been passed.
1/3 indicates that pupil is in highest class, and that there are three classes in the division.

It has been pointed out that the foregoing has little or no meaning to employers, and therefore it is proposed that on the small cards there should be given instead marks (Ex., V.G., G., or F.) for English, Arithmetic, and Intelligence. The date of Merit Certificate and Length of Time in Supplementary Class are required on enrolment in a Continuation School.

5. *Attendance, Behaviour, Physique, Sight, and Hearing.*
Delete terms that do not apply.

Ex. = Excellent.	G. = Good.
V.G. = Very Good.	Def. = Defective.

6. *Occupation desired.*
It is imperative that pupils should consult their parents before giving this answer. In the case of girls who do not intend to enter an occupation, the words "At Home" should be inserted.

7. *Has pupil already made arrangements for entering upon some employment, and, if so, what?*
The name and address of employer, as well as the nature of the occupation, should be given, *e.g.,*
Apprentice Engineer—Messrs. Bertrams Ltd., Sciennes.

8. *Opinion of Headmaster and Teacher as to kinds of Occupation pupil is fitted for.*

This is a very important point. The Board are confident that the Headmasters and Teachers will endeavour to give it their best attention, but occasionally it will be impossible to state a particular trade or profession. General terms, such as Artistic, Commercial, Domestic, Industrial, may be used in difficult cases.

9. *Does pupil desire name to be entered on Register?*

An answer is required only in the case of those who have not already obtained *permanent suitable employment.*

To employers who intimate vacancies for learners or apprentices, the names of suitable candidates will be sent. These names will be taken from the Register.

10. *In what Continuation School does pupil propose to enrol, and for what Course of Instruction?*

The Board specially desire you to urge upon every pupil the advisability of enrolling in a Continuation School for the Summer Session.

If pupil intends to enrol in the Heriot-Watt College, the College of Art, or in any private classes, that fact should be noted.

11. *Renewals, Employers since leaving School.*

These spaces are intended for the use of the Registration Officers.

3. CIRCULAR TO PARENTS.

EDINBURGH SCHOOL BOARD.

School Board Offices,
Castle Terrace,
Edinburgh, Feb. 1911.

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

The members of the Board desire to call your special attention to the steps which they are taking to guide and advise young people regarding their future careers in life, and to provide for them the systematic training on commercial or industrial lines that will best fit them for the occupation they elect to follow.

1. *Educational Information and Employment Department.*

The Education Department has recently pointed out that it has been matter of frequent complaint that through want of information or proper guidance, children, on leaving school, are apt to take up casual employments, which, though remunerative for the moment, afford no real preparation for earning a living in later life. The temptation to put a child into the first opening that presents itself is often very great. Due regard is not always paid to the capacities of the boys and girls concerned, with the result that many take up work which affords no training and is without prospect, while many others are forced into trades or professions for which they are unsuited by temperament and education, and for which they consequently acquire a dislike. The result is a large amount of waste to the community at large and misery to the individuals concerned.

In order to co-operate with parents in putting an end to this state of matters, the Board established in 1908 an Educational Information and Employment Bureau. Since that date the Board of Trade have set up in the City a Labour Exchange whose Juvenile Department is intended to perform related duties so far as the employment of young people is concerned. It is felt that in the interests of economy and effective industrial organisation a scheme of co-operation is desirable. *An arrangement has therefore been arrived at between the Edinburgh School Board and the Board of Trade whereby the work of both Departments will be carried on jointly in the present office of the School Board, and all persons above fourteen and under seventeen years of age will be dealt with there.*

The new organisation will combine the functions of the Educational Information and Employment Bureau and of the Juvenile Branch of the Labour Exchange. Briefly these are as follows :—

(1) To supply information with regard to the qualifications most required in the various occupations of the City, the rates of wages, and the conditions of employment.

(2) To give information about the technical and commercial continuation classes having relation to particular trades and industries.

(3) To advise parents regarding the occupations for which their sons and daughters are most fitted when they leave school.

(4) To keep a record of vacancies intimated by employers, and to arrange for suitable candidates having an opportunity of applying for such vacancies.

The Educational Information and Employment Department (entrance 14, Cornwall Street) is open daily, except on Wednesday afternoons, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. (Saturday, 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.), free of charge, to parents and pupils wishing information and advice as to education or employment.

To suit the convenience of parents who cannot call during the day, the Educational Information and Employment Department will be open on Monday evenings from 7 to 9.

You are cordially invited to make use of the services of the Department.

2. *Continuation Classes.*

Boys and girls who have gone through the work of the Day School soon forget much that they have learned if they have no opportunity of extending the knowledge they have already gained. The Board would therefore impress on parents the importance of their children joining a Continuation School as soon as possible after leaving the Day School.

For the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the Continuation Classes and of rendering the instruction more directly practical, the subjects (other than elementary) have been grouped into courses, such as English, Commercial, Technical, and Art Courses for Boys and Girls, and Domestic Courses for Girls only. These specialised Courses, which have been allocated among the different Schools in the various parts of the City, should prove a valuable aid to pupils who enter upon an industrial or commercial pursuit.

As you are probably aware, children can now leave School only at certain fixed dates, these being in Edinburgh March 1st and September 1st. At the end of February of this year over 2,000 pupils may terminate their Day School career.

There is grave danger of much educational waste should these pupils be set entirely free from all discipline and instruction during the months which elapse before the commencement of the Winter Session of the Continuation Schools. The Board accordingly propose to make adequate arrangements for a short Summer Session of ten or twelve weeks' duration in several of the Continuation Schools, and they trust that you will do your utmost to see that any of your family who are now about to leave the Day School enrol in one or other of those Summer Classes.

Details and advice regarding the courses of study most suited to prepare Boys and Girls for their prospective occupations can be had by parents or intending students on application to the Director of the Educational Information and Employment Department.

We are,

Yours faithfully,

JAMES CLARK,
Chairman of the Edinburgh School Board.

J. W. PECK,
Clerk to the Board.

4.—CIRCULAR TO EMPLOYERS.

EDINBURGH SCHOOL BOARD AND BOARD OF TRADE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT.

Telephone No. 7298.

School Board Offices,
Castle Terrace,
Edinburgh, 1911.

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

We beg to inform you that since the inception of the School Board's Educational Information and Employment Bureau the Board of Trade have established a Labour Exchange. As these bodies are performing related duties so far as the

employment of young persons from the age of fourteen to seventeen years is concerned, it is felt that in the interests of economy and effective industrial organisation a scheme of co-operation is very desirable.

While the Educational Authority is undoubtedly the body best qualified to deal with the advising and supervising of young persons, it is also clear that as the Board of Trade Labour Exchange is already in close touch with employers in regard to all classes of workers, the actual placing of young persons in employment should be left to that body.

An arrangement has therefore been arrived at between the Board of Trade and the Edinburgh School Board, whereby the work of both departments will be carried on jointly in the present office of the School Board. The new organisation will combine the functions of the Juvenile Branch of the Labour Exchange and of the Educational Information and Employment Bureau. Briefly these are as follows :—

1. To advise young persons as to the pursuits for which they are by ability, taste, character, and education suited, and as to the opportunities which exist in the various occupations.

2. The collection and promulgation of general information in regard to industrial conditions.

3. *Registration, i.e., bringing into contact the Employer with a specific position to offer, and the young person suited for and desiring such a position.*

4. The supervision, in certain cases, of the young person after he has obtained employment, so that he is induced to take advantage of all educational facilities pertinent to his work, and is advised as to the various steps in his industrial career.

5. The keeping of the system of further education in real touch with the industrial needs of the locality.

Children can now leave School only at certain fixed dates, these being in Edinburgh March 1st and September 1st. At the end of February of this year over 2,000 pupils may terminate their Day School career.

Your attention is drawn to the fact that a register is kept containing information on the following points regarding all Boys and Girls who leave School.—

(1) Record of Attendance and Behaviour.

(2) Physique, Sight, Hearing.

(3) Standard of Education attained.

(4) Fitness for particular occupations.

Reference to such records should prove specially helpful to employers in selecting suitable workers, and therefore it is desired to have the co-operation of employers in making the Bureau a successful means of guiding and advising young people regarding their future career in life, and of helping them to situations for which they appear suitable. You are accordingly invited to utilise the services of the Joint Organisation when you have vacancies for learners or apprentices.

Intimation of vacancies should be made by personal call, letter, or telephone message, to the Juvenile Labour Exchange, School Board Offices, Castle Terrace. The names and addresses of suitable candidates will be forwarded, or, if desired, candidates will be requested to make personal application.

No fee is charged. The Office is open daily from 9.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. (Saturday, 9 a.m. to 1 p.m.).

We are, Yours faithfully,

J. W. PECK,
Clerk to the School Board.

JAMES MATSON,
Manager of Board of Trade Labour Exchange.

5.—EMPLOYER'S CARD.

FRONT.

..... Date. Order No..... Classification No.

Name and Address of Employer. Tel. No.

No. of Vacancies ... Details:—

Temporary (T.) ... or Other (O.)... ...

Names of Persons Sent.	Date Sent.	Classification of Applicant.	PLACED.			T. or O.	Remarks.
			Locals Locally.	From other Districts Locally.	Locals in other Districts.		

BACK.

Names of Persons Sent.	Date Sent.	Classification of Applicant.	PLACED.			T. or O.	Remarks.
			Locals Locally.	From other Districts Locally.	Locals in other Districts		

Notified to: Q Card sent on

* by

on

* Insert "P card;" "Telephone;" or "Letter"

Working of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee.

By The Hon. R. D. Denman, M.P.

[The Education Committee of the London County Council has recently printed a Report relating to the London Juvenile Advisory Committee, which gives so excellent an account of its organisation and procedure that it is unnecessary again to deal with the subject from that point of view or to recapitulate the facts there given. I propose, therefore, in this paper merely to supplement that report by additional facts; and to examine briefly a few practical problems, in the actual working of the scheme, likely to be of interest to others working in the same field. I am indebted to several chairmen of other Juvenile Advisory Committees who have written letters which show the direction in which provincial committees are working upon the same problems.]

Composition of Committee.

After negotiations between the Board of Trade and the London County Council, the London Juvenile Advisory Committee was appointed for three years in August, 1910. It is composed of:

6 members of the Education Committee nominated by the L.C.C.

2 employers } Appointed after consultation with the London Advisory
2 workpeople } Trade Committee.

2 representatives of the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association.

2 persons otherwise interested in the welfare of boys and girls.

1 Chairman.

Total 15

Of these 5 are women.

The chief functions of the Central Committee are to organise Local Advisory Committees in connection with each Exchange in the L.C.C. area, and to supervise the whole system. They have accordingly, with the approval of the Board of Trade, appointed Local Advisory Committees in the following districts:

Exchange.	*Chairman.*
Bethnal Green	Hon. Gilbert Johnstone.
Camberwell	Mr. R. A. Bray.
Camden Town	Mr. A. J. Mundella.
Clapham Junction	Miss Frere.
Hackney	Miss Adler.
Stepney	Mr. Cyril Jackson.
Walham Green	Mr. G. E. Reiss.

Further Local Advisory Committees have just been appointed at Finsbury, Kilburn, and Woolwich; and are about to be appointed at New Cross, Rotherhithe, and Shepherd's Bush.

Local Advisory Committees.

These committees consist of about twenty-four to thirty members. A committee of thirty would roughly be composed in the following proportions:—

10 persons nominated by the Education Committee of the L.C.C.
2 teachers nominated by the Consultative Committee of Head Teachers.
4 employers, } Selected by the
4 workpeople, } London Juvenile
10 persons otherwise interested in boys and girls } Advisory Committee.

The last class would include Care Committee workers, teachers, and representatives of the M.A.B.Y.S., Apprenticeship Committees, boys' and girls' clubs, Friendly Societies, etc.

Some member of the Central Committee acts as chairman for the first few meetings. Subsequently a Local Advisory Committee elects its own chairman, subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

The functions of a Local Advisory Committee are those set out provisionally in a leaflet, of which a copy in appended to this paper.

Officers.

The Board of Trade provides the London Juvenile Advisory Committee with a secretary, who receives clerical and other assistance. Each Local Advisory Committee has a secretary, who is also assistant manager of the Exchange in charge of the juvenile section. In the performance of the functions of the Local Advisory Committee this officer is responsible solely to the Committee. In the performance of Labour Exchange functions he or she is responsible to the manager.

The salary of this officer is £100, rising by annual increments of £5 to £150 for men, or to £130 for women, with the addition of an allowance that usually begins at £10 a year, but which in special circumstances may be more. The officer is assisted by registration clerks and other members of the Labour Exchange staff.

Dual Responsibility of Officers.

It will be observed that in this single officer, responsible both to the Exchange and to the Committee, is centred the conflict of duties which has always been recognised as one of the practical difficulties in the problem of placing children in industry, and which must inevitably arise on occasions until employers of juvenile labour recognise that the early years of the industrial life of a boy or girl should be educational. The officer has to harmonise as far as possible the contradictory demands of those employers, on the one hand, to whom a boy or girl is merely a form of cheap labour; and of the Committee, on the other, whose business it is to see that every child is so employed as to have the opportunity to become a satisfactory adult citizen.

The Juvenile Advisory Committee is, of course, at liberty to attempt to evade this difficulty by advising the Board of Trade Labour Exchanges to send children only to what may be termed "educational" jobs. As, however, the effect of this course, if adopted, would be to drive the less satisfactory employers to obtain juvenile labour by methods already open to them, no Committee has yet made that recommendation. In the interest of the child who is to fill the inferior job it is generally preferable that he should have been placed with the knowledge of, and remain in touch with, the Committee, than that such jobs should be entirely outside the scope of these new organisations. There are,

moreover, other reasons why a Committee cannot prudently ignore "non-educational" jobs. Such jobs are frequently of value in offering temporary employment while the child is waiting for something better. Further, the mere fact of dealing with the juvenile labour market as a whole, rather than with a select section of it, is in itself of great advantage. The fact of bringing together into one centre a quantity of jobs requiring children and a quantity of children requiring jobs introduces an element of competition, which tends to secure a better adjustment of juvenile labour than has hitherto been possible. Evidently if there are 1,000 children to be fitted into 1,000 vacancies the percentage of successful adjustments will probably be far higher than if there are only ten children to be fitted into ten vacancies. While the work, therefore, of a Juvenile Advisory Committee cannot be tested by the quantity of children placed, a large number of placings will certainly be a condition of ultimate success.

In practice the arrangement whereby one person is responsible both to the Exchange Authorities for satisfying the employer, and to the Committee for advising the child, seems to be working well, and tends to produce the best practicable result in the interest of the child.

Areas.

The area of the activity of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee is that of the L.C.C. The area of a Local Advisory Committee is mainly that of the Exchange to which it is attached. From the schools in that area it receives children, and with the employers in that area it endeavours to get into touch. By means of the clearing-house system in operation in the Exchanges, vacancies unfilled from the sources of supply in one area are notified in other areas. By this means the portions of London that are predominantly industrial are supplied with children from the portions that are chiefly residential.

The question of areas, however, is destined to be one of real difficulty. There is a danger that the activity of Committees may check the natural flow of labour between different districts. One Local Advisory Committee, for example, may operate in a district in which the dressmaking industry is especially strong, another in a district rich in clerks, and so on. In proportion as the Committee is keen, it will wish to reserve for the children from its own area all the best jobs within its range. There thus arises the inevitable tendency for one Committee to exclude from certain industries the better child from a neighbouring district in favour of less good material from its own, even though large numbers of children in the neighbouring district may live nearer some of the firms than large numbers of children in the Committee's own area.

No definite decision has yet been reached as to the best way of meeting this difficulty. Probably, however, it will be arranged that in the case of certain firms a proportion of vacancies will be allotted to areas other than that in which the firm is situated.

The problem becomes less easy of solution where the industrial area of the Exchange includes parts of more than one educational area. At the Shepherd's Bush Exchange, for example, where children connected with other Education Authorities than the L.C.C. are dealt with, the operations of the Local Advisory Committee, representing on its educational side only "London" interests, must almost necessarily give "London" children preferential treatment over their neighbours outside the boundary.

A significant example of this difficulty of areas is furnished by the scheme of the Croydon Education Committee, in which it is proposed to set up a Juvenile

Employment Bureau where employers within the Croydon area are to be invited to register their requirements. The vacancies so obtained are clearly to be for the benefit of Croydon children alone. On the other hand, the Croydon Education Committee desire that the Board of Trade Labour Exchanges should assist them by notifying to them vacancies from outside the borough. Even if such a scheme were satisfactory to the Labour Exchanges, it is hard to see how it would meet the legitimate desires of the Education Authorities that surround Croydon, or fit in with the practical needs of the industrial population.

Juvenile Advisory Committee organisations are too young for this question of boundaries to have become acute. Contiguous Committees have not yet come into conflict. In the long run, however, transfers of vacancies and children between the different areas will have to be arranged for on a systematic basis, if Committees are not to be discredited by imposing an entirely artificial barrier against the natural flow of labour. The best solution would no doubt be to treat the industrial rather than the educational area as the unit of organisation for the purpose of placing, a single Committee or a closely allied group of Committees being responsible for the whole of it. Any single Committee dealing with an industrial area could be divided into sub-Committees, each responsible within an educational area for all that portion of the Committee's work which is centred in schools. An arrangement of this sort will probably be made in London in connection with the Bethnal Green Exchange, where strong local interest exists in each of the two borough areas comprised in the Exchange area. In the provinces a certain amount of convenient poaching takes place, and Committees occasionally deal with children and employers outside the education area represented on the Juvenile Advisory Committee. In a few cases this poaching is regularised by the appointment of representatives of an outlying Education Authority as members of a Committee dealing primarily with the district of another Authority.

Buildings.

Much discussion has taken place at different times as to the building in which a Juvenile Advisory Committee should conduct its work. Hitherto in London the juvenile work of an Exchange has in all cases been conducted in the same building as the adult work.* It has not been found that this prevents the better class of children and parents from making use of the Local Advisory Committee. No doubt sentiment on this matter varies considerably in different localities. Where an Exchange is in a bad situation or where workpeople erroneously think Exchanges are connected with poverty and relief, Committees occasionally find they have a preliminary task of weeding out prejudices. In this matter, however, time is on the side of the Exchange organisation, and such prejudices rapidly disappear, more especially when it is seen that Committees have good vacancies to offer. As far as can be judged from the case of London, the fact that the adult and the juvenile work is conducted in the same building seems to be of real advantage. Exchanges increasingly become centres of industrial information, and the knowledge of a trade or of an individual employer possessed in the adult section is frequently of value to the Juvenile Committee. Moreover, the age of 17, which divides juveniles from adults, has little, if any, industrial significance; and it is convenient that border-line vacancies should be readily transferable from one section to the other.

* A separate Juvenile Exchange for Poplar is under consideration.

At the same time, while the two kinds of work should be carried on as far as possible under the same roof, it is desirable that the distinction between them should also be emphasised, and that at least three special rooms should be set apart for the juvenile work; and that, if possible, a separate entrance and a separate window for the advertisement of vacancies should be provided. In London the existing accommodation does not generally satisfy these requirements, and several Committees have started with less. One Committee, as a temporary measure, holds rota and other meetings in the evenings in a room which in the daytime is used for the adult work of the Exchange. The Board of Trade are improving the premises in a number of cases.

Expenses.

The expenses of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee and of the Local Advisory Committees are paid by the Board of Trade.

Judging from cases that have already arisen, it will probably later be necessary to obtain voluntary funds to enable Committees to undertake certain classes of expenditure which are outside the province of a Government Department. Though in many districts Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Committees (acting in co-operation with the Local Advisory Committees) will be responsible for that portion of the work which relates to indentured apprenticeships, it may now and then be desirable for a Local Advisory Committee to be able to advance premiums. Money might also be usefully expended in certain cases in providing clothes to intelligent boys or girls who cannot get a respectable place in their own outfit.

Extent of Operations.

The number of vacancies for juveniles at present being filled by the London Labour Exchanges (twenty-four in number, including five outside the London County Council area) exceeds 30,000 per annum. Local Advisory Committees are not attempting in the first instance to deal with the whole number of juveniles who register at the Exchange, but are concentrating their efforts upon those now leaving school. The usual procedure is to start with a limited number of schools in an Exchange area and gradually to take in more schools as it is found possible to deal with them. The Hackney Advisory Committee, for example, is in contact with thirteen out of a total of forty-four schools in the district. Of 101 boys and girls who have left these schools between March 1st and April 29th, fifty-seven have been interviewed by the Committee rotas, and of these twenty-six had been placed up to the latter date.

The total number of children who left public elementary schools in London in the year 1909-10 is estimated by the London County Council at 62,000. If not more than 25 per cent. of these are placed with the assistance of Committees, and are kept in touch with till the age of 17, the operations of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee organisation will be of some magnitude.

The Bringing Together of Children and Vacancies.

The procedure for bringing children from school to the Exchange is briefly as follows:—

The children for whom vacancies are desired are interviewed at school; and school-leaving forms, filled up by teachers and Care Committee workers, are sent to the Local Advisory Committee a few weeks before the children leave school. The form contains particulars relating to the capacity and qualifications

of the child; including information as to health, the child's home circumstances and father's occupation, and the parents' wishes as to employment.

A Rota of the Local Advisory Committee sits at the Exchange at stated times, and the Care Committee sends the child to be interviewed (or the Local Advisory Committee writes asking the child to attend), with or without parents, as the case may be. A list of vacancies, with as much information concerning them as may be available in the Exchange, is given to this Rota Committee. Further information is obtained where necessary, and the child is sent to any vacancy that appears to be suitable. At the same time advice is given with regard to continued education.

From several Juvenile Advisory Committees there is satisfactory evidence of the value of this interview, whether by the Rota Committee or the secretary, beyond its mere industrial effect of securing more suitable boys and girls for the vacancies offered.

In the first place, children are encouraged to stay on at school. If the parent and the child know that to remain on at school does not mean the loss of a good place, that the Committee is on the watch for vacancies, and that so far from there being any advantage in tramping round to look for notices in windows, the best vacancies will be offered to those who do stay on at school, the temptation to leave is enormously lessened. Mr. Church states that at Northampton "a number of children have been persuaded to stay on at school when they would otherwise have left at 13." Ipswich, Ashton-under-Lyne, Bristol, Nottingham, Carlisle, Huddersfield, all report some success in this direction.

Secondly, children are influenced to attend technical or other classes. Here, too, the chairmen of most of the committees mentioned above are able to report satisfactory progress. It may incidentally be observed that they also generally testify to the effectiveness of committees in persuading boys and girls not to throw up good places in a fit of restlessness, and in inducing them to join clubs, friendly societies, and similar institutions.

The latter point is of importance in connection with the work of after-supervision.

After-Supervision.

The operations of a Juvenile Advisory Committee are by no means completed when the child is placed. The number of cases in which a child's first place is his permanent place is almost certainly small. It is therefore most desirable to keep in touch with him until he is fairly launched into industry.

For this purpose all manner of organisations interested in the welfare of the young are invited to co-operate. In addition, so that the ground may be as completely covered as possible, several provincial committees—*e.g.*, at Northampton, Leeds, Carlisle, Huddersfield—are organising around themselves special bodies of volunteer workers. At Nottingham Care Committees are being established in connection with every school.

In London the Juvenile Advisory Committee has had the advantage of a Care Committee organisation already set up by the Education Authority. By arrangement with the latter the work of after-supervision has practically been farmed out to Care Committees, who undertake to report periodically to the Local Advisory Committee as to the industrial progress and prospects of the children originally sent by them to the Exchange. The Care Committees keep in touch with the children either themselves or through clubs, etc. The actual

person, however, who is in touch with a particular child can deal with the Local Advisory Committee direct when it is advisable to do so without first reporting to the Care Committee.

Employers.

The obtaining of vacancies is primarily the business of the Labour Exchange Authorities who, however, permit the active co-operation of members of committees in dealing with employers. In London the Juvenile Advisory Committee has been grafted on to an Exchange organisation that has existed for some years and that has already a large clientèle. This advantage is not unmixed. Employers have not infrequently become accustomed to the somewhat mechanical methods by which juveniles have been placed by certain Labour Exchanges. Employers, for example, have been apt to telephone for a boy at a moment's notice, and consequently vacancies have at times been filled with but little knowledge of their merits or prospects.

No doubt sudden and urgent demands for boys and girls cannot be wholly prevented. It will, however, be the aim of Local Advisory Committees to reduce the number of these to a minimum. From the employers' point of view it is obvious that their demands can be met with far greater certainty of success if they give some days' or weeks' notice of their requirements. Moreover, it will certainly not be the practice of Local Advisory Committees to advise the best child to accept a job of which they have but little knowledge.

In obtaining precise knowledge of vacancies for juveniles the Board of Trade have been vigorously co-operating with the Juvenile Advisory Committee. The normal Exchange method of approaching employers is by means of a canvass undertaken by each Exchange within its own area, and in this local work of interviewing employers committee members may take part with the consent of the manager.

In addition, however, to this normal local inquiry and canvass, the Board of Trade have undertaken certain special investigations from headquarters, securing information not only of the general prospects of a trade as an opening for boys and girls, but also of the conditions and prospects in particular firms. The trades first selected for such inquiry were the building trade, the ready-to-wear clothing trade, and leather working trades (excluding the making of boots and shoes). The results of these investigations are of high value in the work of placing children, and it is to be hoped that such investigations will gradually be extended.

A close acquaintance with the particular firm is the real essential for the successful starting of a youth in industry. In practical working, generalisations about employers usually prove valueless. There is nothing that can properly be called an employers' point of view about juvenile labour. In identical businesses some employers think the employment of juveniles does not pay, others regard juveniles as a profitable form of cheap labour. Some declare technical classes are useless, others encourage their learners to attend and allow time off for the purpose. Some desire formal apprenticeships, others declare that an indenture ruins your control over a boy or girl; "they lead you the devil's own dance." Some are content with present methods of recruiting, others complain that notices in windows bring quantities of unsuitable applicants. "I had fifty applicants the first day, all of them useless." One employer who was interviewed was favourably disposed towards the activity of the Juvenile Advisory Committee, but wanted to be assured that each child sent to him had undergone a phrenological examination to ensure mental aptitude for the work.

It is a satisfactory feature of the investigations that have taken place in London that employers have, generally speaking, shown much interest in the work of the Committee, and have been willing to co-operate. Many deplore the lack of industrial training of the modern worker. In the leather working trades, especially, some employers contrast the high skill of the German worker with the lesser skill of the labour to be obtained in this country, and welcome any movement likely to improve the industrial education of the worker. In some instances, on the other hand, employers resent any kind of intervention, and especially dread a committee like the London Juvenile Advisory Committee as a body "dominated by the views of educationalists."

On the Local Advisory Committees employers have been helpful; not only do they give time to the work of the committees, but they have also assisted in organising local conferences in order to persuade their fellow-employers to co-operate.

While progress is being made with individual employers, it will also be desirable, as Mr. Hutton, the chairman of the Ashton-under-Lyne Committee points out, that committees should be supplied with general information as to the state of various trades. It may perhaps be advisable at a later stage to organise consultative committees in connection with each trade so that questions affecting the trade as a whole may be discussed, and, if possible, systematic methods of supplying it with juveniles devised.

Workpeople.

In the work of Rota Committees especially, it is of importance that the industrial experience of workpeople should be available. On every committee there are representatives of trade unions, friendly societies, etc., who are taking a valuable part in the interviewing and advising of children, and in other ways.

At Hackney a successful Conference of Trade Unionists was held with a view to securing the co-operation of organised labour in the district. Similar conferences will be held elsewhere.

Conclusion.

At this early stage of the work of Juvenile Advisory Committees, it is only possible to indicate tendencies that are making themselves felt. There is as yet no sufficient experience to justify a confident statement of the practical problems, still less of their solutions.

I find, however, that chairmen of committees in the provinces share the hopefulness of the London Committee as to the ultimate value of these organisations in effectively bringing together educational and industrial views and interests to bear upon the problem of juvenile labour. Dr. Cook, for example, at Bristol, "is convinced that we are doing *some* good," and thinks that "the natural evolution which will take place will result in *much* good being done." Sir Charles Radford, at Plymouth, is "hopeful, but the difficulties are great." Lord Henry Bentinck, at Nottingham, hopes, in time, that the committee will "rouse the employers to the necessity of taking a greater interest in the future of their young employees." He would "like to see it made compulsory that all children should be registered at the Labour Exchanges, and that when an employer engaged a child outside a Labour Exchange he should send a notification of such engagement to the Exchange."

The success of such an organisation must vary with the measure of co-operation between the two parties concerned—the Education Authority and the Labour Exchanges. No doubt in each case this measure will depend much more on the good sense of the individuals engaged in the task than upon the precise nature of the machinery designed to produce co-operation. In such matters there is perhaps a danger of emphasising too much mere questions of machinery and of method. I desire not to fall into this error. Nevertheless, I venture to say that the London County Council, in adopting the courageous policy of securing for the educational point of view a secure position within the citadel of the Labour Exchanges, have taken the course most likely to produce a widespread educative influence throughout the whole range of juvenile labour in London.

It must be remembered that a Juvenile Advisory Committee is a body charged with no compulsory powers. Its field of activity is the normal employer, and the normal parent and child; its weapons, persuasion and common sense. In these circumstances it would be vain to expect committees to bring about a sudden improvement in conditions of juvenile labour such as legislation might produce. On the other hand, whatever success they achieve means that they have earned the approval and goodwill of employers and children whom they serve.

APPENDIX.

Provisional Outline of Functions of Local Committees.

1. To focus the existing scattered efforts of different organisations dealing with Juvenile Employment in the locality.

2. To organise a systematic procedure for obtaining, in co-operation with teachers and Care Committees, knowledge of the character, qualifications and home conditions of children about to leave school, and about to register at the Labour Exchange as applicants for employment.

3. To form sub-committees or rotas, to attend at the Exchange for the purpose of interviewing applicants and their parents in order to—

(1) Give advice with regard to employment in general and with regard to particular vacancies.

(2) Endeavour to secure the attendance of boys and girls at Evening Continuation Schools or Technical Classes.

4. To secure in co-operation with the Labour Exchange Authorities that :—

(1) Employers are informed as to the work of the local committee.

(2) Adequate information is obtained as to the conditions and prospects of particular trades and situations.

(3) The records of all information relating to children, employers, and employment are so kept as to be readily available for the purposes of the committee.

5. In co-operation with care committees, boys' and girls' clubs, and similar institutions for the welfare of juveniles, to organise a system for keeping in touch with such boys and girls, when placed, as may be thought to need continued supervision.

6. To report periodically and make suggestions to the London Juvenile Advisory Committee and to carry out such instructions as may from time to time be issued by them.

The Limitation of Juvenile Labour.

By Miss N. Adler.

(Member of the London County Council.)

The movement in favour of the restriction of premature wage earning by children has now extended over a decade. Although public opinion is slowly advancing towards a more adequate conception of communal responsibility, there is still insufficient recognition of the close economic relation between juvenile labour and unemployment. A mass of valuable information on the subject exists within the pages of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, the Report of the Consultative Committee on attendance at Continuation Schools, and especially in the Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance, and more recently in that of the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Children Act. The statements of fact and of detailed cases there put forward by competent witnesses supply abundant material for the contention that half-time labour and street trading are factors in the creation of the unemployable.

In spite of the existence of important evidence regarding the wastage of educational effort and the mental, physical, and industrial damage involved by attendance at school combined with employment, the half-time system still flourishes, and takes its toll of over 75,000* children each year. Just at the moment when education is becoming effective, exemption is obtained on five years' attendance,† and henceforward the mill, with its mechanical processes and its highly humid atmosphere, claims the greater portion of the children's lives and activities. For the half-time system means that in every alternate week throughout the year the children must be wakened at 5 or a little after in order to arrive at the factory at 6 or half-past. There they remain until 12 or half-past twelve with half an hour's interval for breakfast—a breakfast usually composed of bread and butter and tea without milk, frequently taken at the loomside. Then comes the rush home to the midday meal, usually accompanied by a change from the oil-sodden factory clothes into neater garments, and then school until half-past 4. On alternate weeks school attendance is in the morning, which involves another rush home for dinner in order to arrive at the factory at a quarter-past 1 in time for the afternoon shift of four and a half hours. Saturday morning work is only permitted on alternate Saturdays, but nevertheless the total number of hours worked gives an average of about $27\frac{1}{2}$ hours weekly.

In such circumstances educational advance is impossible. Secondary education is, of course, closed to the half-timer. Little mental effort can be expected from boys and girls who have already spent five and a half hours in the morning piecing or doffing or lugging bobbins in the spinning-rooms or tenting in a weaving shed. The processes are done at high pressure, and there is little interval for rest. It is scarcely to be wondered that boys and girls‡ are often in a semi-comatose condition during afternoon school, and that they take scant interest in their work. The half-timer has frequently little desire to continue his education. Evidence which was given before the Committee on Partial Exemption showed that a smaller proportion of those who had been half-timers attended evening schools compared

* Report of Board of Education, cd. 5616, 1911.

† Elementary Education Act, 1899.

‡ Report on Partial Exemption, p. 73.

with children who had been in attendance full time. An investigation into the evening school careers of boys who entered the Halifax Continuation Schools in 1903-04 showed that 79 per cent. of those who were not half-timers received instruction above the preparatory course, while only 25 per cent. of those who had been half-timers continued their education beyond that course. Moreover, they tended to drop away after the first session, while the better instructed full-timer often continued his education into the second, third, or fourth year.*

The physique of mill children makes a painful impression on an investigator from the South of England. The pale faces and narrow chests compare unfavourably with boys and girls attending some of the poorer London schools. The results of inquiries into the height and weight of half-timers and non-half-timers among Blackburn children† showed that while boys and girls between 12 and 13 years of age when entering the mill had a higher average height and weight than the children who were not destined to half-time, the boys at 13 years, after a year in the mill, had fallen two inches in height and nearly three pounds in weight below the full-timer of the same age. The returns obtained from head teachers under the Halifax Education Committee emphasised in most instances the marked physical deterioration among partial exemption scholars, the intense weariness manifested, and the evidence of insufficient sleep.‡ Another serious element in the fatigue involved in the half-time system is seen in the fact that the accident risk is greater for young people than for adults. The rates per 10,000 for children was 81 for males and 28 for females against 109 per 10,000 for adult males and 30 per 10,000 for adult females. In considering these figures it must be remembered that children are only employed *for half of the time of adults.*§ Some important sidelights are thrown on the conditions under which children work in the Report on Accidents in Factories issued recently. Witnesses call attention to the absence of any real system of instructing young workers or of telling them where danger lies.‖ The presence of fatigue is regarded by Miss Squire, one of the women Factory Inspectors who gave evidence, as a predisposing cause of accidents. She thought that girls were more liable to accident towards the end of a five-hours' spell.¶

Of the industrial advantages of half-time as a method of training little evidence is forthcoming. In the worsted trade more especially, half-time labour in the spinning-room tends to become a "blind alley employment" of the worst type. The Commissioners state that the "majority of the boys do not get permanent employment in the trade at all. Between 15 and 18 years the greater part of the boys leave the trade, having lost an important part of their schooling and having acquired some preliminary knowledge of a trade which cannot find them employment."**

Some of the gravest objections to combined school work and employment are to be found in the conditions under which about 200,000 children attend school full time and work before and after the school session, and sometimes during the dinner hour. They are engaged as messengers for shops, in various forms of

* Report on Partial Exemption, p. 8. Minutes of Evidence of Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption, Cd. 4887, 1909, Appendix 9, p. 259.

† Appendix No. 16, Tables II and IV, p. 285.

‡ Appendix No. 8, pp. 255, 256, 257.

§ Report of the Departmental Committee on Accidents, 1911, Cd, 5,535, p. 19.

‖ Report, p. 20.

¶ Report, p. 15.

** Report of Committee on Partial Exemption, p. 10.

industrial work at home, and in street trading. The Employment of Children Act, 1903, was designed to remedy some of the worst cases of overstrain and over-pressure by preventing work between 9 at night and 6 in the morning, by prohibiting employment in dangerous occupations, the carrying of heavy weights, and the appearance of children under 10 years of age in theatrical entertainments.* The measure also empowers Local Authorities (municipal boroughs with over 10,000 population, urban districts with more than 20,000 inhabitants, and elsewhere the County Councils) to frame by-laws regulating the employment of children in all occupations and in the case of street traders, enabling such authorities to grant licences to trade, or in the case of girls to withhold such licences.†

The permissive character of the measure has greatly diminished its usefulness. In many instances the Act has practically remained a dead letter. Information obtained during the past month shows that out of seventy-five county boroughs in England and Wales only fifty have made by-laws, while of the 140 Town Councils empowered to frame regulations only thirty-eight have done so. Twenty-one out of the fifty-one urban districts have made by-laws, and of the sixty-two administrative counties only five, including London, have taken advantage of the measure. Important cities such as Leeds, Salford, Gateshead, West Bromwich, and West Hartlepool have not set up any procedure to ensure the enforcement of the Act in their areas.

In Scotland none of the thirty-three County Councils empowered to make by-laws have done so, while out of fifty-six burghs only three have adopted by-laws regulating street trading—namely, Glasgow, Partick, and Perth. Out of 979 Schools Boards having power to make regulations as to other occupations twenty-seven are using that power. In Ireland, out of thirty-three County Councils, none have made by-laws under any section of the Act. Out of forty-three Local Authorities able to frame regulations, only five—Belfast, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Pembroke (a suburb of Dublin)—have made by-laws, and these deal only with street trading.‡

But beyond fact that the Act has not been enforced, information has accumulated during the past four or five years showing the need for further limitation. In London, by-laws under the Employment of Children Act were framed for confirmation by the Home Office in 1904. It was not until 1906 that they received official sanction, and then in a less effective form than that in which they had originally been drawn. Nevertheless, during the past two years a great deal of valuable experience has been gained regarding the general conditions of child labour, largely owing to the great interest in and devotion to the work of prevention evinced by the officers charged with the enforcement of the by-laws. Some idea of the magnitude of the work involved may be gathered from the fact that during the year ending July, 1909, 14,440§ infringements of the regulations were discovered and dealt with by the officers of the London County Council. Of these, 5,177 were in respect of general employment, and 9,263 in respect of street trading. 18,861 warning notices were circulated to parents or employers, and 285 summonses were issued. 254 convictions

* Employment of Children Act, 1903, Section 3 (1) (2) (4), and Section 1 (1) (Messrs Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1½d.)

† Sections 1 and 2.

‡ Report of the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Children Act, 1910, Cd. 5229, page 7. price 2½d.

§ Employment of Children Act Committee, p. 538, Table A, Appendix XVI.

were obtained, only 10 cases being dismissed. It should be noted that in those cases in which it was not possible to obtain convictions, failure was due to the need of securing corroborative evidence. It has now been found possible to overcome this difficulty by arranging for the officers to work in pairs. In a few instances offenders have escaped punishment because it was not always possible to prove that the parents had conduced to the offence and were therefore liable to a fine.

The Council, however, considered that in spite of close supervision and rigid enforcement of the by-laws, the conditions under which children were carrying on street trading were of such a nature as to render obligatory the total prohibition of this occupation in the case of girls under 16 and of boys under 14. Experience based on instances of which the following are typical showed the need for further restriction, in order to rescue the children from crime and degradation. Two boys, J. and W., were discovered outside a music-hall at 11 p.m., begging programmes from people leaving the hall, with the intention of selling them the following evening. Inquiries elicited the fact that the headmaster spoke well of them until recently. He was of opinion, however, that the possession by the boys of street trading badges for the purpose of selling newspapers had had a demoralising effect upon them.

A family of four boys, all of whom were street traders, have all in succession fallen into crime. The eldest has been twice charged with stealing, the second once, the third was committed for trial when only 13, and the fourth, charged with larceny, was recently bound over in his father's bail for six months.

H. was a lad charged with stealing. He had been engaged in street trading, selling toys, previous to which his character had been good. His teacher confirmed this. He appeared to have been brought under bad influences and associations whilst engaged in the street, and his thieving habits were traceable from that period.

C. was charged with begging. This boy's association with other street vendors had a demoralising influence upon him. He had been a well-behaved boy previously, and had given no trouble.

Q., exempt from school, sold matches and laces in public-houses. He was taken to the police-station and cautioned. The latest report is that he is rapidly degenerating into a street loafer. His parents cannot control him, and he has been cautioned for using obscene language in one of the markets. Recently fined for trading without a badge.

A. was charged with insulting behaviour in December, 1908, and three months later was again charged with begging. He bore an exemplary character until he began to sell newspapers. Bad companions quickly assisted him to become a nuisance to the police and public.

H. played truant and stayed away from home until late at night, and his father attributed his son's bad behaviour to the company of newspaper boys. On leaving school he took up street trading with newspapers. He stole money from the gas meter at home and spent the proceeds on his wares and on betting and attending music halls. He was charged with begging and subsequently with stealing and finally sent to a reformatory.

Parents frequently keep their children at work in the markets until late at night. In one instance the help of the boy was apparently so profitable that the father paid two fines of £1 each and a third of £3 before he relinquished his practice of detaining the lad at his stall until 10.30 p.m.

In another instance a delicate boy was employed by his grandmother selling herbs in market places until midnight. The employment was so injurious to the

lad that proceedings were contemplated under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act. However, in this instance, a severe caution was effective.

Cases of overstrain from heavy loads need constant watching. In one case a boy was found carrying such a heavy burden of boxes that he fell to the ground exhausted. In another instance a girl suffering from heart disease was employed by her mother in carrying round milk. Action was taken under Section 3 (4), and eventually the employment was discontinued, but the girl died subsequently.

In addition to experience gained from administering their by-laws, information received from teachers, divisional superintendents, and others, led the London County Council to determine not only on a revocation of certain of their regulations so as to prohibit all street trading by boys under 14 and girls under 16, but the prevention of employment of children in barbers' shops, and all labour before 6.30 in the morning. An inquiry on behalf the Home Office was held by Mr. Buckmaster, K.C., during July, 1910. Mr. Buckmaster upheld the view put forward on behalf of the council by schoolmasters and doctors that early rising is calculated to limit unduly the sleep of children who stand in special need of rest, that working for two hours before school impaired their educational efficiency, and that ill results frequently resulted through early morning exposure to the weather. The commissioner further stated that the medical statistics put forward in favour of the prohibition of employment in barbers' shops afforded good grounds for this restriction. Dr. Thomas showed that for a decennial period ending 1900, the ratio of this trade to all occupations in deaths from phthisis alone is 258 to 186. Dr. Argles, one of the assistant medical officers who examined 150 boys of school age engaged in various callings (17 per cent. of these being in barbers' shops), discovered that thirty-one of the 150 were medically unfit for work, and ten out of the thirty-one were found among the seventeen boys employed in lathering.* These facts are emphasised by the figures contained in the report of the Medical Officer of the London County Council for 1906, in which his assistant, Dr. Thomas, shows that among lads employed in barbers' shops 72 per cent. were suffering from anæmia, 63 per cent. had nerve signs, and 27 per cent. heart disease.†

No objections were raised by Mr. Buckmaster to the council's proposals to prevent street trading by boys under 14 and girls under 16, more especially in view of the Majority Report of the Departmental Committee, which recommends that street trading by boys should be prohibited by statute up to the age of 17, and that street trading by girls should be similarly prohibited up to an age not less than 18.‡ There is little doubt that if the London County Council had framed their new regulations at a somewhat later date they would have made them more stringent. The difficulties with which they had to contend in 1904 and 1905 rendered them unwilling to risk a refusal to their request for more stringent regulations.

The extent to which street trading is carried on and its almost universal condemnation by educationists and social workers renders early legislation on the subject a matter of the gravest importance. The report of the Inter-Departmental Committee showed that, exclusive of London, 22,194 licences were issued to persons under 16 during 1908. In London, during the same period, 13,873 boys and 1,000 girls were known to be trading in the streets, making a total of over 37,000 children under 16 engaged in this occupation.

* Report on By-laws made by the London County Council, Cd. 5497, 1911, pp. 5 and 6, price 2½d.

† Report of the London County Council Medical Officer for Education, 1906, pp. 21-24.

‡ Report of Employment of Children Act Committee, p. 16.

When it is remembered that this number does not include those young people who are not licensed or registered, the total must be very large indeed, and there seems little doubt that there has been a great increase in recent years. The Parliamentary return of 1899 gave the figure of 17,617 as that of the total number of street traders returned in England and Wales. It is possible, too, that the system of licensing may have been responsible for the growth in numbers. Inspector McCarthy, who gave evidence before the Departmental Committee, thought that the number had increased 150 per cent., and held the view that "many respectable people think it is quite right for their children to get a badge and go out street selling."* Nearly all the evidence which was submitted to the Departmental Committee confirmed the experience of the London County Council. The Governor of Wormwood Scrubbs Prison showed that out of 200 juvenile adults questioned by him, fifty-five had been street traders.† Miss Olive Hargreaves of Sheffield, and Miss Arnold of Birmingham,‡ testified to the grave moral danger incurred by girls engaged in street trading, and this point was emphasised again and again by a variety of witnesses.§ It was shown that in most instances the protection of a guardian was purely illusory,‖ and that sometimes the guardian was a most undesirable person and rather increased the danger to which the girl was exposed. Mr. Parmiter¶ and Mrs. Cadbury** urged that no girl under the age of 21 should be allowed to sell in the street.

The general consensus of opinion regarding the pernicious effects of street trading is not limited to evidence given before the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Children Act. The Chief Constable of Manchester, in a paper read before the Conference of Chief Constables on May 9th, 1907, said:—"Street trading is productive of a greater amount of evil, morally and physically, than any other occupation followed by children."†† The Chief Constable of Sheffield was asked by members of the Poor Law Commission whether any special boy's occupation led to crime, and he at once and unhesitatingly said that prison made the boys thieves. Speaking of this class of prisoner in his report for 1907, the Governor of Pentonville Prison says:—"One great difficulty in doing anything for them is that they are fit for nothing. I have been particularly struck with the complete absence of any trade on their part . . . only two or three have been brought up to a trade, the bulk of these sell papers in the streets . . . they never had a chance to do better."‡‡

An inquiry undertaken during the past few weeks among local authorities who have made by-laws, elicited some very interesting replies regarding the effect of street trading. The clerk of a large south coast watering place said that the taking up of licences was not encouraged, as it was felt that the occupation of street trading is undesirable. The clerk of a large coast city in Wales said that experience had shown "the injurious effect on the moral and physical nature" of the children employed. The clerk of a great northern seaport states that the Chief Constable in his Annual Report for 1910 writes as follows: "I am obliged to state that, judging from experience, street trading is only too frequently the training ground for a career of vice and crime, and it is to be hoped that the age at which boys are to be allowed to trade in the streets may

* Employment of Children Act Committee, Minutes of Evidence, q. 1110-1119.
† Minutes of Evidence, q. 1722.
‡ q. 2025 seq.
§ q. 7344.
‖ q. 2069 seq, and q. 7391.
¶ q. 6985.
** q. 7411.
†† Report on Boy Labour by Mr. Cyril Jackson, 1909, p. 24.
‡‡ Report of Commissioners for Prisons, 1907, p. 325.

RETURNS OBTAINED FROM CERTAIN LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Giving the number of Children and Young Persons Licensed to trade in the streets under the Employment of Children Act, 1903.

Borough or County.	Licensed Boys under 14.	Licensed Girls under 14.	Licensed Children under 14 undistinguished as to sex.	Total under 14 Licensed.	Licensed Boys between 14 and 16.	Licensed Girls between 14 and 16.	Licensed Young People between 14 and 16 undistinguished as to sex.	Total Licensed between 14 and 16.	Children and Young Persons returned as Licensed without distinction of age.	TOTAL.
Aberdeen	16	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	16
Acton	144	1	—	145	189	2	—	191	—	336
Aston Manor	218	1	—	219	49	1	—	50	—	269
Ayr	34	0	—	34	10	0	—	10	—	44
Barrow-in-Furness	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	128	128
Barry	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	103	103
Bath	55	0	—	55	69	1	—	70	—	125
Beckenham	3	0	—	3	4	0	—	4	—	7
Bexhill	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A few boys	—
Birkenhead	115	0	—	115	82	0	—	82	—	197
Birmingham	199	2	—	201	133	1	—	134	—	335
Blackburn	65	0	—	65	27	0	—	27	—	92
Bolton	178	0	—	178	40	0	—	40	—	218
Bradford	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	289 (boys) 1 (girl)	290
Bristol	407	0	—	407	66	0	—	66	—	473
Bromley	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Very few street traders.	—
Burnley	49	0	—	49	32	0	—	32	—	81
Cambridge	47	1	—	48	9	1	—	10	—	58
Cardiff	223	3	—	226	93	2	—	95	—	321
Carlisle	55	0	—	55	36	0	—	36	—	91
Chatham	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	32
Chester	25	0	—	25	11	0	—	11	—	36
Crewe	70	0	—	70	30	0	—	30	—	100
Darlington	98	0	—	98	41	0	—	41	—	139
Dumfries	—	—	180	180	—	—	8	8	—	188
Dudley	61	3	—	64	58	5	—	63	—	127
Eastbourne	58	0	—	58	25	2	—	27	—	85
East Ham	340	0	—	340	176	0	—	176	—	516
Edinburgh	165	0	—	165	100	0	—	100	—	265
Enfield	338	0	—	338	5	1	—	6	—	344
Erith	42	0	—	42	20	0	—	20	—	62
Exeter	26	0	—	26	42	0	—	42	—	68
Gillingham	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	79 boys & girls	79
Hastings	64	1	—	65	63	3	—	66	—	131
Hereford	—	—	19	19	—	—	6	6	—	25
Hove	—	—	33	33	—	—	7	7	—	40
Hull	564	17	—	581	353	16	—	369	—	950
Kidderminster	17	2	—	19	42	3	—	45	—	64
Kings Norton	284	0	—	284	11	6	—	17	—	301
Leicester	136	0	—	136	37	0	—	37	—	173
Leyton	—	—	492	492	—	—	168	168	—	660
Liverpool	311	31	—	342	222	46	—	268	—	610
Lowestoft	131	0	—	131	94	0	—	94	—	225
Macclesfield	61	1	—	62	19	0	—	19	—	81
Merthyr Tydfil	84	0	—	84	13	2	—	15	—	99
Middlesborough	154	9	—	163	139	3	—	142	—	305
Newcastle-under-Lyme	79	1	—	80	19	0	—	19	—	99

Returns Continued—

Borough or County.	Licensed Boys under 14.	Licensed Girls under 14.	Licensed Children under 14 undistinguished as to sex.	Total under 14 Licensed.	Licensed Boys between 14 and 16.	Licensed Girls between 14 and 16.	Licensed Young People between 14 and 16 undistinguished as to sex.	Total Licensed between 14 and 16.	Children and Young Persons returned as Licensed without distinction of age.	TOTAL.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne ...	371	3	—	374	475	4	—	479	—	853
Newport	223	0	—	223	143	0	—	143	—	366
Northampton	336	4	—	340	118	0	—	118	—	458
Norwich	110	0	—	110	52	0	—	52	—	162
Nottingham	272	1	—	273	83	2	—	85	—	358
Paisley	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	30
Perth	67	9	—	76	48	2	—	50	—	126
Pontypridd	71	0	—	71	3	0	—	3	—	74
Portsmouth	125	0	—	125	135	0	—	135	—	260
Preston	9	0	—	9	1	1	—	2	—	11
Reigate	31	0	—	31	7	0	—	7	—	38
Rhondda	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	250	250
Rotherham	163	1	—	164	142	15	—	157	—	321
St. Helens	—	—	31	31	—	—	36	36	—	67
Shrewsbury	5	0	—	5	21	0	—	21	—	26
Southend-on-Sea ...	—	—	22	22	—	—	7	7	—	29
Southampton	476	0	—	476	160	0	—	160	—	636
Stoke-on-Trent	400	0	—	400	150	27	—	177	—	577
Swansea	278	0	—	278	30	0	—	30	—	308
Swindon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	286 (all boys)	286
Old Trafford	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	89	89
Torquay	18	0	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	18
Walsall	165	17	—	182	50	6	—	56	—	238
West Ham	1034	0	—	1034	350	0	—	350	20 (girls)	1404
Wigan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	203	203
Wolverhampton... ...	183	4	—	187	60	7	—	67	—	254
Worcester	42	2	—	44	31	0	—	31	—	75
Wrexham...	46	0	—	46	0	0	—	0	—	46
Great Yarmouth... ...	216	0	—	216	33	0	—	33	—	249
Total returns from 77 Local Authorities ...	9557	114	777	10448	4451	159	232	4842	1510	16800
Figures for London (furnished by L.C.C. to Departmental Committee on Employment of Children Act)* ...	10479	—	—	10479	3394	—	—	3394	922 (girls) trading, not licensed	14795
City of London	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1260	1260
	20036	114	777	20927	7845	159	232	8236	3692	32855

* The new Bye-laws of the London County Council prohibiting street trading by boys under 14 and girls under 16 years came into operation on August 28th, 1911.

be raised to 17. . . ." The Chief Constable of another northern city expresses the view that the "moral effect of this work cannot be said to be good. . . . Boys in their youthful years can make a fair amount of money by street trading; finally they drift into the ranks of the unemployable, for by this time they are wasted and useless for any class of work." Another officer described street trading as having a demoralising effect, that boys seldom learnt a trade, and in after life became unemployable. The clerk of a large city council in the Midlands wrote that boys became impudent, unruly, disobedient by contact with older and less respectable lads, and described the whole system as undesirable. In a few instances satisfaction with the system of licensing was expressed, as it had enabled the Watch Committee and the police to control street traders. But the general weight of evidence put forward in the report of the Departmental Committee and elsewhere is that the evil is so great that no solution but that of total prohibition is desirable or possible. The proposals of the Minority Report of the Employment of Children Act Committee, which would place upon the local authority the burden of deciding whether street trading is being carried on for a beneficial purpose, or whether other suitable forms of employment are available, is, in the opinion of the majority of experts, impracticable.

There seems to be little doubt that in the larger proportion of industrial areas there is sufficiency of work available for lads and girls of a more useful and less unsatisfactory description. The growth of a network of Labour Exchanges throughout the country is gradually placing suitable employment within the reach of every adolescent. The stoppage of the flow of child labour at its source would probably result in a considerable reorganisation of certain forms of industry and in the development of new openings. It is earnestly to be hoped that the present Government may see fit to provide facilities for a measure prohibiting all half-time employment, and that the Bill recently introduced by Lord Shaftesbury to give effect to the proposals of the Departmental Committee to prohibit wholly street trading by boys under 17 and girls under 18,* will secure the approval of all parties, and will be placed without amendment on the statute book.

The Social Organisation of Adolescence.

By Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S.

The above title, "The Social Organisation of Adolescence," was suggested to me by the committee. I should scarcely have aspired to it myself, as it seems to sweep into a visionary realm where Scottish people seldom tread. We are excessively practical—sometimes even mercenary. In plain fact, the main burden of my paper will be a plea for a national grant to be dispensed to local education authorities in aid of the work that lies for them to do in facilitating the "Social Organisation of Adolescense."

* Employment of Children Act Committee p. 16. See also Employment of Children Act Amendment Bill, Bill 43, H.L.

There is every reason to expect a national grant, as the country has lately assumed a strong position in legislation dealing with juvenile street trading and kindred subjects. On all sides the conviction is expressed, that organisation is needed on behalf of the youth of the country, and particularly for young wage-earners; that it ought to be national in extent and local in administration; and that it should have for its first aim the benefit in character of the lad or girl, as well as the material fitness or efficiency.

Adolescence: Its Tendencies and the Social Influences related to it.

Every part of a healthy child is growing during adolescence—the brain, the body, the instincts of sex—and with the physical changes, there comes the fuller awakening of the "ego" within, and a sense of separateness and personal responsibility in the world. The temperamental activity of the growing frame induces an overweaning desire for companionship and social amusement, and a curiosity and restlessness of mind impels young human beings, and young animals alike, to try new experiences—sometimes to their cost.

These are natural developmental tendencies, recognised as such, and carefully reckoned with, in the homes of leisured people. But in the homes where the boys and girls have to go out to work, these tendencies have to be dealt with outside the homes as well as inside, in the streets, the works and factories, the schools, the places of amusement and outdoor sports. They must be made in a measure the care of the community, if we hope to bring up a satisfactory race of citizens.

To take, as an example, one of the most ordinary results of unguided, uncontrolled adolescence—the restlessness of mind leads the young wage-earner to desire change, and he flits unheeded from one kind of work to another, until he finds himself at 18 unfit to take up a permanent occupation of any value, or to find one to his liking. On the other hand, if an occupation had been well selected for him, and congenial at the beginning, it might have been the making of the boy, and have given just that wholesome stimulation to the mind and body which is helpful to adolescence.

We have to admit that complication is introduced in the case of the young wage-earner, because the natural conditions of life favourable to these developmental stages are crossed and re-crossed by the somewhat limited and artificial conditions inseparable from youthful labour in many of the great industries. And our best skill and ingenuity will be required, before we shall be able as a nation to build up an organisation that shall mould itself to existing conditions in labour and industry, and compensate to the growing boys and girls for the lack of healthful movement in some occupations, the excess of bodily activity in others, the little appeal to their mental alertness and acumen, the monotony and dullness of factory life to bright-spirited, light-hearted boyhood and girlhood.

It will be well to review the different agencies and individuals that already stand in some relationship to the young working population, and whose activities could with advantage be utilised in a national scheme. They may be classified in three main groups:—

(1) *Individuals and their Environment.*

The parent and the home; the teacher and the school; the employer and the workshop; the clergyman and the Church organisations; the voluntary worker and social and charitable societies and clubs.

(2) *Public Organisations entrusted with the care of the health, the housing and nourishment, the sanitary conditions in shop and factory, the education and moral training, skill and capacity of boys and girls.*

These are the Councils of the Counties, County Boroughs, Boroughs, and Urban Districts; the schools and school authorities; the State Departments of Education; and, in limited degree, the Local Government Boards and the Home Office.

(3) *Public Organisations exercising supervision over the occupations and trades engaged in.*

The Board of Trade (Labour Department) and the Labour Exchanges.

The great variety of interests and influences, included in this list, shows how rich are the resources which may be tapped by the State in formulating any general organisation.

As the individual influence second to the parent, most of us would single out that of the teacher. He comes into daily personal contact with the children, and has the best opportunities of stirring their imagination and strengthening their characters. In all countries, in all ages, the parent and the "master" between them, or the one or the other, have launched the boy in life. The parents have every faith in the single-mindedness of the master or teacher, and take for granted that he is almost as interested as they are themselves in the futures of the children. Their faith is founded on the best traditions of education in every land.

It is not idle story to hear of headmasters of large schools who know every pupil by name, will tell you the class he is in, the capacity he shows, and which way his tastes seem to point. The headmasters of Secondary and Higher Grade Schools are consulted by many of the parents as to the capacities of their boys and girls; employers apply to them for reliable workers, and they do their best to assist the parents in securing a good start in life for the leaving pupils. In the case of the public elementary schools, the numbers are so large, and the question of suitable work is so complicated by home necessities and local possibilities, that, with the best will in the world, the head teacher could not hope to help except in a few cases.

Proposal for a National System of School Agencies worked in connection with the Continuation Classes.

Some seven or eight years ago, in the course of Social Reform work in the compact town of some 163,000 inhabitants in which I live, it appeared to me that the absence of any organised effort at expert guidance and subsequent supervision of the boys and girls leaving our schools at 14 years of age, was prejudicial to their own futures and highly unfavourable to the true economy and welfare of the State. The total number of boys and girls leaving the elementary schools annually in that particular town is about 2,500; and it did not seem to offer much difficulty to extend some individual guidance to those who might wish it. But I realised that no adequate treatment of this gap in our social organisation could be secured unless it were based upon national lines, both educational and industrial, and were combined with a re-organisation and great extension of our Continuation School system. The social problem was not to police these young lives, it was to give them a natural outlet for their energy, and to continue in

some useful form their connection with the schools and school companionships, and the kindly influence of cultured and educated minds.

The scheme that I drew up in 1904 was some years later put into practice in Edinburgh by the School Board, and has, with or without modification, been started in several other places. The resolution which was passed at numerous public meetings in favour of the scheme expressed "*approval of the proposal for the establishment of bureaux or agencies in connection with the Local Education Authorities, to give guidance to boys and girls in selecting suitable occupations, and to give advice on further courses of study.*"

It was recommended in the scheme that the office should be placed in the premises of the Educational Committee or School Board, and recognised as a department of the Local Education Authority, carrying on a public function as an immediate aid to effective working of the Day Schools and Evening Continuation and Technical Classes. The scheme included in its proposals:—

(*a*) The appointment of a Special Officer by the Authority to direct the work of the bureau or agency, and give expert advice and information to the boys and girls; also to assist the Authority in organising the work of the Continuation Schools.

(*b*) A working plan of co-operation between this officer and the head teachers and teachers under the Authority.

(*c*) The registration by the head teachers of every boy and girl leaving the Elementary Schools, whether or not they wished to apply to the office for employment; this first registration card to include a brief entry of school attainment and any natural bent displayed, and a duplicate to be given to the leaving scholar.

(*d*) The preservation of all first registration cards in the office for future use and reference; the registration of vacancies wanted and filled, to take place as occasion demanded.

(*e*) The interviewing of the children (or of the parents on their behalf) before leaving school, and subsequently at the office, at set hours, when the director would be in attendance.

(*f*) The collection of accurate statistics regarding the local trades and industries, the qualifications most required, the wages and prospects in the locality and elsewhere; also the preparation and distribution of leaflets, pamphlets, or tabulated matter conveying information to the scholars about maintenance grants, bursaries, and other facilities connected with the Continuation Classes, and with central institutions in the locality or in larger centres.

(*g*) The keeping in touch with the general requirements of employers in the city or district.

(*h*) The encouragement of closer relations with employers in matters affecting the young workers, *e.g.*, the arrangement of hours for Continuation Classes, and consultation as to the methods of work in these classes; the sending of reports to the employers when desired, as to the progress and attendance of the employers at classes.

(*i*) The formation of an Advisory Committee, comprising members representative of employers, workpeople, social organisations, the teachers, etc., to help in maintaining public interest and support of the system.

(*j*) The assistance of voluntary workers, in the visitation, care, and supervision of cases requiring it.

(*See* writer's "Handbook of Employments," pp. 15-19, publ. The Rosemount Press, Aberdeen.)

It is interesting to recall, that, at first, in approaching the National Boards with a view to their centralising the work of the local authorities, I applied both to the Board of Education and the Board of Trade, and asked whether a Joint Committee might be appointed by the Board of Education and the Board of Trade, to act as a National Committee entrusted with the supervision of this special work among juveniles. But having been given to understand that such a Joint Committee was quite impracticable, I thought that of the two National Boards, the Board of Education was the one which should take the lead in organisation. My reasons were (1) because the chief aim and purpose of the scheme was to be constructive along educational lines; (2) because the educational system has its fine ramifications in the remotest parts of the country, and the educational machinery presented an existing and complete organisation by which every leaving scholar in the land could be registered by the teachers, and derive benefit from a national system of expert guidance.

The presence of a teacher in the rural parishes and districts meant that, without further staffing there, if the requisite literature and materials were provided to the teacher, he could give guidance to the young people entering upon rural industries and occupations. What seemed likely to be the heaviest and most troublesome part of the work for the local Education Authorities in the towns, was the collecting of information as to the wages and prospects locally in the trades and industries, and keeping abreast of the latest statistics issued by the Board of Trade for the country. But since the scheme was projected, there has come the immense impulse given to the movement from the side of the Board of Trade.

The introduction of the local Labour Exchange system will greatly lighten the work that would otherwise have had to be done unassisted by the Education Authorities. The Exchanges will have under their supervision the whole relation of juvenile to adult labour. The modes of employment engaged in by juveniles in the chief industrial localities will be studied by the Labour Exchange officers in far greater detail than has ever been possible before. Thus a large portion of the expert information necessary for the Education Authorities in these localities, will now be made available to them through the Exchanges; and the Education Authorities will be able to make use of this as reference material in the office, and to abstract from it the data which they may wish to arrange in simple form, and publish along with information about Bursaries, Maintenance Grants, Central Institutions, etc., for distribution among the parents and children.

At the same time, I wish here to emphasise that the groups of facts required under the original scheme for the working of the Information and Employment Department of an Education Authority, were practically the same as the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department had been urging upon the local Education Authorities to obtain for the purposes of drawing up good Syllabuses of Continuation Class work and for the Technical Schools. There have been frequent references to this feature of Education Authority work in the Annual Reports of the Board of Education (Technical Department). Thus the advent of Local Labour Exchanges and the close intimacy with the local

conditions which they will acquire, ought to help materially in the successful development of continuation work.

The Education Authorities will derive new suggestions and ideas from the local Exchanges and the reports they issue, and will be able to put an entirely new complexion upon the Continuation Schools. There is an urgent need of a thoroughly effective service of teaching or training to be entered upon by boys and girls simultaneously with wage-earning employment. It must be made to reach the lower planes of intellectual capacity and throw new searchlights upon the supposed dullards or weaklings of the elementary schools, and to give them a chance of developing in practical ways quite as useful to the country as intellectual sharpness. Many boys are slow in maturing, and show little promise at 14, but at 16 or 17 years of age they not infrequently quicken into life and put forth entirely unforeseen mental efforts. We can only save these lads for themselves and the country by a vigilant service under the Education Authorities.

The Continuation system that we have had, was designed for the more intellectual boys and girls, who knew their own wants and sought out the classes. The wider Continuation system that we hope to have, is to lay hold of the less promising and less ambitious boys and girls, and to keep the windows of their minds open during the years while their characters and future prospects are in the balance. There ought to be no gap or loosening of the school influences and discipline as those young people pass out of the elementary school; their day's time-table would simply be re-arranged. So many hours of the day, or so many days a week, would be spent in a wage-earning occupation, and the rest of the "working" day or week in a Continuation School, or in some school workshop or supervised outdoor pursuit, such as we already find associated with the newest types of Continuation courses for wage-earners.

The human and the employee aspects of the young lives would have to be considered side by side, and the individual worker would have to be made to feel that something had been thought out and arranged specially for him.

At present, the paucity of pupils attending Continuation Classes is very striking. A few years ago, I collected figures in different parts of the country, and found that in the Scotch cities most interested in education, the ratio of young people attending Continuation Classes, to the total number of possible pupils, averaged 1 to 5; in some of the most progressive English cities it was about 1 to 7, but as a rule it was not more than 1 to 10, and went down to 1 to 25 in cities where wage-earning work was easily secured and well paid. It was clear that national measures were called for, in order to standardise the efforts that were expected to be made by the Local Education Authorities in this direction.

The Education Authorities that had most success were those whose organisers and teachers catered for their young public as carefully as a merchant for his customers, and took measures to keep in touch with employers, lads' clubs, church, and other organisations, and to bring in the pupils with some definite aim in view. These Authorities realised that they had to attract the young workers, and create among them a liking and a demand for the classes, debating clubs, school gymnasia, gardens, study rooms, laboratories, and workshops. They also provided playing-fields, and encouraged healthful sports and competitions, but never lost sight of the main purpose, to steady the character of the young worker and give him a chance of growing up morally and physically sound.

We are told that legislation is impending, which will in some degree make attendance at Continuation Classes compulsory, and if this takes place, it will be still more imperative upon the Local Education Authorities to keep themselves

alive to the special wants of their districts and the best and most approved methods of Continuation work. Considerable sacrifices will be entailed upon the parents and upon the employers by any national or local enactment of compulsory character; and it is quite certain that the local Education Authorities, in a large majority of our towns and rural districts, would at the present moment be unable to offer a Continuation system which would yield to the individual boys and girls advantages in any way commensurate with the sacrifices demanded from the homes and the employers. It will take years of solid pioneer work on the part of the Education Authorities before the Continuation Classes can be extended and adapted to meet the needs of the unskilled and lower horizons of the young industrial workers. Far more ingenuity and patience will be required in order to arrest the attention of the indifferent types of boys and girls, than has been required to reach the self-selected students at present in attendance.

The experience of Edinburgh has proved that the working of a School Employment Bureau is a most suggestive and helpful adjunct in the development of Continuation Classes. Mr. McNally, the organiser there, says that the lads, on leaving the Elementary Schools, now find themselves ringed round by a chorus of favourable opinions so strongly expressed in the workshop, in the home, at the Bureau, and among their companions, that they accept what appears to be the inevitable, and pass at once into the Continuation School system.

In proportion as the school authorities are able to demonstrate to the people in any locality, that they model their Continuation teaching on practical lines, and are able to guide the young wage-earners wisely and help them over early difficulties, these authorities will begin to attain their due place and importance in the minds of the people, and our national ideals of education will gradually be raised. Legislation alone will not do this for us; it can only be achieved by slow and natural processes of evolution, working in the minds of the great rank and file of the nation. People will have belief in "education" just in so far as they see that it is an apt training for social life, that it draws out the goodwill and intelligence of the young minds, inspires ideals of moral rectitude, infuses continuity of purpose, and brings some support to the weakest by the inculcation of steady habits.

The interaction of public opinion and educational method is such that the two must make progress together; hence the closer the educationist may be kept to the living needs and daily occupations of the community, the better for both. If our country is to keep its place in the foremost rank of industrial nations, we cannot afford to allow any social gulf or arbitrary separation between the teacher and the employer. Our efforts have all to be in the direction of bringing together the teacher (or his representative) and the employer, and to make them take a common interest in the young lives growing up beneath their eyes. The natural cementing organisation is the Local Education Authority, served by the teachers, and standing before the general public, the trade unions, the employers, as the great foster-parent of youth, safeguarding the interests of boys and girls in the State until they become young men and young women.

The Local Education Authority as the centre of Social Organisation for Youth.

I should like to enter into some further reasons, more organisational in character than educational, why it appears to me essential that the Local Education Authorities should be given throughout the whole country the leading

part in the administration of information and employment agencies for young people.

When boys and girls, below the age of 16 years, lapse into bad habits and are offenders against the law, they may be put on probation, and sent to Reformatories or Industrial Schools; and the locality has to be responsible for a considerable part of the expenses involved. For offenders sent to certified Reformatory Schools, the Councils of Counties or County Boroughs are held responsible; and the Local Education Authority is responsible for the reception and maintenance of the cases sent to certified Industrial Schools. In short, recalcitrant youth has to be dealt with by the locality; and it would appear to be only justice to the locality that the Local Authorities who have to carry out this work for the State should also receive from the State direct support and encouragement in developing measures approved by the State and calculated to be preventive in character. The conduct of local Information and Employment Agencies has been recognised in our legislative enactments as likely to be a potent means of preventing boy and girl failures during adolescence. And the expense of such organisation should be borne partly by the locality, partly by the nation, the part contributed from national moneys being dispensed along with the local contribution by the Local Authority, acting under definite conditions approved by Parliament or by the National Boards delegated by Parliament with its powers.

The care of children under the Boards of Guardians and Parish Councils, up to 14 years of age, also falls on the locality, and these children form a class for whom it is particularly desirable that there should be agencies of this kind in the locality. Without some guidance after 14 years of age, there is almost bound to be a constant down-dropping, physically and morally, among these "lonely" children. I agree with the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in its contention, that, from the beginning of school life onward, these unprovided children should be under the administration of the Local Education Authority.

Another and very important point is that the Local Education Authorities, as included under the Local Authorities in England and Wales, and the School Boards in Scotland, are popularly elected representative bodies; and if these authorities are given the administrative and executive power for the information and employment agencies, the electors of a locality are thereby made fully responsible for all public organisations concerned with the behaviour and upbringing of their youth. The conditions of life, and the means of a livelihood or the lack of it, must always be our first care in dealing with the immature population. It is nature's elementary demand. Beyond this, there is much else we should like to do in order to keep our youth unsullied and train them to be honourable, self-supporting citizens. But it is useless to ask a Local Education Authority to build up the superstructure, unless the foundations are well within its control.

Simplicity of organisation is a strong argument in favour of placing the juvenile information and employment agencies under the roof of the Local Education Authorities. The teachers would feel stimulated by the better leverage given to education in dealing with the young people, and public-spirited men and women, interested in the social welfare of youth, would be attracted into the Local Authority in the hope of being able to accomplish more if they became members of that body. There would be a vigorous concentration of all the best voluntary workers in the locality, and it would be the duty of the

officers of the Education Authorities to organise these workers into a coherent body.

The chief reason given to me by Local Authorities who have hesitated to undertake the work is the want of money. And that is where the Government may be expected to come to their assistance. The only other reason I have heard, is, that the Local Education Committees have already very heavy demands on their time, and are unwilling to undertake new duties. This difficulty would probably be overcome if the Committees saw their way pecuniarily to appoint an expert adviser or organiser, who would give his full attention to this department of work among the outgoing scholars in the elementary schools and among the younger members in attendance at continuation and technical classes.

Moreover, no country can boast of a larger proportion of philanthropic workers, both men and women; and these would not stand idly by and see a Local Education Committee overtaxed in their attempts to accomplish work for the benefit and uplifting of youth. If only there went forth a clear note from Parliament that the local control of this work was to be placed under the Local Authorities in every County and County Borough, and that a contribution should be paid from money by Parliament, there would be a wave of willing response all over the country. The Local Authorities of our country have never yet refused a national call, but they feel that they cannot work miracles of social reform upon rates that are non-elastic.

The Board of Education and the Board of Trade, in their Joint Memorandum issued in January of this year, urged the Local Education Authorities to put into operation the powers conferred on them by the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, but unfortunately announced no Parliamentary Grant in Aid.

The alternative method, that had been adopted by the Board of Trade previously to the issue of the Memorandum, presents one fundamental difference from the plan I have been advocating. It reserves all executive and administrative power for a Central Board, namely, the Board of Trade in London; the Local Authority has none. And this power carries with it the appointment, by the Board of Trade, of the officials who are to be sent to the localities to deal with the juvenile applicants for situations. The expenses are paid out of the Parliamentary Grant to the Board of Trade for the Labour Exchange system.

The Board of Trade undertakes to form a local Committee, partially composed of members appointed by them, partially of men and women nominated by local societies, and by representatives of the Local Education Authorities. This Committee may arrange to give advice to the boys and girls and to exercise personal supervision, but any work they do is voluntary in character; the members of the Committee—as I understand, sometimes one, sometimes another—advise the boys and girls about their careers. The Board of Trade does not assume any responsibility, either pecuniary or otherwise, for the work of the Committee; and there is no provision enabling the representatives of the Local Education Authority to be present in a majority on the Committee.

This method, therefore, leaves the Local Authority with their burden of failures and weaklings among the adolescents, but gives it no statutory position as the advisory and supervisory authority over the boys and girls during these years of early employment. It is a method entirely out of harmony with Parliamentary precedent in legislating for children and adolescents, for, as I have pointed out, in the case of recalcitrant and unprovided children, stringent obligations have been placed upon the Local Authorities, and at the same time they have been given control.

It cannot be said that employment is outside the sphere of Education Authorities, for again here the precedent of legislation has been to give powers to the Local Education Authorities for elementary schools to make local by-laws controlling the employment of children still in attendance at the schools.

The question of placing the young worker in employment is essentially a local one. We have no wish to float our young people from place to place in search of work; we wish rather to keep them in their own homes, if it is at all possible, and only to send away the boys and girls who early show a marked aptitude or bent in some direction for which there is no means of training in the vicinity. The local people will not fail to recognise these particular cases, and to put themselves to some trouble to find out, from the Labour Exchanges and other sources, any details they may require about the conditions in other parts of the country.

Looking at the alternative arrangement from the point of view of the young worker himself, he finds that for his chances of employment he has to apply to the Labour Exchange; for advice to a Voluntary Committee, and for his continuation work and reports and certificates to the Education Authority. In my opinion this is unsatisfactory organisation. The individual boy or girl ought to be treated as a whole, as a human entity, in relation to his school career, his home surroundings, his own bent, the prospects in his town or city, or rural district, the question of urgency—whether he must accept some vacancy open at the moment, or can wait for a more suitable one. When you begin to break up this human entity, and to send him here and there, whenever he leaves the elementary school, you complicate the machinery and greatly weaken the effect upon the boy or girl.

The erection of a new Committee, voluntary in character, would appear to be unnecessary, when there already exists, everywhere in England and Wales, and in Scotland, a Local Authority charged with the care of children and adolescents. The Public Authority is the best possible nucleus for the voluntary work and local charities to gather round.

Only this month, Lord Haldane wrote in a letter to the Social Welfare Association for London, "We have lost much in this country from the want of definite guidance for our willing workers, and from the absence of that scientific direction which the intervention of Public Authorities can give without disturbing the motives for volunteer work."

Applying Lord Haldane's principle to the Social Organisation of Adolescence, it is clear that the Local Education Authority is the only "Public Authority" qualified to give "scientific direction" in respect of the youth in its locality; and it will be impossible to organise a national system in conformity with our constitutional practice, unless (1) a national grant be contributed for the recognised preventive, as well as remedial measures, related to adolescence, and (2) the local administrative and executive powers be vested in the local Public Authorities, uniformly throughout the country.

Part of the Labour Exchanges in the Social Organisation of Adolescence centred in the local Education Authorities.

Assuming that a national grant were allowed, the Local Education Authorities could then afford to establish in their own offices, information and employment agencies for juveniles; and would place their own appointed officers in charge, to be the advisers for the boys and girls and to consult with parents about them. It would be the most convenient arrangement for the boys and girls, if they could

forthwith, in the same office, be given the names of employers to whom they might apply. Obviously, also, the adviser can only deal practically with the position, if he already has this information to speak from. In the event of no suitable vacancy being open at the moment, the adviser would probably consider to which voluntary organisation or head teacher he might turn to assist him in an endeavour to keep the boy or girl usefully occupied, and out of harm's way in the interval of waiting.

According to the Special Rules issued by the Board of Trade in February, 1910, and repeated in the Joint Memorandum of this year, it will be remembered that, in the places where there are Local Labour Exchanges, the Board of Trade wishes "the registration of vacancies for juvenile workers notified by employers" to be reserved for the Labour Exchange system. To meet this rule, I suggested last June—and others have made the same suggestion—that the Labour Exchange officer, who was to take charge of juvenile vacancies, might carry on his work of registration within the Education Authority offices.

In the larger towns of over 100,000 population, the Labour Exchange officer for registration would probably have to give his whole time to the juvenile agency. In smaller county boroughs, such as Lincoln and York, he would only require to be in attendance at certain hours. In small boroughs, and in urban districts, the organisation of information and employment agencies for juveniles will probably have to depend on some workable combination of the clerk or other Local Education officer, with paid assistants of minor character, and the help of the head teachers and of voluntary workers. Cambridge is an example of a non-county borough that has commenced an information and employment agency in the Guildhall on these lines. It will be a distinct gain to the Labour Exchange system to be in communication with these smaller agencies, as they will be numerously dotted about through the counties, and will be able to be depended upon for accurate reports about the demand and prospects for young workers in these localities.

If co-operation of this nature be adopted as a general system, the public will then realise that the Local Education Authority is the acknowledged guardian of the interests of all young people, whether they are wage-earners and partial scholars, or full-day scholars going on to higher work; and that for those who are wage-earners, the Labour Exchanges Department of the Board of Trade will provide facilities for hearing about possible employments within the juvenile agencies of the Local Education Authority.

Although in this paper I have dealt particularly with the wage-earning adolescent, these agencies are intended to give guidance to the school boys and school girls belonging to all social ranks. And school agencies would undoubtedly be freely used, as reliable sources of information, by parents in the commercial, mercantile, and professional classes, anxious to make themselves familiar with the conditions of entry, the examinations to be passed, and the expenses connected with the various professional, Civil Service, and Colonial careers, from which they have to select for their sons and daughters.

It is time that we gave to our young people a popular organisation of this kind expressly for themselves. Its very existence would be an incentive to them to think seriously of their futures, and it ought to be worked in as simple, kindly, and natural a way as possible in each locality; and yet with that definite interchange and understanding between the schools, the homes, and the places of employment which would act as a restraining and salutary influence upon the wilder spirits. It is not too much to predict that, in the course of a single

generation, this working partnership between social and industrial agencies and the local and national system of education would have established itself as a mainstay in our midst, and would have won its own place in the lives and affections of our people.

APPENDIX.

Excerpt from a circular letter re Juvenile Employment Bureaux issued by the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland, March, 1911.

Since the passing on November 28th, 1910, of the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, which empowers Local Education Authorities to give assistance to boys and girls under 17 in the choice of their employment, a Memorandum has been issued by the Board of Education and the Board of Trade, dealing with the possibility of co-operation between officials appointed by the Labour Exchange Department of the Board of Trade and the County and County Borough Education Authorities of England and Wales, and suggesting that the Local Education Authorities should appoint special sub-committees for this purpose. Thus it is urgently desirable that the Local Education Authorities should at once prepare a suitable scheme of co-operation, that would come within the provisions of the Memorandum, and should appoint the necessary sub-committees.

Such a scheme would include the following sections :—

(*a*) The location of the Juvenile Employment Bureau in the Local Education Authority offices or buildings; for a County Authority, branch offices could be arranged conveniently for the schools of the various areas.

(*b*) The appointment by the Education Authority of an Executive Officer to act as Secretary of the Bureau, the work of this officer to be, in some way, associated with the organising of the continuation and technical work under the Local Authority.

(*c*) Some specified method of co-operation with the Labour Exchange system—*e.g.*, a suitable method would be to request that a Labour Exchange official be supplied to the Education Authority by the Board of Trade, and be paid by the Board of Trade, who should keep the following registers : (1) Register of vacancies notified by employers, (2) register of pupils and ex-pupils, between 14 and 17, desiring employment; and should confer with the Secretary of the Bureau as to the placing of the boy or girl in particular situations.

There should also be a mutual arrangement that the Pupils' Cards and other local statistics collected in the Juvenile Employment Bureau should be confidentially open to the Labour Exchange officials, and, correspondingly, the local statistics collected for the Adult Labour Exchange should be confidentially open to the Bureau Secretary appointed by the Education Authority.

(*d*) A careful estimate of the annual expenses of working (*exclusive* of the payment of the Board of Trade official for registration, and the upkeep of his room and furnishings). The chief items of expenditure would be the salary of the Secretary, and any additions to salary or extra assistance given to Head Teachers; the office, light, heating; the printing of circulars to parents, to employers, and to teachers, of pupils' cards, etc.

(*e*) An application for part of the expense to be defrayed by a grant from the national exchequer.

The above sections are of general application and should be contained in every scheme, but separate sections would have to be added to meet the requirements in various localities.

The Special Advisory Committee which can be appointed under the new Act should consist of : (1) The Head Teachers in the district, or some of them elected as representatives; (2) a due proportion of employers of labour and employees in the district; (3) school managers; (4) members of the Care Committees, where such exist; (5) representatives of Continuation and Technical Schools; (6) the Secretary of the Bureau; (7) an officer representing the local Labour Exchange.

Discussion.

Sir JOHN GORST said there was no doubt that the employment of child labour was very lucrative to the employer concerned. One hundred years ago, before Parliament interfered in the matter, there was no doubt that the employment of child labour led to the most revolting cruelty in many cases. They had only to recall the treatment of the children who were taken from the South of England to work in the mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire to realise the condition of things that existed at that time. The whole of the last century was one long continued struggle between the advocates of the children's rights on the one side and the employers of labour on the other, to try and ameliorate this condition of things and to bring about the regulation of child labour by the State. In that struggle, which was a long one and in which victory was only gained bit by bit, the employers always resisted the interference of the State with child labour on the ground that it would ruin the particular industry in which they were interested. That argument was used in regard to the mines, it was used in regard to the factories, and it was used in regard to other branches of industry, but yet bit by bit and by degrees, thanks largely to people like the late Lord Shaftesbury and others who advocated the interests of the children, they had at last arrived at that regulated but still very imperfect treatment of child labour to which they had attained at the present day. He was glad to think that in addition to the legislative restrictions which had been put upon the employment of children there had grown up a public conscience upon the matter which had affected employers of labour themselves to a very great extent. The early sentimental feelings which induced the theatrical managers, many years ago now, to establish special schools for the little boys and girls who played the part of sprites and fairies in the pantomimes, had now developed into a serious attempt, even on the part of the Post Office, which had for long been one of the worst offenders in regard to its treatment of boy labour, to make the condition of telegraph boys one of satisfactory employment—not an employment which should come to an end when they were growing into young men. They now instructed the lads during their period of employment so that they could give them a career in the time to come. He would like specially to observe that this moral obligation on the part of employers was in the first place voluntary—that was, they were not obliged to do anything of the kind—and he regretted to say that there were hundreds and hundreds of employers to-day who used the labour of children without any kind of care as to their future. In the second place the employer had only a moral power of suasion—he could not in any way compel the attendance of the boy or girl worker at school. In considering this question of child labour they had to remember that as a general rule the workers themselves were opposed to any restriction in the matter. It was not unnatural that in places like Lancashire or Yorkshire the working people who had brought up their children at great expense and trouble should, when they arrived at the age at which they could be employed in the mines and when they could bring in a little to assist the family income and so make things a little easier for their parents, wish to see the children employed. It seemed hard to them to deprive them of the wages of their children and to say that although their children had a commercial value as workers they should not work because in their own interests it was not desirable. Although it was quite true that what they might call the leaders of the workmen in the country—men who in the House of Commons were known as Labour leaders—were almost to a man opposed to the half-time system, it was not true that their constituents—the people whom they represented in Parliament—entirely supported them in that respect. He remembered that Mr. Shackleton, when he was a Labour Member in Parliament, used to advocate the abolition of half-time for children. He used to argue against it in Lancashire, but only at the risk of offending his constituents. Great praise was due to Mr. Shackleton for the attitude he took up on that question, for, as they could easily understand, it did not make his return to Parliament more secure. Therefore speaking as a rule they did not get on the part of the employers or on the part of the workpeople the support that was necessary for the abolition of child labour. It was quite true that it was to the real interests of the workers in this country that child labour should be abolished—there could be no doubt about it that in the long run it would be to their interests, but the advantage was not so obvious that they could expect the workpeople to be enthusiastic about it until education had gone consider-

ably further than it had at present. At the present moment we must look mainly to the action of the Legislature and to laws that were passed for the protection of children. But he could not help being conscious that there was a very serious danger in this matter of the employment of young children due to the institution of the Labour Exchanges. He was convinced that the Labour Exchanges would make it easier for the employers to get child labour and more easy for child labour to find employment, and he would not be at all astonished if the first effect of the establishment of Labour Exchanges throughout the country was not to greatly increase and not diminish the employment of child labour. It was only by the safeguards of which they had heard something in the papers that had been read and which could be established by local authorities, it was only by safeguards applied by people on the spot, that they could look to prevent the mischief which he thought the Labour Exchanges in themselves would be likely to lead to. He entirely agreed with what Miss Adler had said as to the importance of restricting the labour of children out of school hours. It was no use abolishing half-time; it was no use taking means to send children to good employments if they allowed them to be employed out of school hours by their parents to the extent to which it was too often done in most districts. It was quite true that two-thirds of the county boroughs had made by-laws to prevent it, but in the smaller boroughs, in the urban councils, and in the counties themselves there was no provision made for restricting child labour out of school, and unless they prevented these little children being employed by people who could make a profit by using their labour out of school hours they would find that all their attempts to establish secondary schools and to raise the moral and physical condition of the children of the country would be in vain. They must absolutely stop the employment of school children in uneducative work during the hours when they were not attending school.

Professor Lodge (Edinburgh Distress Committee) said he had three points to make in reference to the various papers. In the first place he approached the subject from the point of view of unemployment rather than from the educational standpoint, and his experience gained through the last three years had convinced him that the greatest and most prolific source of unemployment was the excess—the enormous excess at the present moment—of the supply of unskilled, casual labour, and further, that the greatest cause of that excess in supply was the constant drift of child workers into those occupations which were immediately remunerative but which were not suitable for an adult to pursue, with the result that the men were left stranded at an early period of industrial life. He believed that this work of organising labour advisers was the most hopeful work with which societies at the present time could deal from the point of view of unemployment. It seemed to him a far greater and more promising scheme than the Government scheme of insurance, which, at its best, was only a palliative and did nothing to remove the evils, though it might diminish the results. He believed that there was work which, if properly taken up, would pay the country well. As to the question of the machinery, personally he did not care very much about the machinery; the essential thing about machinery was that the wheels should go round. As long as the wheels went round that was all they wanted—the rest was an easy matter; but he did think there were certain definite arguments why the Labour Exchanges should enter the education authority rather than the education authority enter the Labour Exchanges. In the first place he would like to say that the education authority was far better fitted than the Labour Exchange to keep the question of employment and continuation classes in close connection with each other. In the second place it was a very great advantage to have a room for consultation in the building of the education authority—it preserved the adolescent from the danger of contract with the depressing influences of adult unemployed labour. In the third place, in his opinion the education authority was far better fitted than the Labour Exchange to do the work of continued supervision of the adolescent—that, to his mind, was even more important than the question of actually finding employment for the boys and girls in the first instance. Lastly, it was urged against this scheme that if they encouraged the growth of skilled labour as distinct from unskilled they would only be transferring unemployment from the lower stages of industrial machinery to the higher stages, and they would only be creating a class of unemployed skilled labour. That was an argument which it was important to meet. He had not the time to discuss the point fully as he would like, and had only time to urge this—that his belief was that one of the great causes of the unemployment amongst skilled labour was the existence of this large class of

people living by doing odd jobs and who worked during the year just sufficient to enable them to keep body and soul together. Therefore his belief was that they could only hope to really supply employment for the skilled labourers if they could increase the consuming powers of the unskilled labourers, and they could only do that by increasing the productive power of the lower strata of labour. If they could create an effective demand on the part of these large masses of casual labourers, who had now no opportunity to consume the products of labour, they would be doing much to increase the employment of skilled labour in the country.

Mr. J. G. Legge (Director of Education, Liverpool) said that he saw difficulties in regard to a question which Professor Lodge had brushed aside—he referred to the question of machinery. He was in entire sympathy both with Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon and Professor Lodge in thinking that the Labour Exchange should come into the education authority, and not that the education authority should go into the Labour Exchange. Mr. Denman in his paper had admitted that while one system might suit one place, another system might suit another place, and there was no doubt that was so. He wished that the Board of Education and the Board of Trade would take that reasonable view of things. What he desired to point out was that whereas the Act under which they were setting this machinery for obtaining employment in motion contained the words that local authorities might undertake the work, it contained also eight very important words—" with the approval of the Board of Education." As the chairman of their Liverpool Juvenile Employment Committee stated of it when discussing the matter at a meeting in Lancashire two weeks ago, the Board of Education had issued a Memorandum two thousand words in length explaining that what those eight words of the Act meant was " with the approval of the Board of Trade." (Laughter.) That reminded him of an experience which occurred to him in his teaching days. He was taking the reading lesson, and he asked a boy why a town was called Jamestown, and he replied, " Because the name of the man that built it was John." (Renewed laughter.) In Liverpool they were determined as far as they could to assert themselves in this matter. They had not the docility of their friends in Scotland who, whenever they spoke of the education authority, seemed to be " lost in wonder, love, and praise." (Laughter.) He could assure Mrs. Peck, and any other Scotch friends who might be present, that there was a good deal more in them of another feeling—a feeling referred to by the President in his opening address—a feeling of subdued passion. However, that passion would not be subdued much longer. They sent up their scheme six weeks ago, a scheme of co-operation bringing the Labour Exchanges into the education committee and giving the educational officer of the local Labour Exchange a seat with his own consent on their Juvenile Employment Committee. Six weeks ago they sent the scheme up, and as they heard nothing about it, a fortnight ago they asked for information, but so far they had got no reply to their letter.

Mr. F. Keeling said he wished to refer to one or two administrative difficulties which had arisen in the course of trying to work out these schemes in the north of England. The first administrative difficulty which he would like to refer to was the existing forms of by-laws in most provincial towns with regard to the school-leaving age. In Great Britain, in England and Scotland at the present moment they had three forms of school-leaving age by-laws, and according as one or other of these was adopted it was made, in his opinion, either absolutely impossible in practice, or relatively so, to guide children from school into employment. Here in London they had practically a fixed school-leaving age of 14. In Scotland he understood that the practice was rapidly extending of not only having a fixed age but certain fixed days in the year for leaving, but unfortunately in most provincial towns the age was practically fixed at 13, on condition that the children had to be 13 and also got a guarantee of employment. That meant that supposing they set the Labour Exchanges to find work for all children above 13 as quickly as possible, they would be encouraging the children to leave school quicker than they otherwise would do. It appeared to him that the Scotch system was by far the best from the point of view of the guidance of children from school into employment—that was to have certain fixed days in the year for the children leaving, and in the interval they could be collecting their vacancies for employment. The second difficulty, and one which was not always realised, was this—that the whole problem of Juvenile Labour Exchanges was not merely one of finding work for children who were just leaving school, but for children changing from one place to another. He believed, as a matter of fact, that if they took the whole of the children in the country between

above the elementary school age up to the age of 17 they would find that on the average they changed their employment at least once a year. They must recognise that they were not going to change that condition of affairs all of a sudden merely by giving advice and assistance; they had got to recognise that these constant changes of employment would continue, and, as a matter of fact, he felt that in many towns it was almost more important to guide the boy who had been an errand boy in his first place and who would probably remain as an errand boy for the first year after leaving school—it was more important to guide that class of boy into some better kind of employment than to attempt the impossible by trying to find skilled jobs for all children the moment they left school, because really it could not be done. The final point he wished to touch upon, which was purely an administrative detail and one which he considered of great importance, was the establishment of a close relation between the local supervision of juvenile workers and the employment agency. They had at the present moment in this country two entirely distinct organisations for medical supervision of children up to the age of 16—the school medical officer up to the time that the child left school, and then the certifying factory surgeon. The question of bringing those two organisations into closer relation was one which would no doubt be considered by the Public Health Section of the conference, but he would just like to mention how they had managed to do it in one town in Yorkshire. The certifying factory surgeon had to examine every school child who was engaged for employment under the Factory and Workshops Act on the occasion of each engagement. If he rejected a child for employment, as they often did, there was no guarantee whatever that that child would not go into the district of the next certifying surgeon and get passed by him and get work. In his town they had persuaded the certifying surgeon to report to the secretary of the Juvenile Advisory Committee the case of every child who was rejected for employment for physical reasons. The secretary of the Juvenile Advisory Committee at once visited the child and tried to find him suitable employment; or if the certifying surgeon had recommended that the child should not go to work at all he tried to persuade the parents to keep the child at home for a proper period, and offered assistance in trying to find suitable employment later on. From his point of view those were the really important things they had to deal with—the question of administration rather than the general question of machinery.

The Rev. W. Main (Edinburgh School Board) said that as one who had been very closely associated with Mr. Peck in bringing about the relationship between the Labour Exchanges and the employment bureau of the Edinburgh School Board he would like to take that opportunity of adding his testimony to the very hearty and harmonious way in which that co-operation had been so far carried out, and, he was thankful to say, was still going on. He listened with very great interest to the address of Mr. Denman, and he did his best to find himself on the same footing as that gentleman, but in spite of his best endeavours he failed to recognise while Mr. Denman was speaking, and he still failed to recognise, the superiority of the London system over the system in Edinburgh. (Laughter.) They had already heard of the superiority of the Edinburgh system from Professor Lodge, who took a very important part in bringing the system into existence. He (the speaker) quite agreed that it was desirable that there should be one authority in the shape of one official, and he had not the slightest doubt that the School Board of Edinburgh would most heartily have given itself to such a scheme as that, if the Labour Exchange had allowed them to appoint that official. But they felt at the time, and they still felt, that the most important body to exercise an influence in this work was undoubtedly the educational body, and that by getting the co-operation centred in the officer of the School Board not only had they secured for themselves the preponderating influence that they ought to have, but they had secured that their official was practically the head of the whole system. After all, the system could only be tested by results, and he could assure them that they would watch with very great interest the results produced by the London system. If the results were better than those which were produced by their system in Edinburgh, he need hardly say that they were quite willing to learn. He was sure they had never known a Scotchman who was not willing to learn and to profit by that which he read. He trusted that the same reciprocity would be shown by those in London, who might find that they had something to learn from the Scottish system. There was one other point he would like to make. It had been pointed out by Mr. Peck that as a result of their system in Edinburgh there was now a leakage between the day

school and the continuation school of something like 25 per cent., instead of 60 per cent., which existed some years ago. That, of course, was a matter for congratulation, but, after all, it was nothing for them to boast of, because it was just exactly amongst those 25 per cent. that they found the grave and the serious problem of poverty. Mrs. Gordon had already referred to that question, and there was no doubt that that was a most serious problem before not only the Edinburgh School Board but before every educational authority in the country—how they were going to get at the 25 per cent. of children who were still below the horizon. For his part he was no advocate of compulsion in relation to their continuation schools, but when one reflected on the serious nature of the problem one was quite alive to this—that the day might come when with regard to certain kinds of pupils—pupils who left school without having even passed the qualifying examination—something must be done, possibly by gentle compulsion, to give them the advantages which were to be gained in the continuation classes, in order that destitution might more and more be prevented.

Mr. J. M. Myers said that as a member of one of the London Juvenile Advisory Committees he would like to say a word with reference to the controversy whether the education authority or the industrial authority was to have control of the organisation. They had got to remember that after all this matter in the main was an industrial problem—their aim was to fit their boys and girls most suitably into industries, and they would need all the information and experience that they could get in order to do this effectively. Might he refer to one or two of the practical problems which in this great metropolis lay before Advisory Committees—problems which were similar to those obtaining in other great cities. For instance, let them look at the skilled trades of London, and they would find that a good part of the best class of dressmaking and a part of the best class of tailoring in the West End was all done by foreigners. There was no reason why that should be the case. There was no reason why they should not train up their boys and girls to take their part in these trades; there was no reason why the suits which were made by fashionable tailors in the West End of London and which were now made by foreigners should not be made by our own people; there was no reason why any of the robes now being made for the Coronation should be made by foreign women and foreign men. The same thing occurred in many other skilled employments, and there was no reason why they should not tackle a problem like that and endeavour to secure a further outlet for the labour of our own boys and girls. He was a member of an Advisory Committee which covered the greater part of East London, and in East London they had a great many unsatisfactory conditions of employment, and the hours were abnormally long. He should say that in 80 per cent. of the factories and workshops in East London the hours worked by young boys and girls were from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., or 8 a.m. to 9 p.m., or even longer. Young people who had to work such long hours could not possibly attend evening classes. Such a condition of affairs made it absolutely impossible for them to obtain any continued education which should be satisfactory, if they were to have adequate rest and recreation, and they had two Advisory Committees who were endeavouring to improve those conditions of labour. If they were to be successful he was convinced that it would mean a great deal of individual work both for the members of the Advisory Committees and for the officials whom they controlled. There were two other points connected with the problem which he would like just to mention. There was no reason why large employers of labour who employed van boys should not, after a sufficient interval, take those van boys into other branches of their work. He was pleased to say that more than one large employer of labour in London made the basis of their adult workmen the van boy whom they employed, and there was no reason why that should not be done throughout all large firms. But employers had to be seen upon these matters, they had to be persuaded to do the right thing, and all that, of course, meant a great deal of individual work, but it was work that would well repay those who would do it. There was one other point he would like to make, and that was in regard to the National Insurance Bill, to which Mr. Denman had referred. He was one of those who had thought that it would be a good thing in connection with the juvenile labour problem if the unemployment policy of the Insurance Bill covered boys below the age of 18. He was afraid that if that was not done one might legitimately fear that employers would still further exploit juvenile labour than they did at the present time, because they would not have to pay any contributions to the fund in respect of their boys under 18. He

was convinced that they would be able to do a great deal more in connection with Advisory Committees in controlling entry into trades if this question of insurance was dealt with. They might attach all sorts of expedients in connection with this question of insurance which might be of very great and real benefit to the class of young people they were dealing with through their Advisory Committees. They might remit certain of the contributions in the case of those employers who provided satisfactory conditions of labour, and at the same time they might give additional benefits to the boys and girls who attended continuation classes. If these advisory committees used their powers wisely he was quite sure they would do a great deal for the children of the nation by fitting them for their future careers in life.

Mr. James Sexton (Liverpool Distress Committee) said he was not concerned about the machinery—he only wanted it to go; and the sooner it was put into operation the better. He was delighted that the conference and so many other people were beginning to talk and think about this matter, for surely out of it something must come. He thought, however, that greater stress ought to be laid upon some of the difficulties that had not been mentioned that morning. The President, in his opening address, spoke about the individual responsibility of the employer. Were it a question of dealing with the individual employer the problem would be a much easier one than it actually was—but unfortunately the real individual employer had gone and the day of the syndicate and the company had arrived, and he was afraid that there was no responsibility, in the sense in which they regarded the term, attaching to the limited company or the syndicate. He wanted to point to one or two obstacles that ought to be recognised by Advisory Committees. It was, in his opinion, no use raising the school age—although he admitted that was a very good thing—and having Advisory Committees with their machinery unless they recognised that wherever they went to-day the "blind alley" employment existed. Why, it even existed in their educational departments sometimes—where the employment was very blind. (Laughter.) They would often find an elementary teacher looking for other work to-day—even when he had reached the top of the educational ladder there was nothing for him to do. There was one exception where the rule did not seem to apply, viz., to the heads of the Board of Education. (Laughter.) One of the speakers had referred particularly to the employment of young children in street trading; and a lady had said that there was plenty of other work for these children to do. He (Mr. Sexton) ventured to suggest that it was all very well to talk about street trading being an evil—and so it was—but when they came to consider that the parents of these street traders were most of them casual labourers earning anything from 12s. 6d. to 15s. a week—if they prohibited the children from trading in the streets as they ought to prohibit them, what, he asked, were they going to give the parents to compensate them for the loss of the children's wages. There was not plenty of work for children to do, and he hoped there never would be plenty of work for children to do. Girls, in his opinion, ought not to be put to physical work. He was quite willing to concede the political equality of the sexes, but he did not think they ought to concede, for the sake of the coming generation, the physical equality of the sexes at all. He wanted to say this—that street trading by children was an iniquitous system and an evil that ought to be abolished, but the State had no right to complain of the evil unless it took steps to deal with the evil of unemployment in the case of adults. A point which ought to be considered by Advisory Committees was that the intense and rapidly increasing improvement in the methods of production was intensifying unemployment. Let them go to any railway station in London and they would see the poor anæmic girl trudging along with a parcel under her arm containing her food, who was going to take the place of the father who previously earned 30s. or £2 a week, while the girl was only getting 17s. 6d. That was an evil they had got to consider. He was glad to think that the public conscience was quickening, but unless they had side by side State aid for the parents who were forced to keep their children at school they would not succeed in the sense in which they ought to succeed.

Mrs. Alan Gray (Cambridge Education Committee) said that speaking from four years' experience in connection with the Juvenile Employment Committee in Cambridge that was taken over by the Education Committee last year, she wished to say that they had found the problem of guiding the children into suitable employment a very difficult thing. They felt that they would like to have meetings with the parents before the children left school to discuss the matter of their child's employment, but at present so few children were leaving at any one given moment that it had not

been thought a good plan to adopt that method. It had been disappointing to find that Mr. Runciman's Bill contained no clause giving power to Education Authorities to regulate the irregular leaving of children from school, and she earnestly hoped that the Government would be urged to introduce a compulsory clause dealing with that question. The present system was most unsatisfactory and needed to be altered in interests not only of the children but of the schools.

Mr. A. J. MUNDELLA trusted that if any present were considering the question of putting the Employment of Children Act into force they would adopt the Edinburgh system and not the London system. He said that because, in his opinion, the educational influence should be predominant, though not necessarily supreme, in guiding the children from school to the labour market. Their London system owed its existence entirely to the fact that they had an Education Authority which refused to move in any way in this matter. The London County Council Education Authority had been condemned publicly as the worst authority in England, and on this point they had decided to do nothing whatever. They were therefore thrown back entirely on to the Board of Trade. To suppose that because he (Mr. Mundella) was chairman of one of the Board's committees in a little corner in London, which was about the size of Edinburgh itself, or because Miss Adler was serving in one way or another under the Board of Trade, to suppose that because they were in those positions that therefore the Education Department had any power of control or influence on those bodies was an altogether mistaken view. They were not the Education Authorities—the Education Authority was the Education Committee of the London County Council, which was under the control of the ratepayers and which formulated the educational policy of this city. They had their individual opinions, it was true, but they were nobody—they were only themselves, and let it not be forgotten that they were appointed and could be dismissed by the Board of Trade. When education interests and the interests of the Board of Trade came into conflict, if they presumed to take an educational point of view they had to expect to be smartly reprimanded and to have their recommendations set on one side. Therefore he asked them not to take the metropolis as their guide. Let them look to Edinburgh in that as in almost all other things. (Laughter.)

Miss LUPTON (Willesden Union) said she wished to ask a question, but before doing so would like to say that they must remember in their desire for reform to preserve a happy medium as far as possible; many of them were rather prone to go to extremes. The question she wanted to ask Miss Adler was this. There must be boys, she supposed, who would be errand boys or tradesmen's boys—that was to say, who would follow "blind-alley" employments. It seemed to her that tradesmen must have these lads in order to carry on their business—could Miss Adler make any suggestion as to how the difficulty might be met? Would it be possible for such employers to make use of the services of errand boys, say, for one year and so have a sort of relay of boys, who could afterwards pass into some other occupation? The point was that there must be these boys to do this light work—work which, in itself, did not do them any harm.

Miss ADLER said she thought the really important point was that far too large a number of boys were engaged in this class of occupation, and the tendency was to employ boy labour instead of adult labour. That was especially the case in London before Advisory Committees had been at work. What she felt was that they ought not to encourage young people to take such places, and that if they were sent to such places they ought to limit their hours very considerably and make it obligatory that they were put to some other employment later on, in order that they should not find themselves stranded.

Canon RAWNSLEY (Cumberland County Council) said, as a member of an education authority that dealt largely with the smaller rural schools of the North, he wanted to say very emphatically that if they wanted to deal with this problem of unemployment or "blind-alley" employment they must begin by going down to the bed rock by calling out the creative powers of the boys and girls in their elementary schools. That could be done in a very simple way by seeing that in connection with all their rural schools gardens were established where the boys could learn the elements of gardening, and side by side with the garden there should be a small carpenter's shop. They had found as a matter of fact by experience that these adjuncts to rural schools not only increased the intellectual ability of the children who went in for them, but that as soon as they left school instead of going out as errand boys they could generally get into the skilled labour market, and knowing what happened in Berlin

(that out of 6,000 children who left the elementary schools there about 4,500 each year obtained something like a beginning on the rung of the ladder of skilled labour, by reason of the fact that their hands had been exercised as well as their brains at the schools), he was persuaded that we should do wisely throughout the length and breadth of the land to see that without any more loss of time we obliged as part and parcel of our elementary school system, the training of the hand and the eye.

Mr. N. B. Dearle wished to point out that there was a very great danger in regard to the tendency of the Labour Exchanges to facilitate the employment of boy labour unless the Advisory Committees took great care to look after the welfare of boys when they left school. It was true, however, that if they placed a boy with an employer through an Exchange they did the minimum of harm, because where an employer took a boy through an Exchange he would usually keep him in his employment a long time. Not only that, he would take the best boy he could get hold of. There was also this great advantage in placing out boys through a Labour Exchange, that should the boy go to unsatisfactory employment he could be taken away before any permanent harm was done. What they wanted to see was that the good employers got the good boys and that the bad employers should get only the inferior boys.

The Hon. R. D. Denman, M.P., said that the Advisory Committees at first thought they were only going to deal with the skilled labour, but when Labour Exchanges came it was seen that that was no longer possible. As he had pointed out in his paper, they could not refuse to supply boys or girls for casual work. What they tried to do now was not only to find places for those who wished to go in for skilled labour, but to bring to the notice of all that skilled labour was better than unskilled.

Mr. Mackereth said there was one point which he thought they ought to bear in mind in connection with the work of the Labour Exchanges—that was, the work of Care Committees must spread outside into the social life of the people. The need for some sort of simple organised leisure was really felt by all the young people throughout the urban districts, and to a small extent throughout the rural districts. They had not got anything like enough girls clubs. There was that magnificent club in the East End established by the Honourable Lily Montague which was doing splendid work. The girls were gladly coming to be taught; but there were not enough of these clubs. In exactly the same way as medical inspection had drawn attention to the minor ailments of children, so Care Committees' work amongst girls had revealed minor industrial ailments and flaws in the law. If the work of Care Committees was spread outside into the social life of those with whom they dealt, they would not have the present condition with regard to the Insurance Bill, when women were practically united to try and keep women out of the Bill because the propositions relating to women were so obviously unfair. These Care Committees could find out all sorts of industrial evils, and in that way would be able to produce far more efficiency all round.

Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon said that she hoped the conference would not imagine that in the Edinburgh scheme they did not intend to deal with the young schoolboy entering the unskilled labour market. On the contrary she understood that the Edinburgh Board clearly did deal with the unskilled boy. The point she put forward strongly was that the unskilled as well as the skilled should be attracted to the Exchange, and that being carefully watched over by an expert officer under their own roof there should be a gradual sifting of boys according to their own capacity. She thought it most important that all the boys without exception should have a watchful eye kept over them.

Second Day, Wednesday, May 31st.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

(*Joint Meeting with the Unemployment Section.*)

Professor M. E. Sadler occupied the chair. The subject of discussion was THE WORK OF THE EDUCATION AUTHORITY IN RELATION TO THE PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Effect of Continuation and Evening Schools on the Industrial Classes.*
By Mr. J. I. WATTS, Managing Director of Messrs. Brunner, Mond and Co.

2.—*Continuation Schools: their Organisation and Curriculum.*
By Mr. ARTHUR GREENWOOD, Head of Economics Department, Huddersfield Technical College.

3.—*Rural Continuation Schools as affecting the Prevention of Destitution.*
By Mr. CHARLES BATHURST, M.P.

4.—*The Industrial Training of Women Workers.*
By Miss F. H. DURHAM, Inspector of Women's Technical Classes, London County Council.

Effect of Continuation and Evening Schools on the Industrial Classes.

By J. I. WATTS.

(Managing Director of Brunner, Mond & Co.)

FROM many points of view it would be difficult to find any district where the effect of Continuation Schools upon an industrial community can be more profitably studied than in the neighbourhood of Messrs. Brunner, Mond and Co.'s Works at Winnington, near Northwich, Cheshire.

Erecting chemical works for the manufacture of alkali in a rural district on the outskirts of the salt town of Northwich, the company had, in 1873, to draw its men, with few exceptions, from the ranks of farm labourers, salt boilers, or rock miners. For the working of an intricate new process, it will be surmised

that for many years constant supervision and instruction were required to achieve a reasonable degree of efficiency amongst the men. One of the initial difficulties was that so many otherwise clever men were unable to read or write.

By 1882, when the first considerable extension of the works took place, the effect of compulsory education was beginning to show, and the younger men entered with a certain amount of elementary knowledge. With the growth of a village round the works, the company realised that it became both its duty and its proper policy to provide efficient schools for the children, and these were established at a very early date (in 1886).

At the same time Evening Continuation Classes were started for the benefit of those whose employment interfered with day courses of study. Attendance at such classes was quite optional. The pupils entering ranged in age from 14 to 20 years. For the first four years the numbers varied from twenty-six to thirty-five. The subjects taught were purely elementary, such as "the three R's." At the end of the first year twenty-six students were examined, and about half of these were classed as in standards III. and IV.

The results of the first few years showed that, if any break were allowed to occur between the cessation of elementary instruction and attendance at Evening Classes, the benefits of early training were very quickly lost and that the Standard VI. boy of 14 was very apt, minus Continuation Class attendance, to develop into a Standard III. man of 21.

Impressed with this idea and desiring to obtain men of greater intelligence for its employment, the company resolved in 1890 to make attendance at some Continuation School a condition of employment for all youths between 14 and 17 years of age. In this year the number of scholars increased to 143. The syllabus was extended by the addition of geography and physiology. In 1892 algebra and shorthand were added, and these were supplemented with drawing and manual instruction in 1893. By 1894 the syllabus consisted of—

Elementary subjects.
Algebra.
Mensuration.
Geography.
Shorthand.
Drawing (Freehand and Geometrical).
Manual instruction.
Physiology.
Ambulance.
Electricity and Magnetism.
Life and Duties of a Citizen.

In 1897 the numbers in attendance at Winnington reached 352, of whom only about half were compulsory attendants. Many of the company's youths were, by permission, attending other Evening Schools nearer their homes.

In 1902 commercial arithmetic, elementary physics and chemistry, machine construction, building construction, and practical plane and solid geometry were added.

In 1894 the company's compulsory rule was made to read as follows: "It is a condition of employment that all youths not apprentices under the age of 19,

or who reach the age of 19 during the session, shall attend the Evening School nine times out of ten that the school is open, and that apprentices shall so attend during the whole term of their apprenticeship."

From 1905 all apprentices over 18 years of age have been compelled to attend day classes at the Technical Schools in Northwich on two afternoons per week.

The company refunds all Evening School and Technical School fees to those who make 90 per cent. of the possible attendances and give satisfaction to the headmaster, and it pays the wages of apprentices for the two afternoons they are away from work.

The company has for many years refused to take into its employ any boy under 14 and who has not passed the sixth (at one time the fifth) standard in an elementary school. By insisting on this amount of proficiency before a boy can be engaged, aspirants for employment at the works are stimulated throughout all the elementary schools of the district assiduously to pursue their studies and, by compelling attendance at Evening Schools from the date of their engagement to near manhood, the company secures that the fruits of early training shall not be lost.

The Winnington headmaster says: "Undoubtedly the youth who joins an Evening School at 16 or later, after wasting the intervening years since leaving the day school, is far more backward than the boy who makes no break between the two. It is astonishing how quickly boys forget what they have learned unless it is kept up in some way. I have known youths come to the Evening School at 17 or 18 who had forgotten everything they had ever learned at school except reading. As a proof of this, an examination held in elementary subjects at the end of the first session after compulsory attendance was introduced, showed that forty-five passed in Standard III., forty-three in Standard IV., thirty-five in Standard V., twelve in Standard VI., and seven in Standard VII. As, at that time, boys were required to have passed the fifth standard before being engaged, it shows that nearly 62 per cent. of them could not be brought back to the same point with one session's teaching.

If it is conceded that apprentices should receive technical training throughout their apprenticeship, and it is borne in mind that they are only bound at the age of 16, the importance of allowing no break to occur in their educational career is strongly emphasised by the foregoing figures.

In the twenty-first year after the adoption of compulsory evening training of the company's youths it is interesting to study the results.

About 2,750 men and boys have been employed daily for some years past at the Winnington Works. These may be roughly classified as follows:—

Process shiftmen, tradesmen, office clerks.

Process day labourers, tradesmen's labourers.

Yard labourers.

Boys (cooperage, shipping, laboratory, tradesmen's boys).

The ranks of the office clerks, process shiftmen, and the tradesmen now contain numbers of those who have grown up with the company and passed through the Evening School, and while in the first case they are generally to be found occupying responsible positions, in the second they are prominent as tradesmen for their marked intelligence. In many cases the youths have in a few years won positions superior to those held by their fathers even after twenty or thirty years' service.

The prolonged educational training has, too, made the man of the new generation more sober and more attentive to his own financial affairs. There has been a marked improvement in the general tone of the district during the last twenty years. There is no doubt that the Evening School widens the youth's horizon and gives him fresh interests, making him more self-reliant and happier. Whatever he becomes in the course of his career, he is undoubtedly a better workman, be he tradesman or labourer. Then, too, it is remarkable how seldom such men fall out of employment. Those who have not continued with Brunner, Mond and Co. have speedily obtained other work and done very well. Cases are hardly known where such men have remained unemployed.

Another proof of the advantage accruing from the complete education of one generation is now beginning to be observed at Winnington, and that is the fact that the children of the second generation now passing into the elementary school are superior in intelligence to those of the first. There appears to be no doubt that their home environment renders them more fit to receive instruction than was the case with their fathers and mothers. These younger children are accustomed to hear more intelligent conversation in their homes and hear it expressed in better English than their parents did.

From the experience gained at Winnington it is safe to say that the more general adoption of compulsory evening school education would result in the production of better workmen, would inculcate thrift, reduce pauperism, and tend to remove unemployment altogether.

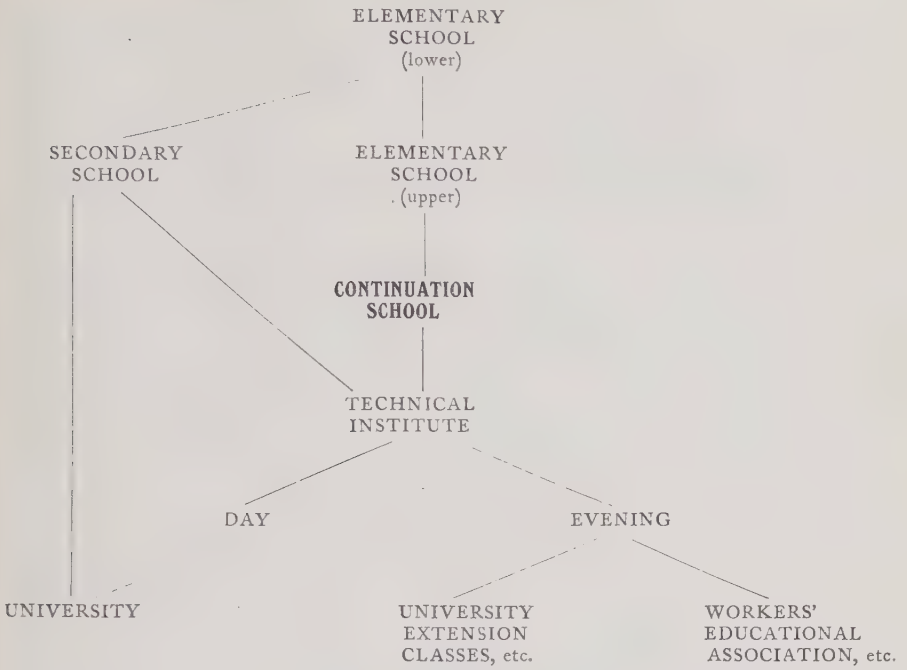
Continuation Schools: their Organisation and Curriculum.

By Arthur Greenwood, B.Sc.

(Head of the Economics Department, Huddersfield Technical College.)

I wish to devote my paper to the consideration of two points—(1) the organisation and curriculum of Compulsory Continuation Schools, and (2) classes for unemployed boys.

By the term Continuation School I mean a compulsory part-time day school. Consequently, to raise the present school age to 15 or 16 years will not mean the establishment of Continuation Schools. It will rather be an extension of the elementary school. The Continuation School will begin its operations at the close of the full time school career, and I will assume that it is to provide a three years' course. Into the arguments in favour of such schools I do not propose to enter, but will plunge into my subject by first considering the position these schools will take in the fabric of British education. This may be illustrated as follows:—



When the school age is raised and Continuation Schools instituted, it may be found advantageous to divide the elementary school into two parts—lower and upper; the former taking children up to the age of about 11 years. They would then pass to the upper department or to the Secondary School. At the school leaving age scholars will enter some kind of part time employment and proceed to the Continuation School. At the end of the three years' course the majority will take up full time work. A large number should attend the technical institutes, either day or evening, and it should be made possible for both day and evening students to proceed to the university, though it is most likely that the number of evening students who will do so will be small. It is to be hoped that the remainder will profit by further voluntary courses of study such as are provided by university extension and tutorial classes, and the classes of the Workers' Educational Association. Of the students who attend the secondary schools a number, at the conclusion of the course (if above Continuation School age), will enter occupations. A number will go to the technical institute, and a number to the university. It is, of course, clear that there would be no watertight compartments. Elementary upper school scholars would, under certain circumstances, be drafted into the secondary schools, and scholars leaving the latter at any age below the maximum age at the Continuation Schools, would be required to attend the continuation classes.

Ultimately, Continuation Schools will become half-time institutions, though at first they are likely to be made compulsory for a period less than half-time, *e.g.*, employers may be required to allow their boys and girls to attend classes for six hours or more a week. This must, however, be considered as a mere beginning, and the ultimate end kept clearly in view. When these classes first become compulsory, they will probably be held in certain of the elementary schools, or in the technical schools. When more time is devoted to continuation classes then

the Continuation School may be housed permanently in the local technical institute, or preferably in a separate or adjoining building organised independently, as the problems and aims of the Continuation School are not the same as the problems and aims of the technical institute.

This brings me to the next point—the function of the Continuation School. But before dealing with this I wish to clear the ground as regards the elementary school. Coincident with the movement for raising the school age there has been one for depressing the age at which "technical" training begins, and a section of public opinion has urged the necessity for making the curriculum of the elementary school more definitely "vocational." It is outside my scope to enter into a discussion of this problem, but as it has a distinct bearing on my view of the continuation school, I may perhaps be allowed to state my conviction that the education of the elementary school should be unspecialised, catering indeed for every side of child life, physical, mental, and moral, but without any definite vocational bias. It is possible now to turn to the question of the Continuation School. At this school, attendance will be compulsory for a certain number of hours per week; ultimately absorbing an amount of time equal to that which boys and girls will be allowed to spend at their occupations. As I have already remarked, the ultimate object of the Continuation School must be kept in view, as the school is fundamentally a training ground for adolescence, and no adequate training can be given in a few hours a week. It is common to consider education as a preparation for adult life, assuming that childhood and adolescence are something inferior to, and less complete, than manhood and womanhood, and that they are a part of a greater whole. But life grows out of life, and as the elementary school should be an institute for developing and fostering "childhood," so the Continuation School should be an institution aiming at giving opportunity for the fullest expression of the new life which has grown out of childhood—adolescence.

Adolescence is a period with its own problems; it is, amongst other things, the age when the economic side of life becomes a reality—a fact which should be borne in mind, but should not be allowed to influence the question unduly. Many people look upon a Continuation School as being first and foremost concerned with vocational training, as, indeed, a "technical" school. It will be observed, however, that in the scheme submitted above, I have given the technical institute a definite place apart from the Continuation School. It is possible, as I have already suggested, that the latter will be held in the technical school, and may also form a basis for the establishment of such institutes where they do not at present exist, though the two schools will not be one in organisation and curriculum. At the Continuation School, as already pointed out, the economic side of life should be kept in view. This does not mean that the curriculum of the school should be weighted with vocational studies. Against a too technical curriculum, the following objections may be laid:—

(1) A boy's first situation is not necessarily in the trade he will follow permanently. The number of lads who, on leaving school, obtain situations totally different in character from those held a few years later is very large. The raising of the school age will diminish the number of changes, but there will remain a number of occupations which are recruited by adults only, and technical training in these trades at the Continuation School will be of little service when a period of four years or so will intervene between leaving the school and entering such a trade.

(2) Continuation Schools (at which attendance is to be compulsory) could not pretend to give "technical" instruction in all industries; so that for those entering any but the staple industries of a town, some other less technical form of training must be provided. If, however, technical training be the best means of adolescent training, then boys and girls engaged in occupations for which classes are not arranged (and occupations which are a necessary part of our national industrial organisation) will be placed at a disadvantage as compared with other boys and girls.

(3) The raising of the school age and the establishment of Continuation Schools will deal a heavy blow at "blind alley" occupations. Improvements will in many cases be introduced which will require the labour of the new "half time" labourers, or it may be that boys and girls will be replaced by adults. In the former case you will have a large number of workers in the Continuation School who are not in their permanent employments; "technical" instruction for them will therefore be in the nature of a gamble, for it will be uncertain as to what their future occupations will be. In the latter case, the "blind alley" juvenile jobs have become adult occupations to which a number of the boys and girls will go. As these occupations will in many cases be of a mechanical character and easily picked up, technical training will be unnecessary—an argument which applies to a large number of callings.

(4) Closely related with this is the fact that a large number of recognised adult occupations are incapable of being specifically taught. It is well at this juncture to remember that the Continuation School is not intended merely for the captains, lieutenants, and sergeant-majors of industry, but mainly for the rank and file. You will have a considerable number of lads who will become policemen, railway porters, guards and shunters, etc., lorry drivers, warehousemen, navvies, soldiers, greengrocers, newsvendors, etc., to whom no adequate technical instruction can be given.

(5) Lastly, the characteristics of modern industry must be taken into consideration. Industrial processes are continually changing, and various forms of specialised skill, once in great demand, may be superseded, and the possession of it becomes an impediment rather than a aid to further employment. New forms of machinery, and changes of fashion, further increase the instability of industry and further illustrate the grave position of workers trained to one specialised occupation only.

It will therefore be seen that what the community requires at the present day from the industrial point of view is a race of healthy, energetic, intelligent, and resourceful workers, familiar with the use of tools, and readily capable of adapting themselves to new or altered circumstances. In other words, the qualities at which the Continuation School should aim are intelligence and mental alertness, resourcefulness, application, "handiness," and adaptability.

The case for definite "vocational" instruction, then, falls to the ground, partly because it is unnecessary, partly because it is impossible, partly because it could not be given universally, and partly because industry is in greater need of certain mental and physical qualities than of a various kind of skill, however good that skill might be.

I have suggested above that the economic side of life should be kept in view in determining the curriculum of the Continuation School. This may be done by giving an economic bias to the subjects of the curriculum, which would bring home to the students the character and extent of the industrial and commercial

activity of the world around them. History and geography should therefore become more definitely economic, and mathematics more "practical," whilst other scientific studies should be arranged in relation to industrial processes. Literature and what is called in America "Civics," should also be included in the curriculum. Provision should also be made for manual work of some kind—woodwork, metal-work, gardening, cookery, etc.—and more time should be given to physical drill and games than is at present the case in elementary schools. It is not possible to lay down with any strong conviction the details of the curriculum and the amount of time that should be devoted to the various classes of studies, as even the curricula of elementary and secondary schools cannot yet be considered as finally settled. The matter is one for experiment; and, after all, the aim may be realised by different means. The subjects taught in the town school will be to some extent different from those taught in the rural school, *e.g.*, the wood and metal work of the former would probably be partially replaced by gardening and field work, and so on. Also in the larger town schools the number of scholars would be sufficient to allow of the formation of two "sides," one industrial and the other commercial, in the former of which rather more stress would be laid on manual work than in the latter. The two sides would differ, not so much in the subjects taught, as in the importance they were assigned in the time-table.

It is assumed that girls as well as boys will attend Continuation Schools; and some modification of the curriculum will probably be required, though I believe that the extent of the modification may easily be exaggerated. The group of manual studies would probably not be the same; the heavier forms of wood and metal work being replaced by lighter kinds of similar work, and by sewing, housewifery, etc. I do not, indeed, see why plain sewing and cookery should not be included for boys.

So far it has been assumed that the Continuation School will be a half-time institution, holding its sessions five or six half-days a week. Where such an arrangement is possible it is preferable to any other, both on educational and industrial grounds, and in many cases it will be found possible. There may, however, be some difficulty in those seasonal trades which depend to some extent on juvenile labour, but it may be met by reducing the number of hours' attendance at school per week during the busy season of the year and increasing the length of time at school during the slack period. A total suspension of school attendance for several months each year is not to be recommended, though it is most probable that such a course would have to be adopted in the case of agricultural workers, and the whole of the statutory number of hours' school attendance concentrated into one period of the year.

Let me now turn to a matter in which local authorities may co-operate without waiting for special legislation. There is at the present time a serious amount of juvenile unemployment, exactly how much it is impossible to state. I estimate that the Board of Trade Labour Exchanges are now filling 3 per cent. or 4 per cent. of the total vacancies for juveniles; so that the Exchange records are incomplete, yet they show at the end of each month for the half year from October, 1910, to March, 1911, an average of 5,500 boys and 3,400 girls on the register, the vast majority of whom are unemployed. There is hardly a town of any size where the Labour Exchange has not a handful of unemployed juveniles. It is impossible to enter into details, but the following figures relating to towns having a comparatively large number of juveniles on the "live" register may be of interest.

1911.	London.		Dublin.		Norwich.		Birmingham.		Hull.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Jan. ...	2,243	1,167	140	52	78	74	138	109	87	81
Feb. ...	1,900	914	120	34	67	47	104	73	90	58
March	1,388	777	144	58	44	68	95	67	69	44

1911.	York.		West Hartlepool.		Liverpool.		Aberdeen.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Jan. ...	193	14	76	102	114	167	126	42
Feb. ...	150	16	60	90	157	196	75	40
March ...	110	14	87	115	114	138	74	24

The actual number of unemployed juveniles will of course be much greater than this. This is a serious problem. On the whole it will probably be true to say that boys in the first few years of their working lives change their situations once a year on an average. In many cases succeeding situations are not continuous; there is an intervening period of idleness, during which there are no means of supervision. These periods of unemployment have a most demoralising effect. Boys become unsettled and more or less incapable of regular work; they become unruly and difficult to manage. These spells of liberty often lead boys to hooliganism, the casual labour market, or unemployableness. At the best there is a waste of time which might be profitably utilised.

The question is, how may juveniles who are unemployed be most usefully occupied until they obtain work again? I would suggest the establishment of classes for unemployed juveniles. The scheme I am about to outline would, with the necessary modifications, apply to both boys and girls, and in towns like Liverpool and West Hartlepool (see table), where there appears to be a considerable surplus of girl labour, probably its adoption would be advantageous. But whereas boys who are unemployed usually loaf about when not actively seeking employment, girls are kept at home to help the mother in her domestic duties. I believe, however, that it would be of great value if towns where there is a considerable number of unemployed girls would open experimental classes for girls on the lines of those I am about to describe for boys.

At present, the unemployed boys who have registered at the Labour Exchange will probably supplement its efforts to obtain work for them by visiting firms personally. As the early part of the day will in most cases be best for seeking employment, the classes should be held in the afternoon. It would in most towns be possible to utilise a portion of a school close to the Exchange, or a well-equipped lads' club, where there would be apparatus for gymnastics and other physical exercises. It would be advisable for the Exchange to be connected with the "school" by telephone, so that boys could be obtained with little difficulty. It is not likely that there would be much trouble in securing attendance at the classes, as in filling vacancies preference would be given to boys who were in attendance.

It must be remembered that such classes would be experimental, and therefore only general suggestions may be given as to how they should be conducted. It may, however, be worth while to insist upon certain considerations which will determine the character of the Unemployed School. The scholars would range in age from 13 or 14 to 17 or 18, and the school would often be comparatively small. The boys would vary not only in ability, but in their standard of attainments, and no thorough system of classification would be possible. Further, boys

would be in the school for varying periods, and the composition of the class would be constantly altering. This would make it impossible to run the school on ordinary lines. Everyone will admit the necessity of including as an important part of the work of the school some form of systematic physical exercise, partly as a means of discipline, but also in order to keep the lads as physically fit as possible. I would suggest also that provision be made for supplying a meal to the lads, for two reasons: In the first place, the scholars are unemployed, and the loss of their wages is likely to be seriously felt in most homes; and, in the second place, the physical drill, etc., will necessitate the expenditure of considerable energy, which, if the lads are badly fed, would lead to some amount of physical exhaustion. These considerations will throw some light on the manner in which the school should be carried on. Suppose we assume an unemployed school with an average attendance of fifty boys. The boys would be divided into two classes, requiring therefore the services of two masters. No attempt need be made, in the first instance at any rate, to grade the boys in any way. One of the teachers should be well trained and experienced with older boys; the other should be an ex-army man, preferably a drill instructor, who would be responsible for the physical drill and exercises, leaving the other master to take charge of the remainder of the work, which would be of an extremely unsystematic character. I imagine that the school would (apart from the drill) resemble one of the early Sunday Schools where you found people of varying ages all engaged more or less noisily in learning different things. One man might be laboriously spelling out simple words, another struggling with the principles of simple division, a third might be learning to write, and so on, the teacher or teachers in the meantime passing to and fro among the scholars, explaining here, removing difficulties there, correcting work in another place, and generally giving, as far as possible, individual help. On a boy entering an unemployed school, a skilled teacher in a short interview would be able to form a rough estimate of the lad's abilities and standard of education, and his work could be planned accordingly. In most cases study would take the form of a revision and continuation of the elementary school subjects, though there is no reason why the scholars should not be allowed to pursue their favourite subjects. If the school were held for three or four hours each afternoon, the session might be divided into four equal periods, study and physical training being taken alternately. If the building in which the classes were held were a school feeding centre, the meal provided might be midday dinner. In other cases it would probably be found more convenient to arrange for tea at the conclusion of school.

Such a scheme would not be very costly. If a local education authority provided free accommodation and granted the loan of text books, etc., a school for fifty boys employing a teacher and drill instructor half time and providing a plain meal each day, would cost from £200 to £220 a year. Once the importance of such schools was recognised there should be no difficulty in raising the money required, by means of a voluntary fund. The school might in the first instance be managed by a joint committee representing the local education authority, the juvenile advisory committee of the Labour Exchange, and the subscribers to the fund. It is necessary, of course, that there should be perfect freedom of management and the fullest opportunity for experiment in order that the schools might be rendered of the greatest use and a sound *technique* developed.

In the course of time, the importance of the Unemployed School would increase. As more and more employers utilise the Labour Exchange, and as the "hawking" of labour becomes thereby more and more unnecessary, the classes

could be held both morning and afternoon, in which case two meals might be provided instead of one, the Unemployed School then becoming in many respects similar to a day industrial school. In addition, the age at which the boys are allowed to attend the classes might be raised from 17 or 18 to 21, and a regular system of day "maintenance under training" established in close co-operation with the Labour Exchanges. There would be no breach of principle; if it be unwise to allow unemployed boys to spend their time in idleness, it is equally so to allow youths of a slightly greater age to loaf about the Exchange or its waiting room or in the streets.

In the future, when compulsory day continuation schools are established, unemployed classes would be worked in conjunction with them; in the meantime, however, the Unemployed School offers an opportunity for Local Education Authorities and Juvenile Advisory Committees to do something towards preventing the destitution which so often results from the demoralising influences surrounding the boy who is "out of a job."

Rural Continuation Schools as affecting the Prevention of Destitution.

By Charles Bathurst, M.A., M.R.A.C., F.C.S., M.P.

Many thousands of the inhabitants of our country villages are living on the borderland of destitution, and many hundred thousands more have drifted, and are drifting, into the great centres of population to swell the ranks of the unemployed and unemployable. In spite of the provision of statutory small holdings, in face of the admitted improvement in the economic condition of our oldest and most important industry, and notwithstanding the ever-increasing demands for the products of the soil (over five-sixths of which are raised outside the United Kingdom), the shrinkage of land under arable cultivation steadily continues, and there is no appreciable check to the depopulation of our rural areas. The urban philosopher and social economist continue to exclaim, "Back to the land," and sometimes expect a single well-intentioned Act of Parliament to effect this desirable, but in my opinion impracticable, retrogression; but the nationally fatal migration townwards shows no abatement. What are the causes? The lurid attractiveness of town life, the increased use of machinery, and the short-sighted policy of conducting dairy farming exclusively upon pasture land (and for this purpose laying down land to grass, or letting it tumble down to couch and other weeds), are no doubt partly responsible. The dilapidated and insanitary condition of many of the cottages in the rural districts is another factor in inducing tidy, self-respecting young men to seek, often in vain, better housing conditions in the towns. The low wage of the agricultural labourer—not perhaps so low when cottage and perquisites are taken into account as our urban friends sometimes imagine, but still much too low—is the main cause of the rural exodus, and closely associated with it is the prevalent consciousness among the boys and young men of their lack of fitness to engage in agricultural processes.

We still speak of the country peasant as being the backbone of the nation and as replenishing with fresh vigour the physical and mental wastage of the cities; but the conditions of his early life and environment render him each year less competent to fulfil this important function. During the past twenty years his wage has slightly increased, but the cost of his living has increased still more, so that his purchasing power is less than formerly, and the proper sustenance of himself and his family more precarious. It is doubtful whether in many districts of England, particularly where extensive cultivation is carried on upon comparatively small farms, a substantially higher wage could be given without rendering farming an unprofitable occupation. In any case, in the absence of labour organisations, which in the very nature of things are difficult to maintain among a scattered population, nothing but a general scarcity of labour in the country, the unselfishness of a sympathetic employer, or special skill on the part of a farm servant, seems likely to secure an increase of remuneration for the latter at all commensurate with that which has been obtained in recent years in most urban industries. It must, however, be acknowledged that lack of skill is one important element in keeping down the labourer's wage. The so-called literary or bookish curriculum of our elementary schools during the last forty years has told its tale all over the English countryside. In many parts of the country to-day no man under 50 is to be found on the farms who has any real skill in laying a hedge, thatching a rick, using a scythe, shearing a sheep, or milking out a cow, not to mention such more specialised work as curing bacon or grafting fruit trees. Estate carpenters and woodmen are increasingly hard to obtain, although the wage offered to such men is generally high. The labourer is indeed but poorly paid, but it is often asked, and not perhaps altogether without reason, whether with the scanty training which is given to him in early life and his limited skill his value to his employer is in many cases much greater than the wage which he receives. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the Lowlands of Scotland where elementary education is much more practical than it is south of the border, the wage of the agricultural labourer is about double that in the south and east of England, and the northern farmer boasts that he is getting better value for his money. It is at any rate certain that, in favourable seasons, the Lowland agriculturist does not fail, in spite of a high wages bill, to make a considerable profit out of arable cultivation such as many of his English *confrères* would envy. It may not be irrelevant to note that the promoters of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, appeared to recognise the value of such practical instruction and the desirability of extending it beyond the ordinary school age. Section 10 of this Act gives power to School Boards to make, subject to confirmation by the Scottish Education Department, by-laws for requiring the attendance at continuation classes until the age of 17 of young persons who are not otherwise receiving a suitable education at such times and for such periods as may in such by-laws be specified; provided that no young person shall be required to attend a continuation class held beyond two miles measured along the nearest road from the residence of such young person. It is further provided that those who knowingly employ young persons when they should be in attendance at a continuation class, and parents or guardians who conduce to the contravention of the by-law, shall be liable on summary conviction to a penalty not exceeding £1, or in case of a second or subsequent offence not exceeding £5. Many of these Scottish labourers possess not merely manual dexterity, but a degree of self-reliance and independent judgment which renders them, if the opportunity occurs and they have the inclination, more competent than many English labourers to become themselves

occupiers of agricultural land and make a living thereby. The fact that only 30 per cent. of the new statutory small-holders in England and Wales are agricultural labourers indicates not merely a lack of capital—the want of which can be largely made good by the adoption of co-operative methods—but also and chiefly the absence of sufficient and proper training and a lack of self-reliance. This can only be obtained by means of an elementary education into which manual instruction largely enters, followed without any interval up to the age of at least 16 by continuation school work, a due proportion of which shall consist of practical training of those special kinds which can best equip a young farm labourer for the more technical agricultural processes and enable him to make his labour a really valuable asset whether exercised on his own behalf or on behalf of his employer.

The main function, and indeed the result, of an elementary school education is to teach children how to learn; and if at the age of 13 or 14 five-sixths of the children in this country receive no further schooling, the expenditure of 24 millions of rates and taxes on this unfinished process is a gross waste both of public money and potentially useful lives. The public burden for elementary education is enormous; but it cannot be justified unless and until a large additional amount is expended on its only logical corollary and sequel—continuation work of a technical character during adolescence, coupled with every encouragement for self-education. A bold national policy at the expense of several additional millions would without question prove a good national investment by at least an equivalent reduction in the cost of relief to the destitute.

The Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance seems likely to result in the abolition of all partial exemption (including the seasonal exemption under Robson's Act) and possibly the abolition of all total exemption under the age of 13. However attractive it may be to parents and to employers of cheap labour, the half-time system must be condemned as injurious and unfair alike to the school, the teaching staff, and the " half-timer." Until, however, manual instruction in the elementary schools and compulsory attendance at continuation schools are made compulsory, I cannot conscientiously approve the abolition in purely rural districts of whole-time exemption in the case of all children without distinction under the age of 13. Really beneficial employment proved to be such to the satisfaction of the Local Education Authority must be a *sine qua non*. No child should be released from school at the age of 12, as many have, under Robson's Act, in order to clean the farmer's boots or run messages for his family. On the other hand, nearly all the best horse-keepers, shepherds, and cowmen in the country are persons who have had the handling of stock prior to the age of 13. This unfortunately is work which cannot be taught in an elementary school; and even when the parent of the boy is himself a farm labourer he often nowadays lacks the capacity or the inclination to give him such instruction out of school hours or in the holidays. Manual instruction of other kinds can be given and ought (from an educational rather than a utilitarian point of view) to be given in every elementary school, and be made a basis for more specialised technical work to be subsequently carried on at a continuation school. The educational value of such work is not always realised. In Gloucestershire, where I have been for many years a school manager and a member of the County Education Committee, there has been a very remarkable growth in the number of schools possessing school gardens (a growth of from five to eighty in five years), and in every one of these the literary curriculum inside the school walls is correlated with the work outside in the gardens. This

correlation is possible in almost every school subject, but especially in arithmetic, composition, mensuration, and drawing. The result has been greater mental alacrity, a far more vital interest in school lessons, and greater self-reliance and initiative. It is universally admitted by the head teachers in the county who (often without any previous knowledge or experience) have started school gardens that the standard of the literary work done inside the school has improved 25 per cent. as a direct consequence of the innovation. Since the passing of the Education Act of 1870 public opinion in this country suffered for many years from the somewhat vulgar and wholly fallacious view that manual labour was derogatory to those engaged in it, and that no child, whatever might be his inevitable after-career, should receive instruction at school in the direction of improving his manual dexterity. There is no class of society which has not suffered in consequence. As John Ruskin truly says: "Every youth in the State, from the King's son downwards, should learn to do something finely and thoroughly with his hand." If the land of this country is to be thoroughly developed and made to yield her increase to the utmost of her capacity, and the security of the nation to be thereby enhanced by its becoming more self-contained, it is essential that not merely farm labourers but farmers, aye, and landowners too, should be conversant with the manual processes of the farm and the most approved methods of conducting them. If they were so, not merely would more capital be invested —and profitably invested—in agricultural enterprise, but there would be greater discrimination between the skilled and unskilled farm labourer and greater encouragement given to the latter to attain to the highest proficiency in early youth.

Some educationists still cling to the idea that the school curriculum, even for the future workman, should not be utilitarian, that the child should during his childhood be given what is nebulously described as "a good general education," and that if sufficiently bright and intelligent he should engage in mental gymnastics as a fitting prelude to a more technical training rather than learn at school the rudiments of his prospective occupation, or at least receive such instruction, literary as well as practical, as to fit him both in body and mind for such varieties of employment as are obtainable in his own district. With this view I have no sympathy whatever. On the other hand I have still less with those who oppose continuation schools on the ground that a certain number of persons must necessarily be "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and that it is the duty of the State deliberately to provide education suited only for such purposes. Even these necessary functions can be performed skilfully or unskilfully, economically or wastefully, and they need not and should not take up the whole working time of any intelligent citizen: there is scope in the continuation schools even for what is deemed the lowest class of manual worker to receive instruction, which will enable him to employ both his working hours and his leisure to the fullest advantage.

Continuation Schools must in fact, and not in name only, give continuous training, and not be schools in which, after an interval of two or more years, the student recommences to learn what was taught him in the elementary school and what he has since forgotten. In rural continuation schools at least half the available time must be given up to practical training of a kind closely associated with the daily employment of the students, and the remainder so far as possible correlated with it.

The term "Continuation School" is generally confined to evening classes held in some fixed centre. It is often urged, and no doubt with some reason, that

youths who have been engaged in strenuous physical work all day are disinclined and unfitted to do useful work for two hours in the evening, particularly if they have to tramp several miles to the "centre" where the class is held. This objection does not apply so much during the winter months, especially where there does not exist the absurd system of timing the commencement of the labourer's day at a fixed early hour in the morning, although it may not then be light enough for him to commence his work. It is not, however, without force, and after some experience of the disappointing attendances at such classes in rural areas, I am inclined to the view that Day Continuation Schools in all districts where they are practicable are preferable to evening classes, and that by means of peripatetic teachers the schools should be brought to the students rather than the students to the schools. Moreover, much of the manual work is bound to be conducted in daylight and on a farm, if the most practically useful instruction is to be imparted. Except in the harvest season there is no reason why the boys between 14 and 17 in a village or in a group of neighbouring villages should not devote at least one full day every week to continuation work carried on in their own immediate locality, devoting the other days of the week to farm work or some other rural industry.

It is interesting to note that in Canada, where voluntary Evening Continuation Schools have proved exceptionally successful, although providing for a much more scattered rural population than is to be found in this country, there is, as a rule, no evidence of fatigue shown by the students who often come long distances after a hard day's work to profit by such instruction, but that on the other hand they show more keenness and alacrity upon returning to their work the following morning than those who have spent their evenings lounging about with nothing particular to do. In these cases, however, there is always present the invigorating incentive provided by the almost certain prospect not of continuous labour as another's servant, but as an occupier first of a small area of land and ultimately of a large farm.

The teaching in Continuation Schools has in the past been left largely to head and senior assistant teachers in the elementary schools: this not only involves an undue strain upon the teacher, but the teacher is not always well equipped to give the practical instruction required, and in exclusively rural areas the absence of male teachers often renders the conduct of any kind of Continuation School for boys impracticable. The peripatetic work so well carried on by County Agricultural Committees in the south and west of England for the benefit of adult workmen and cottagers might with advantage be extended to adolescents attending rural Continuation Classes. For instance, the instruction now given by County Councils in hedging, rick-making, thatching, sheep-shearing, milking, butter-making, farriery, poultry and bee-keeping, orcharding, the production and marketing of vegetables, carpentry and forestry, would prove particularly useful to country boys, the subjects being selected according to the industrial requirements of the district. The teachers would be practical men appointed direct by the Local Education Authorities or their agricultural committees.

It would be difficult in most localities to obtain teachers sufficiently qualified to give instruction in all the subjects above mentioned, nor would the average attendance in most cases justify the expense thereby involved. Practical training in the following subjects should, however, in my opinion be given in every rural Continuation School, viz., in gardening, carpentry, and pig and poultry keeping; and in the case of the first two the instruction should be continuous with that given (at least to the upper standards) in all the neighbouring elementary schools.

Given the required space, it should not be legally permissible for a landlord to let any cottage in a rural district with less than fifteen perches of garden attached to it. Knowledge of gardening, and especially the production of vegetables, not only provides a cottager with a healthful hobby but enables him largely to support himself and his family when not in regular employment. After careful observation as a Poor Law Guardian it is my experience that an able-bodied man with a large enough garden and a thorough knowledge of its cultivation seldom becomes an applicant for poor relief even when long out of employment. Some elementary knowledge of carpentry, too, makes a man healthy, self-reliant, and constructive. As to pig and poultry keeping, these are the legitimate and proper industries of the cottager and small-holder, and if, after giving suitable instruction therein to the young men in the villages, they were encouraged and developed, the necessary accommodation provided at the bottom of every cottage garden for their conduct under wholesome sanitary conditions, and means taken by the extension of co-operative methods of conversion and marketing to secure to the producer the bulk of the profit to be derived from them, destitution would become practically unknown in country districts. Moreover, not only is the manure produced of great value in the production of vegetables, but without one or both of these industries there is almost certain to be a regrettable waste of food refuse both from home and garden. With the above subjects should be correlated the teaching of practical arithmetic and of the principles of co-operation.

The absence of suitable premises is often mentioned as a difficulty in the way of providing Continuation Classes. It ought not, however, to be difficult to find in every village or group of villages some room suitable for such of the work as must needs be carried on indoors. To add to the interest of rural life there should be a public recreation room in every village, and an extra room might well be provided for this express purpose.

There next comes the question whether attendance at Continuation Classes should be made compulsory or remain voluntary. It would be admittedly difficult in the present state of public opinion to enforce attendance in rural districts. From the point of view both of national well-being and of true economy of educational expenditure this should be our goal in the future, and it will be far easier to attain if in purely agricultural areas total exemption from elementary school attendance is permitted at a fairly early age, subject to the strictest safeguards as to beneficial employment and moral welfare. Many an industrious man with a large family and a low wage finds the retention of his children at school between the ages of 12 and 14 an almost intolerable drain on his narrow resources without being convinced of any compensating advantage to the child. In the absence of compulsion every possible inducement should, however, be given to both parents and children to continue the latter's education. The red card system adopted by many education authorities showing the child's elementary school record, with a space below for his Continuation School record, is admirable, and should operate to reward school industry with remunerative employment. In Gloucestershire it has just been decided in addition to hang on the walls of every elementary school a large card containing a copy of the " School Record " with the following notice :—

NOTICE.

To Boys and Girls Leaving School.

(1) See that you have your "School Record" before you leave.

(2) You will have a lesson on the meaning and use of the card before the summer and Christmas holidays.

(3) Stop at school as long as you can, for it will probably help you in after-life.

(4) Join an Evening Continuation Class at once if there is one within reach.

(5) Try to get employment which will train you for skilled work later on, though the wages may be less at the start. It is of no use to get good wages when you are 15 or 16 for work which does not train you in any trade or craft. You may pay for your mistake all your future life by getting low wages and suffering from unemployment. Get knowledge: get skill: make yourself wanted.

Such encouragement to the children to continue their education cannot fail to pave the way hereafter for compulsory attendance at Continuation Classes on the lines of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908.

Coupled with the general system of Rural Continuation Schools should be the provision of County Scholarships (which already exist in many counties in connection with the "free place" provisions of the Code) enabling exceptionally capable children in all elementary schools to receive their education at a public secondary school as a basis in some cases for still higher educational facilities, and as a fitting preparation for a professional career. This in my opinion would provide adequately the "educational ladder" for the exceptional few who are able to avail themselves of it to their future vocational advantage

One word in conclusion on the subject of Continuation Schools for girls. I say deliberately that if such schools are desirable for boys and young men they are essential for girls. If the bookish curriculum of our elementary schools has resulted in turning the boys into unintelligent clerks, it has tended to make many of the girls quite useless for the important sphere of work for which Nature intended them. In the little town near which I live, and with which I have been intimately associated for over thirty years, I have seen many a steady, sober, God-fearing youth in enjoyment of good wages become an habitué of the public-house and lose self-respect and sometimes ultimately his employment by marrying a pretty, over-dressed "doll" whose lack of knowledge as to the management of a home and family made his cottage a place of dirt, discomfort, and misery, and his children the victims of insanitation and neglect. Three years ago a home-making centre was started there on the lines so admirably laid down by Miss Hughes, of Penarth, which all the girls in the sixth and seventh standards of one of the large schools in the parish attend for half their school time, and where they learn with the greatest keenness and enjoyment elementary carpentry, house-cleaning, needlework, darning, laundry-work, cooking on a cottage range, domestic hygiene, and the care of infants. As in the case of the boys and their gardens, the literary work of the girls during the half-days which they spend in the school class-room, so far from being injuriously affected, is carried on with greater alacrity, facility, and profit. I cannot conceive a better curriculum for a girls' Continuation School. Considering the importance of a good practical education as an element in the avoidance of unemployment and poverty, it is

surprising to me that the subject occupies so small a space in the Poor Law Commission's Report. On page 226, however, under the general heading, "Other causes of Pauperism," is included as Cause (4) "Domestic ignorance and incapacity on the part of women," and one of the witnesses is quoted as saying: "No reform of the Poor Law will obviate the unhealthy condition, both physical and economic, that start from incapacity in the home." This is quite true. Directly and indirectly an enormous amount of destitution springs from this cause. Improved Poor Law administration cannot remove it, but practical instruction in domestic economy and housewifery can, and this in purely agricultural districts is most likely to be provided in a Continuation School. In more populous districts, however, and pending the enforcement of compulsory attendance at a Continuation School, I strongly advocate, wherever possible, the provision of Upper Standard Craft Schools for both boys and girls where children of the fifth and sixth standards shall for half their school hours receive manual instruction of the kind best calculated to make them efficient in the work which it will fall to their lot to do in after-life. There is in the best conducted reformatories and industrial schools, apart from their penal aspect, much that may usefully be copied in Continuation Schools to increase the wage-earning capacity of normal children with more favourable antecedents.

It is the proper function of the Continuation School to take the place as far as possible of the now almost extinct apprenticeship system under which it was the pride of a good master to teach his pupils the underlying principles of his trade or industry and make them as skilful as himself. It should be our aim to give our boys, urban and rural alike, a thorough training in some manual work and so make them masters of their craft instead of mere tools. It is the latter who become the destitute; the former can always earn a living.

The Industrial Training of Women Workers.

By Miss F. H. Durham.

The following paper, while containing matter generally applicable to the training of women for industry and their needs, is based on experience gained and observations made of the opportunities and needs of women workers in London.

The attempts that have been made in London during recent years to deal with the problem of industrial training for women have been devised to meet specially the difficulties occurring in London, and while the experience of one such great centre may be of value to other industrial districts and centres, it should be borne in mind that there is no one way of dealing with the problem. What may meet the needs of one centre may not be suitable in others. Industrial conditions, types, and traditions vary considerably in different parts of the country. No system of technical training of women will be sound which is not based on a very thorough investigation of local conditions and needs.

There has been within recent years a very great extension of industrial employment of women and girls, and the problem of preparing the girl who is to enter industrial life is at least as important as, and in some ways more complicated

than, the problem of boy labour. For the girl needs a twofold equipment. She needs to be prepared for wage-earning if necessary, as well as for domestic duties. Whatever be required of her in the grade of work, skilled or unskilled, which she enters as a wage-earner, in the management of her home and her family, the woman must have in her, to be successful, the spirit of craftsmanship. As things are at present, the limitations of home and the stress of industrial life not only rarely permit of the development of such a spirit, but destroy such foundations as early school life may have built.

With few exceptions, every girl leaving the public elementary schools in London and in every large industrial centre becomes a wage-earner. The majority start work as soon as they reach school-leaving age. They all look forward (whether their hope is to be ultimately realised or no) to eventually leaving their industrial work and having homes of their own. Industrial work takes precedence in point of time, and if the girl is to grow into a capable woman she should have a chance of making the best use of her abilities while she is occupied in the industrial field. The census of 1901 showed a large excess of women over men. We have still to learn what change has occurred in the intervening decade. It is probable that the difference will be found to be no less, while the proportion of women entering and remaining in industrial work through life will have greatly increased. The excess of women as well as the increasing insecurity in the tenure of the industrial worker (man or woman) means that the future of the individual girl or woman worker is also increasing in uncertainty. It is not possible for any individual girl to foresee whether she will be always dependent on her own labour and resources; whether marriage will take her out of the industrial field and confine her energies to home duties; whether as a married woman she will be required to continue her industrial work without a break, adding the duties of motherhood to those of wage-earning; or whether as a widow or through any other misfortune she is obliged to re-enter the ranks of industry later in life.

The greater proportion of adult women in industry are working in order to support themselves and dependents. The large proportion of these, who in youth have had no opportunity of learning a trade, has brought about the low rate of wages and sweated conditions under which so many of them are forced to work and has contributed to the overcrowding of the lower grades of labour. Too often has it been the case that as a girl the worker has been told, "It is not worth while to train you because you won't stay long enough," and when seeking work late in life she is told, "It is too late now for you to learn," and the community, while pitying her position in theory, in practice takes advantage of her misfortune. The uncertainty before the girl makes the difficulty in her choice of a career very great. It also, in many cases, weakens her determination to take her early industrial life seriously and thus exposes her to the danger of exploitation. It is only too tempting, both for the parents and for the girls themselves, to take up any "blind alley" occupation in order to provide immediate wages, on the chance of marriage or some other contingency providing for the future. But inefficient industrial workers are likely to grow into inefficient mothers and home makers, and the loss thereby to the community is a cumulative one.

The problem to be faced is how to so train a girl that she may make the best use of her abilities as an efficient worker and may grow to be a wise mother of healthy children, able throughout life to adapt herself to changes, and as long as necessary fend for herself and for those dependent on her.

For girls as for boys there has been in London a great expansion of unskilled occupations. Skilled industries for women have also grown very considerably.

The position London holds, both geographically as the greatest city of transit in the world and as the capital of the Empire, makes it peculiarly favourable to the development of skilled industries for women. Also, for the same reason, these industries and the workers employed in them are liable to the greatest stress of outside competition. Improved facilities of transport mean that skilled workers and any and every quality of goods can be obtained without difficulty from outside.

While skilled industries have expanded, corresponding facilities for training workers to enter them have no tkept pace with the development. The uncertainty of employment and of obtaining the necessary training to enable a worker to learn her trade thoroughly have not only resulted in great waste of undeveloped ability on the part of the workers, but it has materially lowered wages in the subordinate positions in the trade, which have become overcrowded with incompetent, half-trained workers, and has threatened to hamper the expansion of trade by the lack of a sufficient supply of competent hands. Apprenticeship exists, but not universally. Much has been done in recent years by means of Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Committees to revive this system. The experience of these committees goes to show that no uniform system of training exists, and that while individual employers offer good terms and chances, this is the exception rather than the rule. In all cases the girl needs the help of an outside party such as the committee to guide her selection and guard her interests.

The supply of all-round competent workers has been drawn from the provinces and abroad, and to some measure still is. The London girl, though possessing good abilities, is in danger of being passed over in favour of adult workers trained outside. In many branches of trade employers, pressed by competition, in order to avoid the cost of training, have sectionised and simplified processes of manufacture. Wherever possible young workers have been employed on one small branch or process only. This has transformed many partly skilled trades into "blind alley" occupations offering no prospect of promotion to the young worker. The manager of a large factory where a high degree of sectionisation was adopted stated, "We cannot grade up here, we can only grade down. Long application to one process makes the worker incapable of promotion." The result has been that unskilled and factory work offering immediate high wages *have* proved as attractive to the ordinary girl as skilled trades, with their lower initial wages and insecure chances of rising, while there is a shortage of women fit to hold superior posts where experience and knowledge is required. This difficulty is experienced both in securing for women good supervisory factory work, as well as in better paid branches of work of skilled industries. There has been no wise system of selection by which girls of suitable ability could be able to find appropriate openings, and until some system of selection is devised and chance and ignorance are no longer determining causes of choice of career much of the best work of the schools is being wasted, and both the individual workers as well as the community at large suffers loss.

It is difficult for a young worker to obtain the kind of work for which she is best suited in the first place, and it is almost impossible for her to change her occupation once she has made a start. Long hours, monotonous and uninteresting work, and the conditions generally under which so much of the work of young girls is conducted, soon has a deadening and deteriorating effect on the young worker. The fatigue, long hours, and the close attention to monotonous processes at the most impressionable period of a girl's life and at that of most rapid physical growth, often causes permanent injury to health as well as

stifling both desire and ability for mental activity. If it is unavoidable that modern industry should be conducted as at present and the demand for young people to perform these monotonous processes is to continue, some counterbalance must be provided by the community to re-humanise and refresh mentally and keep physically vigorous the workers thus employed. The danger has to be attacked from more than one side. The business of providing appropriate instruction and training can be undertaken by the Education Authorities provided the community is willing to pay the cost, but Education Authorities cannot proceed far until, either by legislation or otherwise, the hours of work of young persons are curtailed so as to permit of instruction to be given under favourable circumstances, either by increasing the school life of the young person so as to admit of attendance at trade or technical institutes, or by shortening the hours of work so as to permit of part-time continuation classes being held during the working day. It is worth noting in this connection that while the hours of work permitted for young persons may still cover twelve hours in the day, less one and a half hours for meals, miners have succeeded in obtaining for themselves a legal forty-eight hours working week. London compositors are pressing for the same for members of their trade. Young people have to wait while their parents serve their own needs first.

Methods of Providing Training.

The possible methods of providing training for girls and their comparative usefulness may best be described in the historical summary of the development of educational facilities for industrial girls in London. Development has proceeded by the following stages:—

(i.) Evening Classes.
(ii.) Domestic Economy Schools.
(iii.) Part-time Classes for Apprentices.
(iv.) Day Trade Schools.

In the order of development each stage has been devised not to take the place of but to supplement the shortcomings of the preceding one, and while none have yet reached their limit of useful development, experience so far goes to prove that in a complete system all these kinds of provision will be required.

In the evening schools provision is made, as well as for the continuation of general education, for special classes for commercial work and technical instruction in dressmaking, millinery, cookery, and other domestic subjects. In the ordinary evening schools this technical instruction is not intended as trade instruction, but for the most part is of a recreational character. The dressmaking and millinery classes, etc., are to enable students to be able to make their own clothes and not to prepare them to enter trade. In the women's departments of polytechnics special trade classes to which only members of the trades concerned are admitted are held. Valuable work is being done in the evening schools and the classes in this domestic technical work, but the utility of the classes is hampered by the fact that, with very few exceptions, the students have arrived already fatigued at the end of a long working day.

A few special classes for girls engaged in trades are held at the polytechnics and evening trade schools. These students' working hours are as long as those described above, and on this account the value of instruction received under such circumstances can only be of moderate utility. It is impossible, except in rare

cases, for a serious course of work to be pursued, and those girls who rely on obtaining an advanced knowledge of the trades from evening class work are under a great disadvantage.

A further difficulty in conducting these classes arises from the fact that the majority of students are at different stages of knowledge and employed in different branches of the trades taught. Their attendance is at best irregular; they are often too late or too tired to attend, and rarely have an opportunity of a meal between work and evening class. As a rule their homes are a considerable distance from their places of work, and in addition to the fatigue of their working day and of their classes, must be added the journey to and fro. Moreover, most of these have, by the time they attend classes, become quite unused to "learning," and cannot readily avail themselves of the teaching provided. While these evening technical classes can have but limited value on account of the long hours of work, they are, without doubt, of great value to many of the students who attend them, and are likely to prove more valuable when attended by students who have already received preliminary training of a systematic kind in a trade school.

(ii.) The day schools of domestic economy for girls were established by the Technical Education Board of the London County Council in 1893 with the intention of giving the girls such thorough and systematic training in the various branches of housewifery as should fit them to become capable managers of their own homes. The purpose was not to train girls "for domestic service or for any special industry, but as home makers." There are twelve institutions at which domestic economy courses of this kind are provided under the London County Council. The course of training lasts a year as a rule. A certain number of girls are allowed to stay a second year. Subjects taught include cookery, laundry, dressmaking, needlework, mending, housewifery, hygiene, first aid, physical exercises, English literature, and arithmetic. At the end of the year's training some girls enter service, some trade, some stay at home to help their mothers. These last, however, form a very small percentage of the whole number. The girls in these schools go through a very useful course of training, and while not prepared for any special wage-earning occupation, have the opportunity from the varied instruction given of finding out what kind of work they are best fitted for, and so may be able to make a better choice of trade. If they start in trade they must, if they wish to get on, start as apprentices and work their way up.

(iii.) Part-time Classes. A few part-time classes are held for dressmakers' apprentices.

A limited number of apprentices are placed out bound under special conditions each year by the Council. The indenture requires the employer to allow the apprentice leave of absence for two complete afternoons in order to attend classes.

Special classes in drawing, embroidery, modelling, and cutting out are arranged for these girls. In this way the experience possible for an apprentice in the workroom is supplemented.

The apprentices who have passed through this course so far have done well, and it seems likely that an extension of such part-time classes, combined with apprenticeship, if it could be arranged, would prove of great value. It has not, however, so far been proved possible to extend this system on a large scale. Other employers are free to send their apprentices to these classes if they would be willing

to do so. So far in only one case has an outside apprentice been allowed by her employer to attend. Other afternoon part-time classes are held at which apprentices who have been placed out and indentured under the supervision of the various Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Committees in London attend. In these cases a shorter leave of absence is allowed, and the classes are held in the late afternoon from 5.30 to 7.30. These apprentices, however, only attend once a week, which greatly limits the utility of a class, though it is found that even this short attendance proves of help to the girls.

Three such part-time classes have been held during the last year, there being two classes held at the Borough Polytechnic and one at the Trade School, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury. A similar class was started in another district in London two years ago, and employers in the neighbourhood were canvassed to arrange for the attendance of such of their girls as wished to attend. This class failed because, though a fair number of girls were eager to attend, and did so for some months, their wages were docked in consequence of the time lost, and the girls were thereby discouraged from attending.

It will therefore be seen that part-time and evening classes have at present but very limited utility. Development of these cannot be hoped for without some compulsory alteration of hours of work. The part-time classes arranged for the council's apprentices, taking place as they do in the early part of the afternoon, have very much better results than the others, at which only late afternoon attendance is possible. It is important, if these part-time classes are to be developed, that they should take place at a time and under circumstances at which the girls are fresh enough to derive benefit from the instruction.

(iv.) Day Trade Schools.

Trade schools for girls are the latest form of development of industrial training for girls. Their aim is to provide a thorough preliminary training or apprenticeship course for girls wishing to enter skilled industries, and thus to ensure the girls themselves a safe future, to contribute a supply of competent young workers to the skilled labour market, and by so doing to strengthen and improve the industrial position of the women workers. It is not intended that the establishment of trade schools should flood any particular trade with more workers than are needed, but to offer to those who normally intend to enter the trade a safe channel of entry. It is recognised that only by a thorough practical training on broad educational lines can the qualities of reliability and adaptibility so important for the worker under modern industry be developed.

Before the trade schools were established investigations into the various skilled trades open to women in London were made in order to ascertain the nature of the work, the prospects offered to the workers, the need and provision of training, and the way in which a systematic course of technical training might benefit the worker and the industry.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the importance of such spade work as this being undertaken as a preliminary step. The investigations of this kind made by the late Mrs. Oakeshott, the first organiser and inspector of women's technical classes under the L.C.C., are a model of what should be done in this respect, and to the thoroughness of this work to the interest aroused among members of the various trades, the co-operation thus secured the subsequent growth and development of the trade schools is a large part due.

The result of her investigations were published by the London County Council, and contain the accounts of the trades, investigations and opinions of the employers of the need and manner of technical education. It is interesting, in the light of further experience gained since these investigations were made, to compare the results achieved in the trade school training with the advice given and opinions expressed to Mrs. Oakeshott in the course of her investigations. In only one respect have they proved to fall short of the truth, namely, that many of the identical employers who, when she visited them, expressed themselves as sceptical of the possibility of training girls in school for workroom work, are now among those most anxious to secure their services when trained.

The trade schools for girls are organised somewhat on the lines of the Ecole Professionelles, in Paris. The training provided is intended to train girls to enter special trades. In this they differ from the trade schools for boys, in which training is given as a preliminary basis for groups of trades.

The trades taught have been chosen because they have appeared on inquiry :—

(1) To offer good prospects.

(2) To show a steady demand for competent hands while not providing sufficient means within themselves to meet that demand.

(3) To lend themselves to classroom work.

The first trade school for girls was started in September, 1904. The governors of the Borough Polytechnic, acting on the advice of the late Mrs. Oakeshott, who had investigated the tailoring trade, opened a trade class in waistcoat-making, receiving for this purpose a grant in aid from the Council. It may be noted that waistcoat-making is the only London trade in which women and men are employed and are paid equal rates for equal work. Other classes followed these. In September, 1905, dressmaking and upholstery were started at the Borough Polytechnic, and in the following March (1906) classes in dressmaking were started at the Paddington Technical Institute and the Woolwich Polytechnic, and in upholstery also at the Shoreditch Technical Institute, together with a class in the designing and making of costumes for the wholesale trade. In 1907 the L.C.C. Trade School, now at Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, was opened in temporary premises at Morley College, with classes in dressmaking, corset-making, and ladies' tailoring. At Easter, 1908, classes in photography and millinery were added at this school, and classes in laundry and ladies' tailoring at the Borough Polytechnic. In 1909 an additional class in ladies' tailoring was opened at the Woolwich Polytechnic, and a new trade school started in temporary premises at the L.C.C. School of Art, Hammersmith, with classes in dressmaking, upholstery, and millinery.

Additional classes are being opened this year in further branches of work for the wholesale trade and embroidery at the Shoreditch Technical Institute, and additional classes in dressmaking, laundry, and a new class in professional cookery at the Borough Polytechnic. Other future extensions are in contemplation.

The purpose of all these schools is to prepare girls to deal with reality, and the aim has been to make the schools as practical as possible.

The course has been fixed at two years. (A three years' course is worked in the Paris Trades Schools.) Parents who wish their girls to enter the schools must undertake to allow them to stay for the whole course and must genuinely intend the girl to take up the trade chosen when the course is completed. No

amateurs are admitted. Every girl must have before her the definite purpose of fitting herself for her industrial career in the trade she has chosen.

Girls must be not less than 14 years of age at entry. The majority come in from the elementary schools, a few from the secondary schools, and from the schools of domestic economy.

The trade instruction in all these classes is in the hands of women who have been through the trade workrooms and risen to positions of responsibility in their respective trades. First hand trade experience and thorough all knowledge of their work and of workroom methods are required; previous experience of school work is not expected.

About two-thirds of the school time is given to trade work, and the rest to a continuation of general education. As far as is possible the trade classroom is equipped on the lines of a trade workroom. Workroom methods and standard of work are adopted—the most important difference being that in the trade classroom each girl is required to take her work through and complete and take responsibility from start to finish of each piece undertaken. As much scope for the exercise of individuality and responsibility on the part of the pupil as possible is given. The pupil must aim at completing her work up to trade standard, and not to lose sight of the fact that she must so prepare herself that she may obtain market price for her knowledge at the end of the course.

Attention is given to speed, and note taken of the time spent on the various processes completed. For skill without reasonable speed will not command a price.

Side by side with the trade instruction a combination of general education is carried on. This includes literature—lessons aimed not so much at serious study of the classics as at arousing a healthy love of wholesome reading, and guiding the pupil in her choice. History dealing with the development of industrial conditions and citizenship, with the aim of developing some understanding of the system of which the pupil forms part, and an interest in what is going on around her. These lessons sometimes take the form of a debate or class discussion on matters of common interest. Arithmetic and elementary geometry of a practical kind, problems being derived as much as possible from the practical work of the trades. The making of bills, estimates, and costing are also included. Composition includes set business correspondence. Hygiene and physical exercises are included.

A most important part of the course for all trades except trade laundry and cookery is the instruction in drawing and design. Four to five hours a week is given to this work, the instruction being as far as possible adapted to suit the requirements of the different trades.

There are, at present, only six trade schools for normal girls, viz., at the Paddington Technical Institute, Shoreditch Technical Institute, Trade School, Bloomsbury, Trade School, Hammersmith, Borough Polytechnic, Woolwich Polytechnic, at which, during the session 1910-11, 620 girls were in attendance. Additional accommodation is being provided, and during the present session instruction is being given in eleven trades. In addition trade instruction is given in three schools for physically defective. The size of the classes, sixteen to eighteen, is the usual number; twenty is the highest.

Admission into the trade schools is obtained either by means of scholarships—a limited number of which are offered by the Council for competition—or by paying a fee of 10s. a term. A few free places are granted also by the Council. As evidence of the increased demand for places, the following figures are of

interest:—In 1906, eighty scholarships were awarded, for which 262 candidates applied; in 1910, 168 scholarships were awarded, for which 759 candidates applied; in 1907, twenty-eight fee-paying pupils were admitted; in 1910, 117. In this connection it may be pointed out that though the number has generally increased, the number of applications for fee-paying pupils received varies at the different schools according to the trades taught, *e.g.*, a very great many more fee-paying girls apply for the dressmaking, tailoring, and millinery classes than for the upholstering, waistcoat-making, or laundry.

It is felt necessary that the co-operation of members of the trades taught should be secured if the training given is to be kept in touch with the trade requirements and changes, and the confidence of the trade at large secured. Small committees have been formed of members of the trades to visit the schools, inspect the work, criticise and advise, assist in the choice of teachers and the planning of the curriculum. The work of the pupils is examined individually, and judged from the trade standard.

The support and interest taken by various leading employers of the different trades have proved one of the most encouraging features of the work. This is shown both in the help given by experts in inspecting and criticising the work of the classes as well as in the demands made for the girls when trained. Many expressions of opinion of the practical value of the work have also been received from members of the various trades. Each year the girls have been placed out satisfactorily, and the most satisfactory testimonial to the quality of the trade school trained girls lies in the fact that employers, after engaging one girl, have come back in the following year for others.

Four complete courses have been worked. It may be claimed on the result of the six years' life of these schools that they have succeeded in gaining both the confidence of the employers and of the parents. The demand for places in the schools on the part of parents and of headmistresses, as well as the demand for the trade school girls on the part of the employers, has grown from year to year, and in neither case it is possible to meet the demand.

The school year ends at Easter, as it was found that at that time of the year girls can best be placed out. The placing out begins some weeks before Easter. Girls are allowed to leave as offers of suitable situations with prospect of permanency are received. As the end of the course approaches the initial wage which each girl is considered to be worth is carefully estimated, and she is helped to get a suitable place. No undertaking to find places is given by the Council, but it is a point of pride with all trade teachers and others concerned with the school to place the girls out suitably and to watch over their after careers.

It is realised that much of a girl's future success depends on her making a good start in the workroom. Considerable care is required to select the suitable place of each girl. The experience of trade teachers and the zeal and interest they take in this part of the work is most valuable.

The worth of the training given can only be proved by carefully watching the after careers of the girls. Records are kept of the progress of the girls in the working world, and old girls' associations formed, and every effort made to keep in touch with them.

These schools are still in their experimental stage, and it is not yet possible to gauge the full extent of their possible utility. It is thought that the progress made so far is most encouraging, and that real foothold has been secured. Growth has been steady, though slow. The total number of places available

during the last session, 1910-11, being 620. Additional provision is being opened this session at the Shoreditch Technical Institute and at the Borough Polytechnic.

Between 30,000 and 35,000 girls leave elementary schools in London each year, but a handful only can pass through the trade schools. It is difficult to estimate the total provision required. At present there are no reliable means of estimating either the proper proportion of young to adult workers in the workroom, nor can the actual rate of leakage of adult workers out of the trade, nor incoming of fully trained foreign or provincial workers into the trade be ascertained. It is necessary, therefore, that careful watch should be kept on the skilled labour market. The supply of workers passing through the trade schools must be controlled to follow but not exceed the demand. Normal growth to be healthy must be slow. Moreover, it must be recognised that no small share of the results achieved so far are due to the untiring zeal and devotion of the women teachers and other members of the school staff who have not spared themselves to further the interests of the schools and pupils.

The success of future developments largely depends on the possibility of securing a continued supply of teachers similarly imbued with the spirit of social welfare.

Discussion.

Mr. CHARLES BATHURST, M.P., said that since his paper had been written a Government Bill had been read a first time in the House of Commons dealing with the question of exemption from the elementary school and compulsory attendance at continuation schools. He had the privilege of giving evidence before the Inter-Departmental Committee on the partial exemption of children from school. He went there mainly at the request of the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture, a body composed mainly of farmers, and he was undoubtedly sent there with the object of blessing Robson's Act and defending the continuance of the so-called half-time system which prevailed to a limited extent in the agricultural districts. He was afraid, however, that he played the part of Balaam, as he could not find it possible to bless Robson's Act. He had found it necessary, however, to advocate under certain stringent conditions the exemption of certain boys, at any rate in rural schools, from compulsory attendance between the ages of 12 and 13, assuming, that was to say, that really beneficial employment was ensured to those boys upon the land after they had left school. He was not going to suggest that what had hitherto been called erroneously beneficial employment under Robson's Act had been beneficial employment at all. He had known many instances of boys who had gone upon a farm, and from the time they had reached there till the time they had ceased their employment they had been occupied by acting as a sort of servant boy in the family blacking the boots, cleaning knives, etc., and, of course, there was no educational value at all in such work; but there was and ought to be educational value in the employment of a farmer who was really interested in the boy that came to the farm as an apprentice and who was prepared to teach him what he would most need to know in his future career and at the same time encourage him to carry on his own education at any hours that might be provided by the local education authority or otherwise. That system was being adopted in certain other countries, and particularly in Canada, with enormous advantage not only to the boy but to the farmer. He understood that some of the boys from industrial schools particularly were going as apprentices after leaving school to some of the smaller farms in New South Wales. There seemed to be an advantage in their going to the smaller farmers, where an intelligent man was able to give personal attention to the boys, and after such instruction such boys were able to pass on and obtain employment on larger farms or carry out the more serous business of occupiers of

land paying a rent or eventually becoming owners of the land that they were cultivating. With regard to continuation schools, he was sorry to find in the Government Bill—and he intended to move an amendment on the subject—that although children in the towns were going to be compelled to attend up to the age of 14 or 15 the elementary school, and then to have continuation classes compulsorily provided for them, that was not to apply to country districts, and that it would be possible for children to be exempted at the age of 13, while there was no necessary provision for compulsory attendance at continuation classes. He did not suggest that at the present moment it was possible to make continuation classes absolutely compulsory in rural districts, but he thought that the local education authorities in rural districts ought to be empowered under this Bill to move in their own districts if they thought that the time and opportunity had come.

Miss MAUD DAVIES said she would like to say a few words as to the need for rural education for girls. She took it that they all wanted to keep the population on the land to a greater extent than was the case at present, and everybody had spoken about the necessity of keeping the labourer on the land; but in her opinion education had got to be adapted to keeping the girls on the land as well. What usually happened was that the girls went straight from home into domestic service. She admitted that a girl who went as a servant into a gentleman's house obtained higher wages than she might otherwise do, but the experience she obtained there did not fit her to be a better wife or mother in a labourer's family—if anything it acted rather to the contrary. Her experience was that the working woman who had been a servant in a very good family in a big house found it very difficult indeed to adapt herself to the conditions of cottage life. Mr. Bathurst in his paper suggested that every boy, at any rate, should be instructed in the following four subjects in the rural continuation school: gardening, carpentry, pig-keeping, and poultry-keeping. Why should not three of those subjects be compulsory for every girl? As well as gardening and pig and poultry-keeping she would add dairying. If they wanted to keep the girls in the country was not the best thing to give them a training that would fit them to take an interest in country things? She did not know why in the future girls should not again take part in agriculture—why it should not be an opening for girls just as much as it was for boys.

Miss COCHRANE (Rural Housing and Sanitation Association) said she thought it was generally acknowledged that a great deal of destitution had been caused by the number of labourers who had emigrated from the country, and who had thereby taken the work from the town labourer. What they wanted to do in order to remove the difficulty was to keep those labourers in the country, and in order to do that they must try to educate them, not only with the old book-learning, but they must include besides such interests as were afforded by bands, morris dances, and such like, which were educational in many ways, and which served to give the young men and the young women in the villages some interest in life. She quite agreed with everything Mr. Bathurst had said as to the lack of technical training among the young men in rural districts. It was very sad to see very often, when they wanted an expert day's work in thatching or shearing, that it was usually the old man of 60 or 70 years of age who came forward. Such work was skilled work—it required a great deal of skill and knowledge. It was a very delightful thing to know how to dig properly and to do many other things which were required to be done in the country. Many of the country occupations required great skill and intelligence, and how a man could consider it a superior thing to sit in an office and write all day, and, just because he wore a black coat, think himself superior to the man who wore fustian and who put his mind and heart into his work on the land, she could not understand. There was no doubt that there was a tremendous amount of waste by our present elementary education system. When the boys and girls left school, she knew from experience that they forgot a great deal that they learned, and they must remember that when they left school they did not have any opportunities of obtaining any further education at home; for, as a rule, their surroundings were not conducive to self-improvement. What Mr. Bathurst had told them concerning the wages in Scotland and the opportunities in Canada was very interesting; but there was one thing they must remember when speaking of Canada, which was that it was a wonderfully bracing climate, and the people there had more energy. With regard to continuation classes in Scotland, she was not inclined to think that the two-mile limit was any obstacle, considering that as a rule the boy would go to work late in winter mornings and was generally back by 4.30, and that was not too late to do a certain amount of work in

an evening continuation school. It might be possible to make some arrangement by which those who lived more than a mile from the school should be driven there, if the education authorities decided to have evening continuation schools. As to compulsion, that was a word nobody liked. She would like to see the boys in agricultural districts allowed to leave school as they were at Cambridge, at 13—to leave their original education provided they continued at a continuation school for a certain number of years afterwards. She thought that would be all the compulsion that would be necessary, because she knew that a great many of the parents and the farmers would very much appreciate the boys continuing their education in the evening at home, when they were not wanted in the cottages. There was one point she wished to emphasise, and that was that they must not have the day teachers taking these evening continuation classes. Such a system was not fair either to the children or to the teachers. She would conclude by asking the conference not to lay too much upon the teachers, without doing a little more to help them. There was a great need among the public generally for helping teachers, for encouraging them, for giving them in rural districts opportunities of meeting together and of learning certain things that would be of benefit to the children whom they were teaching. Above all, if any good was to be done in the school, the home must be improved, and must co-operate with the teacher. What was the use of telling children in the school that they must not use bad water, and that they must be kept clean, if the parents neglected these matters? What was the use of telling the children that they must keep their windows open if the mothers would not help in the matter?

Mr. C. G. Watkins (Buckinghamshire Education Committee) said that he could not help being struck by the fact that one thing which did not seem to trouble the speakers was the question of ways and means, and that was the one question that troubled his Authority. To his mind there was nothing to be gained in under-estimating the cost of anything, and, much as he agreed with Mr. Greenwood's paper, unless his pupils were to take a meal from an acidulated drop, the £220 a year which was supposed to be the cost of running a continuation school for 50 boys would be entirely swept away by salaries, leaving nothing whatever for meals, and it was useless to rely on the local education authority providing free accommodation. He did not propose to go into the question of finance at the moment, because the question was relegated to another section of the conference, but he thought the meeting would be interested in knowing what his committee had recently done in developing Miss Hughes's idea of home working. He need hardly say how much they were indebted to Miss Hughes in the earlier stages of their experiment—personally he had derived the very greatest assistance from that lady, which he was able to hand over to his committee. It seemed to his committee that a residential school which took girls from the age of 14 to 16 was most costly. The residential schools at present existing in the country cost from £500 to £1,000 a year, and they took only 20 to 40 pupils in the whole year, and it was apparent therefore that they only touched the fringe of large numbers of girls who they wished to deal with. The home-working centre was almost an unreality so far as housewifery was concerned, for the simple reason that the girls were always engaged in cleaning the clean. (Laughter.) Therefore his committee had decided to make an experiment of a totally different nature. They had actually taken a villa in which people lived, and they paid the occupiers 25s. a week for the use of the villa from 9 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. They asked the members of the family to create as many dirty things as possible, and they had some 15 girls in the house between the ages of 14 and 16 at the present moment, who went daily from 9 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon and did the work under a very wise and experienced teacher. They did all the practical work of the house on ordinary house lines. They prepared the midday meal for themselves; five of the girls went out and did the marketing and cooking for the 15, five did the laundry work, and five did the housewifery. The cost of the scheme was very little indeed; the cost of food was only about £1 a week, and they had no establishment charges. That experiment was going on for at least three months. The girls came from the vicinity of the villa, and they hoped they would be able to find residents in other parts of the county who would be willing to place their houses under similar conditions at their disposal. They thought that in that way the girls would be taught what was really required in a real house—they would be doing the real work which arose from day to day in the home. The additional advantage was that the local authority was not put to heavy establishment charges, and the girls by going out daily to market learned how to

purchase goods. They certainly hoped and believed that the 15 girls of 14 to 15 years of age would at the end of their course be most enthusiastic in regard to home-making.

Mr. J. S. Ballin (Mansion House Advisory Committee of Associations for Boys) said he would like to make a few remarks on subjects to which he had devoted hard work and study for the past forty years, and on which, therefore, he might claim to have some knowledge. The address which the President had given them that day offered an almost illimitable number of subjects, each of which was worthy of the greatest consideration from the conference; but throughout the whole the keynote had been that of education. To his mind education was perhaps wider in its form than perhaps some of them might have supposed. The first point was the education of employers—to induce them to take learners and apprentices, above all things to learn skilled trades. Then there was the education of the parents—to persuade them that it was to their advantage to sacrifice some of the earlier years of their children's income for their benefit in the future; and, last of all, there was the education of the children themselves from the earliest period. It appeared to him from what had passed from previous speakers that it was already recognised at home that the elementary education of our children was absolutely unsatisfactory. In dealing with these things he might say that in the last four or five years he had personally acted as a member of the National Institute of Apprenticeship, which he founded in 1895, and in that capacity he had received applications from something like 3,000 boys and girls from their parents, who had come for advice and if possible for apprenticeship; and in examining those boys and girls he had found that the elementary education that they had received—most of them had come from London County Council schools—had been almost entirely unsatisfactory, and had left them in a most bare and elementary state for the lives they would have to live hereafter. It seemed to him to be an absurd waste of enormous sums that were spent yearly by our education authorities that such a deplorable result was produced, and how was it to be remedied? That appeared to him to be one of the first works for that conference to take in hand. If they were to have suitable youths and girls who were to be trained in the various branches of trade and who were to have technical instruction by apprenticeship or otherwise their elementary education should be such as would fit them for that training. What was to be done? If he gathered rightly this educational process had to be carried out by their Advisory Committees. That brought in the very serious question—were these local Advisory Committees suitable themselves for the purpose indicated? He had been working for years for their own Advisory Committee in connection with the National Institution of Apprenticeship, and over the whole period of those years he had been able to obtain only three—one lady and two gentlemen—who were really fitted to carry out the duties of the position. If they had local Advisory Committees who did not know what was necessary for them to do and who did not know the conditions of the various trades and how to fit the round pegs in the round holes and the square pegs into the square holes, they were not of much use. All those things required a considerable amount of knowledge—expert knowledge which it was often exceedingly difficult to obtain in ladies and gentlemen who had only the ordinary experience of life to deal with, and the result would be that it would be almost like the blind leading the blind. He sincerely hoped that these Advisory Committees would turn out better than he was afraid they would, and if they did no one would be better pleased than himself.

Mr. J. Young (Edinburgh School Board) said that in the remarks he intended to make he must bring them back to urban conditions and urban problems. He could not help regarding the morning and afternoon discussions in that section as two parts of the same subject, and in looking at them there were two general propositions which struck him. In the first place they were attempting to do something with the unemployment problem, and in the second place they were attempting to secure real, effective training of their workers. None of their schemes or methods had as yet stood the test of time, and whether they were going to do very much to deal with the mass of unemployment remained to be seen. The weak point was touched upon by Professor Lodge, that while they as individuals could advise no individual to become an unskilled labourer if there was any possibility of his becoming a skilled labourer; in spite of that those of them who knew the nature of the industrial conditions prevailing knew that on the face of it it was impossible to send all the boys to skilled employment. Every trade without exception had an excess number of skilled labourers for practically every period of the year. The

excess was increasing in some parts, and most of them who had any experience of casual labour knew that it was not only recruited from the man or the boy who had followed a "blind-alley" occupation, but that it was also recruited from the skilled labour markets. That was a serious factor and one which they had to take into account when discussing a remedy for unemployment. With regard to the actual training being given to the citizens and craftsmen in the continuation schools they had got to take into account that as far as their school charges were concerned they were making up what used to be done by the employer in the employer's time for which he paid. That brought him to the point that they had a claim upon the employer's time for allowing their young people to attend compulsory continuation schools. That was a point they should remember when they talked about compulsion —it was not a case of compelling the boys and girls, who were already compelled by economic conditions to work so many hours a day—it was a case of compelling those who were utilising them for profit to consider the future of their young people. They in Edinburgh had pushed the question of voluntary continuation classes nearly to its limit. They had got this year about 80 per cent. of young people who left the schools immediately drafted into the continuation classes. That, he thought, was coming very close to the limit of voluntary effort, but as the chairman of another committee had put it that morning, the most serious problem was the 20 or 25 per cent. who did not attend. There was one thing which he wished to emphasise, that when the power of compulsion was given to the local authorities it must be mandatory and not permissive. In Scotland he did not think they were far behind now; but when these fuller powers were given to them he hoped they would be mandatory.

Councillor A. E. Harvey (Tottenham) said he would like to mention how at least one committee established under the Unemployed Workmen's Act had been able to do something in the way of providing industrial training. It might seem very strange that a body established under the Act to which he had referred should have been able to do anything in the way of imparting industrial training, but the judges had set them an example in getting round Acts of Parliaments which their friends the legislators had framed, and it would be strange if administrators did not find some means of getting some sort of industrial training even in an Act of Parliament under which, as most of them were aware, there were many record papers to examine and very little work to provide. That was the case when they commenced operations—they were simply inundated with record papers of all ages. In order to try and obtain work for some of the women they established three workrooms and started work in them, but they very speedily found that if they were to do any real good at all they must concentrate on a few cases and try to do something of real lasting benefit for them. Accordingly they began to take a few young women, and they established a period of probation. Their three workrooms were severally devoted to tailoring, hosiery, and needlework. These young women worked during a period of probation, and they had established joint Advisory Committees in connection with each of the workrooms to secure that every woman after she had gone through her probationary period should have her case individually examined and that some attempt should be made afterwards to place her out in a situation. The results were truly wonderful—they found that women after they had been with them for a period of six weeks were perfectly competent to take situations outside. He remembered one young woman whom they trained as a presser, who, when she came to them, knew nothing of the trade. On the completion of her term of probation she could hardly believe that she could get a situation in a shop, but they obtained a place for her and she had been very successful. That only showed how, if they gave a certain amount of individual training, they could successfully place women out in permanent situations, and thus secure that the operations under the Unemployed Workmen's Act should have some real, practical value. They wanted also to establish a women's farm colony. The men had their colony at Hollesley Bay; why should not the women have theirs? There were operations such as jam making and other things which the women could carry on on a farm colony, but unfortunately that was found too great an innovation, and they had not been allowed to start such a place. There was one other thing they had managed to do—they were anxious to teach many of the women laundry work and cooking, and the thought struck them that as the Legislature would not allow them to establish any other workrooms they would try and see whether they could not call in the London County Council to their assistance. He was glad to say that they had managed to

secure the co-operation of the London County Council and to induce them to let the women attend special classes for laundry work and cookery. They found that the women were most anxious to learn, and, in fact, they were even ready to pay fees out of their scanty earnings. Those classes were now in operation, and he would be very pleased if any of the members of the conference would go down and look at the workrooms and see the work that was turned out. Altogether it was a very fruitful experiment, and he hoped it would be only the first of a series of experiments which would produce lasting results.

Mr. H. H. Elvin (National Union of Clerks) said he was one of those superior persons to whom a lady speaker had referred—a clerk—but he might remind that lady and many others who held similar opinions that those clerks who were intelligent did not think that they were superior in any way to the manual worker, and as a matter of fact he hoped that Mr. Bathurst before he went would take note of his (the speaker's) remarks and would try and improve the status of clerks. Under the Insurance Bill clerks who were receiving salaries of £160 a year were shut out, but manual workers, if they earned a wage of £160, were included. Miss Durham had referred to the increasing employment of women, but he wondered whether it had occurred to any of the audience to conjecture as to why it was that women were now pressing so largely in the labour market. He was certainly one of those who believed that a large number of those who went to the mill, the factory, and the office to earn a livelihood certainly ought not to be there; it was owing to the existing economic conditions that they were placed in the labour market to earn a livelihood for themselves and others dependent upon them. He was keen upon the industrial training of women, although male clerks had had to suffer a good deal from the competition of the ladies. They recognised that although they were forced into the labour market they had as much right as men to choose their particular form of employment as things went. He would ask Miss Durham and others to use their influence with the ladies and ask them not to be quite so modest as they had been in the past in estimating their abilities as workers. He would like the ladies to press for equal payment for equal work. If that was done it would go a very long way towards reducing a great deal of the destitution that existed to-day. With regard to continuation schools he wanted to give a concrete instance to show that continuation classes were of no value to a large number of workers. There were many clerks to-day who would attend evening classes if they were able to, but owing to the conditions under which they worked it was absolutely impossible for them to attend these classes. Within 500 yards of that room there was a large stores that paid a dividend last year of 45 per cent. that employed their clerks seventeen hours a day, and the maximum salary was 32s. 6d. per week. (Cries of "Shame!") It was a shame. Numbers of those clerks had told him that they were keen on educational development; they wanted to make themselves fit for life's responsibilities, but they were debarred from doing so from the conditions under which they were working. That again showed how important it was that there should be continuation classes during the day, and employers should be compelled to allow their staff the necessary time off to attend them, with another very important qualification—without loss of pay. Those classes were very successful in Germany. He saw many of them at work when he was over there last year, and those who were very fond of holding Germany up to this country as a model should remember that her intellectual methods were far more to be feared by us than her Dreadnoughts. They must also not forget when considering the question of continuation classes that there were a large number of workers to-day who were very keen on giving their boys and girls the best possible education they could, but they were prevented from doing so because of ways and means. Owing to economic conditions it was absolutely necessary that every penny that could be earned should be earned to add to the family income. Therefore if continuation classes were going to be pressed home another demand must be pressed home at the same time, and that was for free maintenance. Unless they had that their secondary education could not be a success.

Mr. Wheatley (Huddersfield Union) said he was sorry Mr. Bathurst had left the conference, as there were some things he would liked to have told that gentleman. He (the speaker) was not an expert educationalist—he had not much opportunity of going to school in his youth. Therefore they were not going to listen to an expert, but he would like to ask the experts one or two questions. The first was, Why was it that the upper and the middle classes nowadays were so terribly anxious

about the poor lads and lassies; why was it? When it was a question of the education of the boys and girls of the upper or middle classes, was anything ever said about the economic side or the cost of it? Not at all. They sent them to the private school, and they were provided with every facility and necessary they required, both the boys and the girls. Why did not the poor boys and girls have the same facilities as regards space and recreation as the children of the upper and the middle classes? Because the rates would go up, and they did not want to have to pay more than they were obliged. They had got to think about these things seriously. Mr. Bathurst had told them of a poor family in the country earning 30s. a week between them, and how the father found out that he had married a doll because the mother wanted a little bit of finery. Was there not among the upper classes, with all their advantages in the way of education, women who overdressed? Did not such women ever fall? He could if he were so disposed cite a few cases that had occurred in the Law Courts which would show them what he meant. It was always the poor woman who was extravagant and who had to be lectured. This question of education was a deeper one than had as yet been perceived—from first to last it was an economic question. They might balance it up and weigh it as they pleased, and they could pay and juggle with it, but they had got to find the money and the time, they had got to allow every child that came into the world to go from the bottom to the top if it had the ability, and the question of money would not have to come in. They would have to do it sooner or later, and the sooner they did it the better for the country and the better for all of them; the better for the employers and the better for the workpeople. The employers were playing their part now; the multitude would play their part one day by the education that they were receiving. The people had never really been educated yet. Education was observing, and that was what they wanted to get the people to do. He wanted those who had organised that conference to look deep into the lives of the people, look how they had to live, look what they had to live for, and then ask themselves whether the mothers and fathers of these children could comply with the conditions they were wanting to lay down in regard to their education unless they subsidised the parents while the children were getting this secondary education.

Mr. G. E. Abbott (Northampton Distress Committee) said they all appreciated very highly the important papers that had been placed before them and the different views on the education question that had been embodied in them. With respect to Mr. Watts's paper as showing the development of the individual workman into a competent and able white slave by the aid of evening and industrial schools he would like to ask if the system was so successful in the firm of Brunner, Mond & Co. why could it not be so if it was taken upon a national basis. With regard to Mr. Greenwood's suggestions for the organisation and the curriculum of continuation schools, they might act very well while they had the transitory stage from white slavery to co-operative communal effort. It was a curious thing that when the question of the secondary education of the children of the middle classes was concerned the rates were not considered in the same way that they were considered when the children of his (the speaker's) own class were concerned. He happened to be a school manager, and had watched the growth of the secondary education movement in Romford; and what did he find? A secondary school had been built in Heath Park Road, Romford, and the children there were called upon to pay six guineas a year. The capital cost of that school, the teaching staff and the maintenance, was about £16 a year. But there it was, a splendid school with a playing field of upwards of three acres of land for 120 students, who were paying only six guineas a year each, while the rates were paying to the extent of somewhere about £10.

The Dean of Norwich said he would not have risen but for an observation which was made by a speaker in the earlier part of the discussion, who said that he thought we were getting too much book learning nowadays. He (the Dean) would like to quarrel with that gentleman. (Laughter.) The fact was that the children were not getting enough, rather than getting too much book learning. The difficulty was that they were not keeping the children long enough at school. If they could keep them at school until they were 14 or 15 years of age and teach them something of the responsibility of life and at a time when they could understand something of what life meant he thought it would be of real benefit, and then after that if they wanted to keep on training them let them take care that between the ages of 15 and 18 they did not employ their young people either in the mill or the factory the whole

of their time. Let them have a good proportion of their time for further development in every direction, and let it be done in the employers' time and at the employers' expense. He was speaking recently to a large employer who made provision for his young employees in this respect, and he (the Dean) said to him, "But surely, this must cost you a lot of money." The employer replied that while it was true it cost money, it paid him very well because of the extremely good workpeople he was getting as a result of his method of training. He was afraid that a good many people were shortsighted with regard to the expense of these things—if they spent money they wanted to see it produce immediate results. He ventured to say that the nation that looked at expenditure from that point of view would never be a great nation—they must look at such expenditure in the nature of an investment—that what they spent to-day was going to be returned to them in improved citizenship in the years that lay before them. It was only that he did not wish the idea to go abroad that any member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, whether a majority member or a minority member, had the slightest idea that the education of to-day from the point of view of book learning was too much rather than too little, that he had ventured to interpose those few remarks.

Mr. L. Humphreys (West Ham Distress Committee) said that in the few minutes allowed him he would like to express the gratification that he personally and the committee he represented felt in the fact that the Education Section had united with the Unemployment Section of the conference in the consideration of this question. He was associated with the West Ham Distress Committee that had to do more or less directly with over 15,000 men, the results largely of the industrial, the social, and the economic condition of things at the present time, and in dealing with such work one saw how very closely they acted and reacted with one another—the educational and the industrial considerations. Among that army of workless that had been suffering in that part of greater London during the past six years they had men of all ages and almost of all types of occupation. They had had there young fellows between the ages of 18 and 20, covering some 6 per cent. of the total register; under 30, covering some 28 per cent.; and even up to 40, covering over 54 per cent. There were many sides of the question one would like to touch upon in order to try and find som eexplanation of the mass of suffering that those figures represented, but one could not fail to recognise on the educational side that a good deal of it was caused by the fact that certain features that ought to come into our national elementary education had not yet been fully realised. Having been associated for nearly twenty-five years both in the practice and in the administrative work of education and having been for the past six years in close touch with some of the results of the education system he had had brought home to him rather closely the false lines on which they had been working. While fully appreciating the meaning of the Dean of Norwich's words just now that we wanted book learning—as we undoubtedly did—at the same time he thought we needed to recognise that we wanted the whole boy and the whole girl developed. To his mind they had the ideal education in the infants' school; they wanted to carry that ideal more into the boys' and girls' school, and not to have it brought against them that their education of the child had been one-sided, because that was largely what it was now. They could not be surprised at the lack of intelligence, at the lack of mental dexterity, on the part of many of our people. What he wanted to urge upon our educational bodies was to give more time to the development of the body and of the character, and particularly to use every possible effort and power in putting down this exploitation of boy labour, which, he was sorry to say, existed even in Government departments. They had come across many cases of young men whom, in the absence of means to help them in other ways, they had tried to emigrate, but who they regretted should be under the necessity of leaving their own country—lads really of great intelligence who had been through the Post Office and other Government departments and who had been discharged at a certain age, practically thrown upon the streets to start upon a career of loafing. It was not right that the Government should in that way extend the evil of casual labour and unemployment.

Mr. J. W. Walker (Maidenhead Union) did not think they would cover the entire ground by merely stating what they had achieved or by going through what they desired to attempt. They had also to face a few of the reasons as to why they had not done many of these things. They had heard something of the big city and the rural area. He represented the happy medium—he came from a small, ancient, municipal corporation representing a community of about 15,000 souls—not one of

those big cities nor a scattered rural population. He represented a place where there were good technical buildings, well equipped, a good staff, a good curriculum, and a first-class secretary taking an interest in the work. What were their difficulties in working a continuation school in such a place? It was all very well for them to come there full of enthusiasm, but the fact was that the outside public had yet got to be educated to appreciate the importance of this question, and they had got a tremendous amount of spadework to do before they would do anything effective in the matter. The practical bearing of what he was saying was that they had got to meet the ratepayers at the ballot box every now and then, and it was absolutely fallacious for them to suppose that they could carry out great reforms unless they had got with them the consensus of public opinion. Public opinion therefore was the first thing they had got to deal with. In the second place they had got to deal with the difficulty of the employer. When a boy obtained a scholarship it was most difficult for him to attend at the secondary school, because he wanted to go to work, and the employer would not give him the necessary time. They had got to deal with the hostility of the employer in many cases; and then they had to deal with the difficulty represented by the ratepayer. One great difficulty in this matter was that this secondary education and the education that they dealt with in these schools was looked upon almost exclusively from a financial point of view. Secondary education was looked upon by a large majority of the people as a sort of Jacob's ladder by which they could rise up to commercial prosperity, and if there was no money in it then interest in the thing largely waned. They found in Maidenhead, looking at the question from that point of view, that the commercial classes were striking a blow at the art classes. A boy or girl who learned shorthand or type-writing and things of that sort saw the immediate prospect of turning it into money value, but the boy who studied art or drawing did not see the immediate financial result, and the result was deplorable on their art classes. He need not tell that audience that the study of art and drawing was the basis of all our handicraft, and it was a thousand pities to see those studies so neglected as they were.

Mr. G. M. Hale (Govan School Board) said it seemed to him that everybody who had spoken that afternoon had forgotten that this was a conference on the question of destitution, and the discussion had developed into the question of how they were to educate the children of the country. It did not seem to strike them that first of all they ought to consider what was going to happen in the education of the children after they had left school. They ought to remember in connection with the industrial field that the introduction of machinery had led to the displacement of labour. Then again they should remember that many men were going to be stranded and their places taken by women who were going to do the work which they had previously done, and the consequence was that in almost every part of the country they had working women who had to go out to work to help maintain the family. In many cases too the boys and girls were out at work while the father was unable to obtain employment. If they were content with such a system it simply meant that they were bolstering up a state of things which was doing so much to cause destitution and the poverty that was so prevalent; and they had got to look at it from that basis. It seemed to him that the first thing they had got to do, if they were going to do anything to prevent destitution, was to raise the school age to 16 and stop child labour; and perhaps then they would be able to find more work for the men and the women. There seemed to be a general feeling in the conference that they were dealing wholly with the rank and file of the people. It never seemed to strike them that they should turn round and say, "We ought to have the best out of every individual unit in society, and every child in society should have the opportunity of going to the University if they liked in order that they might get the most of the talents that were in the child." Let them raise the school-leaving age and ensure that they gave every child in the community full and equal opportunity of getting the best advantage out of their education, and having done that, they would have done something to act upon the lines that that conference was convened for, and he was satisfied that their labours would not have been in vain.

The Section then adjourned.

Third Day, Thursday, June 1st.

MORNING SESSION.

The chair was taken by Professor M. E. Sadler, and the subject discussed was THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF EDUCATION, AND THE FUNCTIONS OF CARE COMMITTEES. The following papers were taken:—

1.—*The Work and Organisation of a Care Committee.*
By Miss MAUD E. DAVIES.

2.—*Children's Care Committees.*
By Mr. H. D. C. PEPLER, Organiser of Care Committees, London County Council.

3.—*Care Committee Work in a County Area.*
By Miss C. F. SEVERN BURROW, Worcestershire Education Committee.

4.—*Administrative Problems arising out of School Feeding.*
By Councillor JOHN YOUNG, Edinburgh School Board.

5.—*Citizen Service as applied towards securing the Physical Basis of Education.*
By Mr. WALTER MILLEDGE, Secretary of the Bradford Guild of Help.

6.—*The Provision of Country Holidays, Vacation Schools, and Play Centres.*
By Mrs. LESLIE MACKENZIE, Convener of the Health Committee of the Edinburgh School Board.

The Work and Organisation of a Care Committee.

By MAUD E. DAVIES.

A DARING experiment has been made by the L.C.C. in Children's Care Committees. As an attempt to solve the problem of supervising every London school child, and bringing him into touch with needful ameliorative influences, the Care Committee as at present constituted was foredoomed to failure. Looked on, however, as a bold experiment in employing voluntary help in the public service failure is no less instructive than success, and from this point of view it offers most valuable lessons.

Care Committees taken as a whole are not a success. This by no means proves that there is no place for the Volunteer under the Education Authority. It does, however, afford the strongest evidence as to how, when, and where it is futile

to employ such a Voluntary Worker, especially when the isolated instances of comparative efficiency are carefully considered.

Who are the present Care Committees? What have they been asked to do and what have they actually done? How might the future Care Committee be more efficiently organised? It is to these questions that the present paper attempts to give some answer.

If we take a few Care Committees and examine their *personelle* we find it made up of the most various types.

Here and there is the energetic person seeking in this branch of voluntary work the career which chance of circumstances prevented her following in a remunerative profession.

All over London is a leavening of the semi-professional worker from some older institution--the Church, the C.O.S., or other organisation. These people are not infrequently members of a Care Committee, despite innumerable duties and engagements elsewhere, from no special understanding of, or sympathy with, Care Committee ideals, but rather to watch that the upstart organism do not clash with and injure their own ideals and work.

A smattering of keen social reformers may be found, often likewise despite an over-busy life, eager to see that the progressive and constructive side of the work is not neglected.

There is a large host of nominal members of the committees, nominated perhaps because vacancies had to be filled—people who, if they remember the committee at all, think that by an occasional appearance at a meeting, or even by lending their names, all that is necessary is fulfilled. These ghost-like members make the Care Committees in the printed list appear substantially different from what they really are.

Then there are people doing voluntary work either as a step to a paid post or as students of social science. These will often work, for a time, with the regularity and skill of officials.

We find also some busy men and women, engaged in perhaps some totally unlike profession, anxious to devote part of their leisure to social work.

There is finally the large body of raw recruits, young women, or older people who have recently attained leisure, and impelled now by restless energy, now by sympathy with people less prosperous than themselves, this one eager to help in the alleviation of pain, that one to bestow pleasure, and the majority prompted to join this particular organism because they are fond of children, and are under the impression that their work will lie among children as the name of the Committee implies.

It would seem at first sight that if the people here described were properly distributed, and in the right numbers and proportions, a good deal might have been expected of the Care Committees. But they are neither properly distributed nor present in the right numbers.

These people, such as they are, have been thrown, more or less haphazard, despite the efforts of the organisers, into separate committees attached to each school. One-third may be appointed by school managers from their own body, one-third may be nominees of these appointed managers, and one-third are nominated by the County Council, and an appointment as a school manager is no guarantee in these days that a person is either fitted for or desirous of doing active social work.

To consider first the numbers and the demand for each type of workers. Every committee requires an honorary secretary, and unless the whole work is

to be a fiasco, the secretary must be a person so competent as to be capable of earning a good salary if he or she so desire. Now some 900 such persons have not been forthcoming, nor is the supply likely to be increased. The growing fashion of University education for girls may turn out more trained and capable young women than heretofore, but the simultaneous death of the notion that for a "lady" to do paid work is a discredit to her family, leaves it open to these expensively educated young women to enter professions if they happen to wish for regular and arduous work. Moreover, with regard to those posts which could rightly command a salary, there is a growing feeling on the part of volunteers that by undertaking them gratuitously they are entering into unfair competition with someone who desires a salaried post.

The improvers in social work, in quest of experience, may be able to fill a few secretaryships, and may legitimately be employed thus by local authorities, but only to an extent that will afford reasonable probability that the aspirations of each improver will be realised—that is to say, in the case of those qualifying for posts, only in proportion to the vacancies or new posts likely to be available. Broadly speaking, the other classes of social workers are neither fitted for nor willing to undertake this exacting work. The supply of competent secretaries, therefore, falls far short of the demand.

But with the numbers and distribution of other Care Committee workers things seem no better. Ghosts are too numerous. There is little effective attempt to train novices. Some committees or districts are dominated by the C.O.S., others, less frequent, by Socialists. Here a committee is run by a clergyman; there by a doctor. The ideas of the various committees as to what is needful or desirable are divergent as the poles, and are applied arbitrarily to a school or a district with no regard to the peculiar character of school or district or its especial needs. Children from the same family may attend different schools, where completely different systems prevail, and one child may be offered clothing and food, while the parent may be rebuffed for making application for an equally needy brother or sister at the neighbouring school.

Moreover, from the point of view of the voluntary workers themselves, many are not being given the right things to do, and are turning away with disgust, and so the services of people who would willingly devote certain hours weekly to congenial social service within their capacity are being perhaps permanently lost.

What is it that the Care Committees and their members have been asked to do? By their constitution they have been asked generally to see that the physical and moral welfare of every child in the elementary schools is properly cared for and safeguarded. This for six or seven hundred thousand children is a gigantic undertaking, beyond the scope of any private charity. Let us see, then, what means are provided whereby the Care Committees can carry out what is required of them. First, there are rate-provided free meals and milk for the unfed and underfed. Secondly, it is suggested that charity shall provide boots and clothing. Thirdly, there is the Children's Act to be put in motion for the punishment of parental neglect, and the removal of children from morally contaminating surroundings. Fourthly, there is the possible free use of the school buildings for play centres, vacation schools, etc. Last, but not least, there is medical inspection with some arrangement whereby necessitous children can receive treatment for specified ailments, partly or wholly at the expense of the London County Council.

There is, so far, little regular, smoothly working routine connected with this somewhat imperfect and inadequate machinery, and the distinctive feature of the Care Committee experiment, which marks them out from mainly deliberate

bodies such as the Borough Councils, and even the Boards of Guardians, is that they have to carry out, almost unassisted, a large part of the executive work which comes within their province.

The local associations of Care Committees, which arrange and manage the dining centres, and discuss general questions, have, it is true, the correspondent to the Managers as secretary, but the bulk of Care Committee work is entrusted to the Committees attached to each separate school, who frequently have not even an officer of the Council present at their meetings.

Let us consider separately the work needing to be done by the School Care Committee in connection with feeding, clothing, medical treatment, home conditions and the Children's Act, occupation of leisure and holidays, not forgetting that another important duty placed on the Care Committee, of co-operation in getting boys and girls leaving school suitably placed, and supervised during adolescence, is being considered elsewhere in this Conference, but is none the less a duty making exacting demands on the time and energies of the Committee.

In connection with feeding the Care Committees are asked to decide what children are "necessitous." Nothing is said as to a preliminary application from a parent being necessary, nor are Committees told they must consider no cases that are not first brought to their notice by a head teacher. It would rather seem to be their duty to try and discover every child in the school whose physique and mental capacity are suffering from insufficient or improper feeding.

They are then required to investigate parents' circumstances so that those who can pay for food shall do so, and to reconsider every family receiving food at least once a month.

For inquiry and investigation it is usual to send notices to the parents asking them to attend at the school on a certain day and hour, and members of the Committee have to be present, ask a number of questions, record the answers on case-papers, together with their own name and the date. These case-papers are to be submitted to the Care Committee, or more rationally to a small section of it, who decide whether, and for how long, each child shall be fed. The names then, scattered as they are among the case-papers, need extracting and notifying each time to the head teachers, who keep the feeding register and mark daily each child's acceptance of a ticket.

These registers, kept in no alphabetical order, are produced at the meetings of the Care Committee, who are expected to see that the right children are being fed, that none have been discontinued unless at their own request, without the approval of the Care Committee, that none are still receiving meals whom the Care Committee had decided were not in need, and generally that no mistakes or irregularities of anybody's are being visited on the defenceless children.

The irksomeness and difficulty of some of the tasks involved can hardly be exaggerated, and the opportunities for error to slip in are endless even in the case of the skilled secretary or teacher. Where the unskilled are sharing the responsibility one can but speculate as to the slightness of the relation really existing between the "decisions" of the Committee and the children who eat the dinners.

I believe that the larger number of Care Committees do not know which children really need meals nor which children really get meals, and are exercising no effective supervision whatsoever in the matter. Nor can they be blamed for this; it is often an utter impossibility. Though head teachers are bound to forward all applications, their manner of receiving such applications largely

influences the number made and the kind of parent who will make them, and the greatest variety of theory and practice with regard to granting free meals exists among London head teachers.

Through all the cumbrous procedure, no member of the Committee sets eyes on any of the children, and under ordinary circumstances it is not easy for a member of the Committee to do so. This is a serious drawback to the enlistment and retention of workers in that a certain type of mind cannot realise that work is worth doing unless they see some tangible result.

Moreover, the data collected on the case-papers is kept by a secretary, who perhaps meets other members only at committees, and this information is therefore in practice more or less inaccessible for other departments of work, such as the medical, or after-care, if they are executed by another member.

All the irksome and monotonous work might be reduced to a minimum if done by one business-like person, familiar with regulations and forms, and also with the names of the children.

Better still, the cumbrous routine might be almost abolished if the whole work were entrusted to someone who knew every child and its home, though even where work is done by officials it is important to keep permanent records in case changes occur.

As to boots and clothing, some Committees are busying themselves in the matter? But to what end? Are more boots and clothing distributed than formerly? Or are they better distributed? The unmet needs at the present time are appalling, and I suspect that the Care Committees have intervened, replacing teachers as distributors, without much gain to either teachers or children.

Medical treatment is being considered elsewhere. It is proposed that while a doctor examines a school, the Care Committee shall sit in a passage and interview parents who come with their cildren. A great deal of trouble to everybody is saved where this can be done, but where are the 900 persons to be found able at a day or two's notice to devote many mornings or afternoons every term to this service?

While the consent of parents to treatment of their children is essential, a task for the volunteer lies in persuading the mothers and fathers that prescribed treatment will be beneficial to the children. This is not unpleasant work, and can be done at the time, more or less, which suits the visitor. It is, in fact, the kind of work which would appeal to many now wasted workers, but is very often not carried out at all, because the Care Committee is so overwhelmed and broken down with unaccomplished routine and preliminaries that it never reaches this stage.

I believe that few Care Committees are doing a great deal of home visiting. Trained health visitors, well informed as to what may be expected of landlords, the sanitary authority, the Board of Guardians, and other public authorities, and acquainted with dodges for making the most wholesome arrangements possible under poor and difficult circumstances, are generally very welcome in needy homes and can do much to mitigate the effects of bad housing and resultant inertia, dirt, and disease. But until public authorities make it a condition of employment that voluntary workers shall be trained, they will not be trained, and until they are trained they are practically useless, as generations of excellent but ill-equipped district visitors have proved. Such training might be encouraged by the provision of suitable courses, with a final examination, and a certificate for which regular attendance would be one of the compulsory qualifications.

As to carrying out the Children's Act, the specialised knowledge required

cannot be expected of the majority of volunteers. And at present many of the sections remain a dead letter; convictions for consignment of children to day industrial schools, for example, cannot be obtained whilst these schools are conspicuous by their absence, and so difficult is it to get even a prosecution without the most conclusive evidence, that the majority of bad homes are left unattacked. This work is rightly left mainly in the hands of officials.

The occupation of the children's leisure is a work where volunteers might easily be enlisted to help paid organisers or teachers. It is not the fact, as is sometimes supposed, that the ordinary person can manage large numbers of children by the light of nature or instinct alone. The paid helper is necessary as a rule in the play centre or other extensive scheme of entertainment, while the vacation school needs skilled and trained teachers no less than the ordinary school. But in the play centre or happy evening there is place for the volunteer, in the first instance as founder, promoter, organiser—later as helper and sharer in the children's games, dances, or manual works.

And here, at last, the volunteer is brought into direct touch with the children, on whose account he or she joined the Committee, but on whom so far he has not set eyes.

But few indeed are the Care Committees among the 900 schools who have so far inaugurated a new play centre.

The work of after-care is receiving attention elsewhere. It is yet another burden on our broken-down Care Committees.

What official help do the Care Committees receive in the performance of these tasks. There are, firstly, the assistant organisers. The number has lately been increased from twelve to more than double this number. But although these young women are sweated to a scandalous degree, the help they can give to individual Care Committees is very limited. They have to attend the meetings of the local Association and its sub-committees, for dealing with feeding arrangements and all general questions in their district; and to help in the organisation of all new developments such as the co-operation of the Care Committee with Advisory Committees to Labour Exchanges. They have to deal with a host of difficult questions referred to them by the Care Committees and their members. They have to endeavour to get a committee of some description together for every public elementary school and attend many of the meetings of these committees. They have, moreover, where Care Committees have refused to assess for medical treatment, to carry out this lengthy work by home visiting, and this alone would probably be sufficient to fill their normal working hours. Needless to say, even if these young women worked sixteen hours a day, they would still be unable to do much to help in the ordinary routine of the Care Committee.

Then there are the head teachers. These already have so much routine work to do that their functions as teachers are handicapped thereby, and they complain that they no longer have time to supervise the work of the school and train their young teachers, but have been reduced to the position of mere clerks. Some are actually serving as secretaries to Care Committees, and others are giving a good deal of assistance by way of information. But on the whole the Care Committee organisation has not been cordially received by the teachers, and while on the one hand they are irritated by the Care Committees, on the other they obstruct the Care Committee work by their lack of time or unwillingness to co-operate. The relations between Committee and teachers is so loosely defined in widely scattered sections of the handbook that much valuable time is often lost in discovering what are the respective powers and duties of each.

The School Care Committee, then, has for the most part to get along with little or no official help. That the Committees are generally a failure has already been said.

Let us now consider where they are a success, and why. There are some Committees who are carrying on the work, to a limited extent, as well as imperfect general arrangements will permit. Few, if any, go thoroughly into the needs of all the children in the school, but so far as applications for food and clothing are received, they are systematically dealt with in a business-like way—medical inspection is followed up by treatment so far as any means are available in the locality, and after-care is also not neglected.

How are these Committees worked? Firstly, in some cases by one energetic person, who is doing work freely, when she might be earning a salary, and devoting most of her time to her unpaid post. She may, or may not, be assisted by other members of the Committee. Secondly, and most successfully, by some settlement in the near neighbourhood of the school.

This second is the best of all present arrangements, providing as it does a handy office, well known to the parents and children concerned, where members of the Committee can be interviewed at almost any hour, with convenience to both parties. If the settlement is provided with a nurse or someone who can devote herself to syringing ears, dressing sores, giving breathing exercises after operation for adenoids, etc., the medical problem also is partially solved. A well-staffed settlement can suitably allot the work. An experienced resident may supervise, and a capable novice carry on some of the routine, with occasional reference and advice, whilst medical, after-care, and recreative departments may be appropriately manned by the same or by different persons.

To carry on the work on the lines of the present organisation with efficiency to the limited extent to which efficiency is practicable takes approximately the whole time of one person for an ordinary school in a poor working class district, with further help from the kind of voluntary helpers who can usually give a few hours weekly. Some of the duties require essentially to be done by a fully trained social worker, while much can be performed by a competent but less experienced person working directly under skilled supervision.

To recapitulate, Care Committees are having a certain qualified success in those cases, and those only, where work to command a good salary is being done without payment, or without payment by the Education Authority. The extension on these lines is not to be hoped for, as there is no probability that churches, other organisations, nor private persons will provide this gratuitous labour to an increasing extent—rather it may confidently be expected to drop off at no distant date. No one now expects the C.O.S. or the Skilled Employment and Apprenticeship Committees to run without much paid help. As the initial impetus dies out in any new society the supply of the whole-time voluntary worker tends to slacken off also rather than to increase.

The voluntary helper from whom we may hope for more in the future, both in numbers and efficiency, and for whom therefore places should be found and kept, is the man or woman able to give a few hours every week to social service. The desire to help others is almost universal among normal humanity, and if it is made possible for the volunteer to do good, useful, and perhaps interesting, work without too much harassment and loss of personal efficiency for nearer duties, the many busy persons engaged in professions, especially those which afford insufficient scope for kindly and helpful personal relations, no less than the leisured people occupied with social engagements within their own sphere, will welcome gladly the opportunity for the fulfilment of their social instincts.

It is, I believe, from the ranks of the much-occupied, from men and women following regular professions or industries, that the voluntary worker of the future will be mainly recruited. The time they can give is limited, but they are accustomed to regularity and responsibility, and what they undertake is therefore in a fair way of accomplishment.

But people trained to business will not submit to forming part of an organism which is not run on business-like lines, and the chaotic conditions at present obtaining on so many Committees drive away and keep off good workers unless in rare cases where special enthusiasm and hope of improvement induces them to remain on a body whose failure to perform its functions make membership a deep humiliation.

To conclude, while all investigation, registration, and routine should be in the hands of paid officers, who would provide a headquarters for organisation and information to parents and children on the one hand and voluntary workers on the other, volunteers can find full scope—

Firstly, in home visiting, either for definite purposes such as after-care, or for permanent and periodical supervision and friendly visiting of particular families;

Secondly, in help at boys' and girls' clubs, play centres, happy evenings, etc.;

And *thirdly,* in inaugurating new and as yet unthought-of schemes for the social betterment of the children.

Children's Care Committees.

By Douglas Pepler.

(Organiser of Care Committees, London County Council.)

PART I.

Introduction.

There is a legend, usually remembered and quoted in easy verse, of which the heroine journeys forth upon some strange quest riding upon the back of a tiger. We hear the popular acclaim as she starts forth through the city gates, we see mothers snatching back their children from the roadway, distrustful of this new philanthropy, we observe the bold cheers from those safe on the city wall. Then do we feel the silence fall on the crowd as the strange pair are swallowed up in the forest. . . . Towards the evening we witness, with a shudder, the stealthy, silent stepping of a sleepy tiger as he slinks home again through the outer gates of the city.

The Official and the Volunteer.

When the London County Council formulated the Care Committee system, a system based upon co-operative effort between the free voluntary worker and

the bound salaried official, there were those who foretold the speedy return of the official beast without his companion. These optimists have not yet been justified, nevertheless it is early in the Care Committee life—the dangers which existed four years ago have indeed been modified, but they are not removed. It is well to consider the difficulties which have had to be faced.

"Red Tape."

The first is that which is usually known as "red tape." An official is responsible to a public body for his smallest action, it would be unnatural were he not to become dependent upon rules and regulations. This develops an interdependence among officers and the belief among them that an official can do no wrong. The official is trained to carry out instructions, to observe the letter of the law, and to be carefully suspicious of its spirit, to assume that the decision of the Council in one case must apply to every case, though no two are ever alike.

The example of the school managers was before the Council. These had become content to approve or disapprove mildly of official activity (the brilliant exceptions only prove the rule by force of contrast): they did not seek to control or to advance the powers which should have been their own.

Teachers and Free Meals.

The second difficulty was what may be termed the school difficulty. During the winter of 1906-7, after which the L.C.C. became officially responsible for the provision of school meals, a reported maximum of 30,636* children was fed, and the teachers (who had been feeding children for years) might almost be said to have done the work involved off their own bat. It has become a commonplace to praise the self-sacrifice of the elementary school teacher, and therefore I will be content to let the foregoing facts speak for themselves. But teachers and school managers almost unavoidably grow to accept children and their few hours a day at school as a kind of social unity. The larger life outside the school becomes a vague, if grim, unreality. Parents seem as shadows constantly changing, a certain but often unsatisfactory agency for the production of material for school use. Teachers are restless about them; why do not they keep their children more clean; why is that child sleepy at nine in the morning, and this child so pinched looking? A teacher must make his school or class attractive, otherwise his work becomes dull both to him and to his pupils—and as dullness comes the chance of promotion goes. The simplest form of attraction is that of gifts; that in the long run it is the weakest weighs not at the moment—for are not the immediate results satisfactory? The weak teacher (and the weak parent also) does not hesitate to use any little bribe which opportunity affords; if the children enjoy school meals, surely they may. If a supply of boots encourages attendance, why should boots be withheld (and are not many little feet sorely in need of them?). Although this is undoubtedly a pitfall, it is not to be assumed that all fall into it. In one school, to which went children from the poorest and most destitute part in Islington, I was astounded to observe all the children well dressed—there was not a rag to be seen. A careful investigation was subsequently made of the homes, which were distinctly cleaner than the average necessitous home. This unusual state of affairs was simply due to one headmaster, who had

* A large number of schools (non-provided particularly) were feeding necessitous children without sending in returns, so that this figure does not represent actual numbers of children fed.

been at this school for twenty-five years, and had decided that rags and dirty faces should not be. If a child had a torn coat, or an ill-fitting garment, or a dirty face, he was sent home or to the lavatory, or given, in school, a needle and cotton to repair the damage himself.

Absence of Official Guidance.

The third and perhaps the most curious difficulty which existed at the threshold of Care Committee formation was the lack of any clear definition of the duties which the voluntary workers were to be asked to undertake. This deficiency was and is due in the main to the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, which will be shortly considered. Certain organisers* were appointed to assist Care Committees to arrive at some working arrangement.

The "Party" Question.

A fourth difficulty was the political one; the appointments of managers had become appendages to the party system—were Care Committees, a new creation of one party, likely to escape?

The Variety of Voluntary Work.

The last difficulty was in the absence of any known standard of voluntary work: there was the Committee member content to think only of the child's stomach, to be satisfied with the filling thereof on the five school days, trusting to luck as to what would happen on the remaining two days of the week. There was the one whose soul sought satisfaction in the punishment of neglectful parents—such receives little to sustain him. There was he who would organise a whole social scheme within the school walls so that a child could invest its parents' savings, purchase boots, clothing, and country holiday on the instalment plan, and take up its membership in social, swimming, and other clubs; there was the easy philanthropist who would have food, milk, codliver oil, boots, clothing, medical treatment, and baths free, as the sun and air are free; and there was his opposite who believed that these things should be the parents' privilege to give and that every available pressure should be brought to bear on the parents to insure their provision. Lastly, there were those who appeared to believe in all these conflicting theories; in the evening they would demand higher wages and better conditions of employment, on the morrow proceed to the school to dole out free meals and clothes and holidays, so that there were fewer people to want the higher wages and more who could manage to live without work.

From this strange medley of conflicting interests and beliefs the Care Committees were moulded.

Now, nearly four years later, there are over 5,000 members of Children's Care Committees in London, and though with approximately the same number of conceptions of what Care Committee work is or should be, yet they have a growing corporate life and a continually advancing standard of what needs to be done.

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* Organisers of Care Committees are a new class of official of which there are some 30 working in London at the present time. Their function is to help other people to work without doing the work themselves. If they succeed in maintaining this detachment, they may become the most useful of public servants; if they forget—the most serious public menace. This is so because voluntary work cannot live if it is at the beck and call of officials or becomes, obversely, merely a benignant supervision of official activity.

CHILDREN'S CARE COMMITTEES.—PART II.

The Sequence of Events—Voluntary *v.* Official Duties.

The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, was in one sense the parent of the Care Committee. It was obvious that, if a child were sent to school lacking food, there must be something seriously at fault in his home. It is horrible to think of a child needing but unable to get sufficient food, and no one caring for the child could be content merely to feed him and allow the conditions which caused the underfeeding to exist without an attack upon them.

The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, and later the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, impose on the Education Authority the duty of linking up its work with that already carried on voluntarily,* in order that all the public and private forces available should be directed towards the assistance of the children.

The Council decided, therefore, to build upon the existing voluntary foundations, to ask, that is, for the co-operation of those who had already attempted, and were attempting, to meet the need which Parliament had at last recognised.

The Council has attempted to work through the volunteer because so much that needs to be done for the children could not be accomplished officially; partly because the improvement of the people, which is the basis of Care Committee work, cannot be imposed from without, but must develop from within; and partly because, with the many existing public and private agencies for relief, the first step had to be towards the perfecting of system and administration in order to see what help was needed and how best it could be applied.

Care Committee Organisation.

The London County Council sent invitations to all the well known, and many other, societies and agencies which exist in London in the cause of philanthropy. The Children's Country Holiday Fund, Invalid Children's Aid Association, M.A.B.Y.S., Society for Relief of Distress Almoners, C.O.S., Settlements, were asked to nominate workers.

It is important to note how wide was the appeal and how the usual sad difficulty of party, in a political sense, was splendidly overcome.

The names thus collected formed what was called an "approved list" of voluntary workers. From this the school managers were empowered to select two (or three, according to the number of selected managers) members. These formed two-thirds of the committee and the remaining one-third was nominated direct by the Children's Care (Central) Sub-committee (then known as the Sub-committee for Underfed Children).

The Care Committee thus established was new only in name and in its "statutory" significance. In a number of schools "Relief" Committees had been providing food and clothing for destitute children since 1896.

Line between Official Duty and Voluntary Help.

The co-operation between the voluntary social worker and the administrative machine of the Education Office has not yet had time to be fully established, and

* Educ. (P. of M.) Act, 1906, 1 (*a*); Educ. (Admin. Prov.) Act, 1907, 13 (1) b.

in the present early stage of its development it is well to point out the dangers which exist, in order that they may be overcome.

It is important to know where the activity of one should end and that of the other should begin. It is perhaps easy to say that officials should be provided to do the drudgery, organise and arrange meetings, keep minutes and records, and undertake police court duties, in order that the volunteer may be free to follow on with the constructive work. It is clear, I think, that prosecution and anything to do with the police court should be an official and only an official duty; it is clear, also, that the Council should carefully design the Care Committee machinery, and supply certain officers to make the working of that machinery as simple and effective as possible. It should also be clear to the voluntary worker that the Council must have some supervision and control over committees having responsibilities for the expenditure of public money in connection with the provision of meals and medical treatment. But it would not be possible to continue an effective voluntary system were the Council to be responsible for more than the framework. It is sometimes assumed that inquiry into the condition of the home is disagreeable work which might be left to the officers; but parents are human beings and cannot be treated as items on a case paper. It is impossible to help a family without knowing the cause of its trouble, and this cannot be known without inquiry—an inquiry which can only be properly made by the person who is anxious to set the family on its feet. Inquiry in the majority of cases must be work in which the Care Committee worker will be too interested, because it is too vital, to give it up. Is it sufficiently realised how serious is the responsibility of a home visit? It is stimulating to notice the enthusiasm which is being put into Care Committee work, and to see how much home visiting is undertaken, but there is an actual danger that this may be entered upon too lightly. It is a serious business for one person to meddle in the life affairs of another, none the less so when some kind of interference appears to be called for. The helpfulness of the home visit will not be lessened if this responsibility is felt more keenly.

CHILDREN'S CARE COMMITTEES.—PART III.

Care Committee Duties and Difficulties.

The selection of necessitous children for whom free meals are to be provided was the first Care Committee duty.

This function will best be understood if discussed in connection with the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906. The usual procedure before a child is officially placed on the dinner list may, however, be outlined. The parent sends a note or a message to the teacher, who reports the case to the Care Committee secretary; the parent is summoned to attend the school and his statement is taken down on a form, thereafter the home visited and inquiries made (*e.g.*, from the R.O.). The reports are submitted to the C.C.C. and the necessary action taken.

This Act provides for the feeding of school children who are "unable, by lack of food, to take full advantage of the education provided for them." The Act is so badly drawn that it can only be used on assumptions. If a child were a bottle, or a thermometer, it would be easy to say when there is only so much

liquid in the bottle, or when the temperature falls to so many degrees, then the child must be "unable to take full advantage" of its instruction and its dinner might be ordered. But, thank God, a child is neither of these things, but a child. A child, alas, who may not be able to do its lessons because it went to work too early, or slept in an overcrowded room with closed windows, or smoked too many "fags," or stayed out late at the Picture Palace, or thought he would run away to sea and so spent the night under an arch near the docks, or had a mind occupied with the delights of the world outside his school, or did not see the use of this schooling anyway. So it has to be assumed the Act means that when a child comes from a home necessitous for food he must be fed—and we talk of "necessitous" children.

The Standard of Necessity.

What standard of necessity is available? There is the *educational standard* contemplated in the Act. But teachers can only guess at the cause of a child's dullness. In one extensive inquiry in London it was found that 87 per cent. of the children being fed were first noticed as being necessitous not through their inability to profit by their instruction, but through a note or message brought from their parents; 10 per cent. of the children were fed because of their apparent need for food. The *physical standard* is equally elusive. The Chief Medical Officer, Board of Education, and the Medical Officer (Education), London County Council, tell us that there is no absolute standard of what is and what is not healthy nutrition. The physical standard was adopted in Brighton, and about half of the children recommended by the teachers were rejected. In Bristol it was tried and given up. The *economic or income standard* is again impracticable. It is seldom possible to discover the actual income of a family (this could be borne out by the Income Tax Commissioners), but if it were, it is much less possible to discover how it is spent. The most necessitous children come from homes where there is a considerable sum spent on drink. The size of a family is not always an easy factor with which to reckon. There are elder children at work and out of work, and dependents from grandparents to small babies. Illness is another disturbing factor. Yet again there is *the standard of parental responsibility*. Certain Education Authorities have ordered that meals shall not be supplied to children unless their parents apply in person within a specified time (*e.g.*, West Ham and Walthamstow).

None of these standards is either practicable or sufficient in itself. The immediate cause of a child's underfeeding, neglect, or disease, is in its home. The child in school cannot be dissociated from the child out of school. It is the same child. If its education is to be good the influence of the home must not be bad. Whether any difficulty in the home is due to the faulty character of the parents, or to industrial and economic conditions over which they have little control, the fact remains that *so long as the child lives with its parents* it is not possible really to improve its condition except by acting through its parents. It has been felt that the family's distress may be relieved to a certain extent by the provision of school meals, but it is doubtful whether the standard of living can be raised by supplementing the family income for any length of time.

It is a fact of nature that an organ or faculty not used atrophies and declines. It is therefore dangerous to assist in the removal of any faculty of parenthood, particularly in cases where that faculty has been weakened already.

Educational Meals.

It may be held that were school meals free to all children, as a permissive part of the educational curriculum, the economic difficulty in part would be balanced by the removal of the poverty test. Moreover, when the community decides, as is has, for instance, in the case of the public roads and education, that anything shall be common to all, the individual consciously benefits through communal co-operation. But the State has not so decided in the present case.

And were the communal meal a desirable object in itself and the present aim to be towards that end, there could be no less certain method of attainment than for one section of the community to continue " home " meals for itself, while forcing another, and generally less intelligent, section blindly and easily to accept the principle of communal meals. It deepens still lower the gulf of poverty and makes it not less easy for the unfortunate to fall therein.

The Act at Work.

And what is actually happening? In London last year (1910) the summer minimum was 30,636, the winter maximum 55,147 children, provided with free meals. In some schools one-third of the children are fed continuously, one-third for five or six months at a regular recurring period each year; the remainder are cases of temporary difficulty.

The large percentage of chronic cases shows that school meals are extending the system of inadequate out-relief. And with what advantage to the children? Several cases have come to my knowledge personally.

(*a*) There was a family from whom I used to collect C.C.H.F. moneys for three school children. Two years ago the father (always inclined to slack) was out of work for a fortnight, the children were given free meals, his wife went out charing, paying a neighbour to feed the babies at home; the midday meal was given up; the man has not been in work since, except for odd jobs; the younger children are very much worse off than the older children ever were; the man lately has been drinking. It would seem that the food given to the elder children had virtually been taken out of the mouths of the younger; at least judging by appearance.

(*b*) Scene: Printer's shop after strike trouble. Employer angry and out to reduce wages; offers 21s. a week for printer's labourer (former wages 24s.). Man is taken on. A trade unionist asks man how he manages to live. " I couldn't," he says, " except that the kids get fed at school, and the missis gets a day's charing."

Who benefits under that arrangement?

(*c*) A man now earning 15s. a week as milk boy has accepted this wage for eight years and his children have had free breakfasts and dinners at school all the time.

(*d*) Mother usually in jam factory, 9s. a week. Father averages two days a week at wharf, 8s.; children very neglected and fed at school.

One could quote hundreds of cases similar to this.

Do Children Benefit by School Meals?

These experiences are bound to make one uncomfortable. What of the other side of the picture? Are the children so very much better since they were fed at

school? In some cases the answer is yes; but there are too many teachers unable to say anything so precise. Even were the answer always yes, are the homes better? Is it not a fact that while children at school are better able to profit by their instruction through the provision of school meals, they are also better able to suffer morally through the greater absence of decent home life?

Frankly, I fear that by making poverty more possible, we are perpetuating it and preventing children and parents from rising out of its mire.

If there be a brighter side than that which I now see, for heaven's sake let it be known. If, on the other hand, a mistake has been made, must we not at once set to work to see how it can be remedied?

Could not the £85,000 a year which the meals cost London be spent more constructively?

Care Committees need to remember the difficulties inherent in this Act in order that it may be better understood that the Council is not able to alter certain conditions which appear to be somewhat illogical and inconvenient. The Act has more to do with Poor Relief than education, because the meals are provided for children who are not properly fed at home. The meals are not provided for all children as a lesson in table manners, or to inculcate the communal sense. They are not necessarily provided continuously to the same children, because the circumstances of the parents vary, so that we have "on and off" necessitous children as an unhappy parallel to the family "in and out" of the workhouse, and parents are being, to a certain degree, discouraged from giving proper attention to the food required by their children, because of the school supply.

Still Underfed Children.

Lastly, the Act does not reach all the underfed children, notably those who are absent from school owing to illness and who would appear to need the food more. There are two classes of parents who will do what they can to keep their children from having school meals. The first is that of the parents who do not like to run the risk of the inquiry involved in having their children fed at the public expense; the second class is that of the parents who struggle to maintain their independence to the last ditch and hate the thought, as they fear the result, of pauperisation.

It is well to ask ourselves whether it is good for legislation to be framed, as in the case of the Act, to make the low average weekly wage more possible of acceptance, or whether it should not be directed towards increasing the wage-earners' power of independence.

In Cyril Jackson's book, "Trade Unionism and Unemployment," there is outlined a more acceptable way Is it not reasonable that the union of working people to control the conditions of their employment should be encouraged, that the policy of the Friendly Societies should be developed so that it becomes less easy for a man to fall behind in his subscriptions and drop out of his union, and often later drop into destitution? Would it not be wiser to prevent this leakage than in small, subtle, and plausible ways to attempt to prevent destitution by the means which create destitution?

In the meantime would it not be possible to escape from the present dangerous position of affairs by a temporary compromise? Let milk, porridge, and proteid be given freely to any children who like it or whom the teachers think it would benefit, without discrimination or inquiry or notification to the parents. I am

sure that the majority of necessitous children would obtain more food in this way than they do under the present system because the family meal would again become a necessity.

Medical Treatment.

It is not at the moment possible to say what the exact functions of C.C.C.'s will be in this matter. At the beginning the C.C.C. was responsible for seeing that children found, at the school inspection, to be in need of treatment obtained that treatment. In the first place the parent was to be given the opportunity to obtain this through the "family doctor" or in other ways. Then the L.C.C. stepped in with special arrangements at hospitals and a continually increasing number of medical treatment centres. These centres are virtually local hospitals for school children suffering from minor diseases of the ear, nose, throat, and eyes, and are managed by local doctors (organised through the B.M.A.). The system has not altogether satisfied those who consider that school clinics under the direct control of the Education Authority would achieve better results. For some time it was not clear what was meant by a school clinic. Some appeared to believe that a small hospital could be erected in the school playground; others that a glorified lavatory and a nurse would be sufficient, provided that the hospitals and medical treatment centres could be sufficiently numerous to deal with all cases needing operations. This last view is now more generally adopted. But it has one supreme danger which cannot be overlooked in a conference of this character.

There is a clear need for nursing treatment for minor ailments to follow, and operations. The school clinic would provide this at the school, and in doing so the great opportunity now given to Education Authorities to do preventive treatment would be thrown away, because with a little more trouble and a little more organisation this treatment can be given in the home, even in the worst one-roomed home. The gain in sending a nurse into a home of this kind is enormous: she goes not only to attend the child but to instruct the mother, to make her clean a basin which has never been clean, to keep dressings decently fastened, to open windows. The nurse also sees babies and infants not yet at school. At this moment this home treatment is being carried out in parts of London with splendid success; it has only to be linked up with the health societies and the Medical Officer of Health to become the most powerful system for preventing dirt and disease which has ever been formulated. The school clinic, where the mothers are invited to witness the work of the nurse, who has every latest appliance at hand to assist her, means little to the mother and not a great deal to the child, who is sent back, indeed, more clean and more healthy, to live in exactly the same conditions which produced, and will again produce, disease and dirt. It is merely self-deception for the clinic doctor to report such a child as "cured."

If Care Committee work is to be complete it must be linked to that of the Health Society so that the visitor of the one becomes the same person who visits for the other.

The Employment of Children on Leaving School.

The last addition to the work of the Care Committee has been co-operation with the Juvenile Advisory Committee, which the Board of Trade has established in connection with each Labour Exchange. This involves the systematic attention to the future of every child leaving school, so that the parents and the child

may know at least what kind of future there is in any job which they may select, and that they may have as wide a choice of jobs as possible, so that the tendency to take the first which turns up may be combatted. It cannot mean that no child shall be allowed to enter a blind alley, but it should mean that where this happens the parents and children know exactly what is in front of them, and that every effort will be made to prepare the child for better work so that he may escape over the wall now at the end of the alley. It should mean where parents are deficient in the parental qualities of foresight and affection, or where they are criminal and neglectful, that there should be found someone (a club manager, for instance) who, for three or four years, will watch over and protect the child and supply from without what is lacking from within the home. The duty of the Care Committees, representing the educational side, is to see that, where necessary, children are commended to the care of such people. It is also their duty to see that a report on the capacity (both educational and economic) of the child is carefully prepared for the time when he leaves school. The Juvenile Advisory Committee, on the other hand, has to see that the conditions of employment are as good as possible, that everything possible is done to improve them, and that the " round " children get into " round " holes.

Recreation.

A number of Care Committees have given this subject particular attention. They have actively co-operated with the C.C.H.F. in selecting the right children for the holiday, collecting the payments, and attending to the other details of the organisation. In most parts of London this co-operation exists, as the C.C.H.F. visitor is a member of the School Care Committee.

In some schools play centres and happy evenings have either been started through Care Committee activity, or materially assisted by its additional enthusiasm. At other schools small Saturday excursions have been arranged to museums or parks. Several new clubs for boys and girls have been started. When the Care Committee organisation has attained a greater power and more unity there should be an effective agitation for more playing fields and other facilities for open-air enjoyment.

Neglected Children.

In order to understand the difficulty which exists in prosecuting parents who neglect their children, an account of one case taken into court will save many words. The child (girl aged 7) was reported by school nurse and school doctor to be verminous and showing signs of great neglect. Nurse gave evidence of vermin in head, body, and clothes; sores on head running with vermin. In spite of repeated warnings no improvement had been shown. The doctor stated he had examined the child; she was verminous, her body was very thin, her weight 28 lbs. (one stone under the average weight of a child of 7); he saw no disease to account for this. Evidence of neighbours (obtained with much difficulty, they were fetched in motor cabs at last moment) was produced to the effect that parents returned home very late at night, their child with them, and that they were often the worse for drink. Married daughter called for the defence stated parents were unfortunate, father often out of work, but she admitted that they drank too much. Son-in-law gave evidence to same effect. The charge of neglect against the father was dismissed, the woman was bound over in security of £5 to come up for judgment within six months. Three months later a visit to the

home was made at nine in the evening, the child was in bed. The visitor turned down the clothes and reported to me that she had never seen "so many vermin in one place before."

In what way has the child received benefit through the action taken in this case? But had the magistrate been more severe, had the parents been sent to prison and the child been allowed a blissful existence (as it would be compared with her home) for three months in the workhouse—what then? Are there many people who emerge from their forced hiding-place in His Majesty's gaol better able to keep a home together, more filled with the milk of human kindness, than when in they went?

While we grumble, as we must, at the often seeming impossibility to punish neglectful parents, it is well to ask ourselves whether the kind of punishment which they get will in the end have improved either the chance of the child or the humanity of the parents.

Perhaps we have given up the law, except to use it in exemplary cases when the punishment of one may stay the hands of other unsatisfactory parents. We feel that a few successful cases in court exercise a wholesome deterrence on the neighbourhood; that if A is punished for extreme neglect, then B, who is nearly as bad, will learn caution. I wonder if this is not pure nonsense? How many neglectful parents really understand what is meant by neglect? How many are shamed or caused to be made more careful by the terrible punishment awarded to A? What experience I have had of neglectful parents would not enable me to place much belief in the gospel of fear, for the simple reason that *the parents have not known what was neglect;* vermin are looked upon as something coming like the rain, unpleasant, perhaps, but inevitable.

How to Face the Neglect Problem.

A report of the Children's Aid Association of Leicester is interesting in this connection: "During 1907-8, twenty-seven families were sent on to the N.S.P.C.C., but in the past year only one family was referred to that Society. *The regular visitation of the families by the voluntary workers is responsible for this improvement.*"

My own experience confirms this report. I have been connected with a club for working men for a number of years in which there are few sermons preached, a pledge book could not be found on the premises, and men go very much their own gait; but women have nevertheless come to thank me for the return of their husbands, and mothers have blessed me (though it had so little to do with me) for the salvation of their sons. Why? Because in the club there was plenty going on, more to attract the spare energy in the men than the publichouse could offer—and a man needs must love the highest when he sees it, even if the altitude is no dizzy one.

CHILDREN'S CARE COMMITTEES.—PART IV.

The Care Committee and Poor Law Reform.

The feeding of necessitous children, the medical inspection and treatment of children, and the supervision over children in the first years of employment after leaving school, are opportunities which enable us to gauge the power now placed in the hands of the Education Authority. That power will be better used if its limits are understood. We cannot altogether look upon children as a separate

part of the social problem, while, during their school years, they spend *one-sixth of their lives only at school.* The mistake made with regard to cleansing verminous children is the best illustration of an error which can be made through too narrow an "educational" outlook. Children are cleansed by the Education Authority and allowed to return to their vermin-infested homes! Although these cases are now reported to the Medical Officer of Health, it is clear that the function of cleansing should be entirely in his hands.

Dirt should be a notifiable disease, and the school authority would notify more cases than any other authority. The example previously given of the influence of one schoolmaster in a corner of Islington shows how the teachers and Care Committee could co-operate with the Medical Officer of Health. Indeed, if Care Committees are to succeed, is not here the line of their success—to be quite determined that certain material troubles, like dirt, are unnecessary, and can be abolished?

The Strength of the Care Committee.

For the Care Committee has been created a power which no other public body has yet exactly found. In its main function to protect and care for the children, the Care Committee is given a unique opportunity to attack the home (where the disease of poverty manifests itself) at its most vulnerable point; and this power is based upon the self-sacrifice of those who believe that unless the waste of child life, the waste of poverty, be checked, there can be no longer any national or civic life worth maintaining.

In the Care Committee system a municipal body asks not for the paid assistance of officers who can be bidden to do this or that, but for the unpaid help of those who will anticipate official instructions, who will daily make these less and less of a necessity as they slowly get to stand between the people and the degradation of poverty. The Care Committee should become a clearing house—a house by the side of the road at which those in difficulty may inquire the way. It will not be every caller whom they can direct hopefully; there will be for some years those who can only be dealt with in some sort of workhouse or penal colony.

But the hope of this house of call is in the people that dwell therein; if they are to be, as now, people of good will, taking up their service there as a sacred function of citizenship, how different the reception to the wayfarer than that which would be accorded to him from the official who would endeavour to adjust the case to his rules rather than make his rules to suit the case.

What is there for one to do in this house by the side of the road? Must it not be a place of vision, where men see an horizon beyond that of the street in which they live or of the factory in which they work? A place where we may learn simple things—that thrift is the power to spend six coppers as sixpence, not as threepence; that there is joy in keeping clean that which before was dirty; that air, even London air, is a free gift of God which must gladly be admitted into rooms and tenements. We may learn to grow flowers where old tins were wont to be deposited. It will not be amiss if we begin with the little things; nor will our work suffer if, as we enter the class-rooms, playground, and homes, we look upon the children and believe that "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

Where shall this new body fit in with a Poor Law system? Will it not have to represent the people and be composed of the people—something entirely democratic? The elected representatives at the centre must direct the work of the Care Committee, supply it with decent accommodation and certain purely clerical assistance. There will need to be a few officers to form a link between the

Care Committee and the centre, so that the thought of the one is not ignorant of the experience of the other. And this voluntary body will have to justify itself by thorough work, and ever attempt to see each case through to its conclusion and become more and more efficient in its accumulated experience.

We need to put all the pressure possible on the side of keeping people straight—a work at which the Care Committee should aim at becoming expert; but when that means fails there must be some net underneath to catch those who slip through.

Ten Years' Programme of Reform.

It is impossible to readjust everything at the same moment: the Poor Law cannot be reformed in a day. But might it not be possible to outline a policy covering, say, ten years? In such a policy there should always be experiment ahead, so that by the time the given piece of reform was due there would be some definite experience upon which to base the reform. Public opinion is surely prepared for a move forward. We owe not a little to the divided opinions expressed in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, the subject has thereby been advertised and talked of so much that the nation should be ready to respond in some tangible way. But it is a subject on which division of opinion should not be allowed to become merged in party conflict. Would it not be possible for the King to form a "Committee of National Strength" with powers equal to the wisdom and statesmanship of those of whom such a committee should be constituted?

Those of us who go down the back ways of this city, who see the children at school or playing in the street, who know the misery of the single furnished room and the sights and sounds in the land of darkness, cry for strong men and women with power to face these things and courage to overcome them. It is true that recent experience tells us that the structure of the nation cannot be improved if its new buildings are based upon the sands of human weakness, and that we have now to build on firmer stuff; but whether we have helped in the former policy, as I have, or waited discontented in the background for a day which seemed too slow in coming, we do care enough to want a better order in our midst: we are anxious that men should have life—and have it more abundantly. And caring so for the end, can we much longer disagree as to the means?

Care Committee Work in a County Area.

By Miss C. F. Severn Burrow.

(Member of the Education Committee of the Worcestershire County Council and of the Worcestershire After-Care Association).

This paper deals with after-care work only in the comparatively limited region of preventive and remedial medical work during, or immediately following, school age. It does not trench upon the wider fields of those Children's Care Committees which seek to control juvenile employment, or to provide educational or recreative employment for the young adolescent.

In the Worcestershire county area the introduction of medical inspection was preceded by a general medical survey of the county schools in preparation for the detailed work when the Act should come into force. This was early in 1907, the result being that immediately the Act was adopted, the organisation was ready and complete, and work was begun at once. The common sense of its administrators—the Sanitary Sub-Committee of the Education Committee—promptly expressed itself in the organisation of a voluntary County Association working in close touch with the Medical Inspection Office, for the "following up" or after-care of all cases discovered by the school medical officers to be in need of attention. In August, 1909, the association came into being, and has formed the nucleus of the various "groups," "combined schools," and "single" school" committees now spread all over the county.

The function of the Central Committee, which consists of twenty members, five of whom are nominated by the County Council, is as follows:—

(*a*) To act as head of the movement, to whom all correspondence and reports should be sent, other than those relating to particular individual cases.

(*b*) To approve the grouping of schools and the formation of committees, and to insure that provision is made for all schools being under the supervision of some committee, so that all cases requiring after-care are dealt with.

(*c*) To collect funds for the purpose of amelioration, to receive all donations of tickets, to order appliances, and whatever may be necessary for the treatment of children.

(*d*) Generally to give any help and assistance in promoting and obtaining the proper treatment and remedies for reported children.

The duties of the local committees are:—

(1) On receipt of reports from medical inspectors to follow up the cases and ascertain which are being treated and which are not, and to endeavour to secure the proper treatment for those not receiving the same.

(2) To prepare a list of all institutions in the area, such as hospitals, provident dispensaries, friendly societies, medical aid societies, and to endeavour to secure that parents and children are members of those bodies.

(3) To report to the Central Committee all cases in which treatment cannot be locally secured, and in which special treatment is needed.

(4) To assist in securing the services of local medical men to provide treatment, to secure tickets for cases that require treatment in institutions, to provide spectacles and surgical appliances when required.

(5) To take every opportunity of impressing upon parents, teachers, and children the necessity of observing sanitary and hygienic rules in reference to the house and person.

(6) To notify the school medical officer of all cases that are being neglected and not properly cared for, and to render any help the Council may require in dealing with such cases.

(7) To ascertain what local charities may be available, and to endeavour to secure the application of the income of such charities to after-care cases in the district or parish.

(8) Each local committee shall report once a year as to the work it has done, and the number of cases dealt with in the last year.

The Central Committee will supply the local committees with spectacles, tooth-brushes, surgical appliances, and certain medicines at the lowest possible

price in cases where any payment can be made by the parents; and in cases where the parent cannot pay, it is decided on the recommendation of the local committee to do so gratuitously.

From the first it was wisely decided that the utmost latitude of constitution and liberty of action—consistent with getting the work done—should be allowed to the committees. *Variety* and *elasticity* have been the notes struck from the beginning, and perfect liberty has been allowed to individual members to use the methods found to be most efficacious in their districts. As an instance of this, no rigid rule for the constitution of committees has been laid down. Some consist of managers only, some of men only, some of women only; in one eminently practical case, "the nurse."

On some of the larger "grouped schools" committees, dealing with six or eight schools, representatives of the District Education Committee, local Medical and Nursing charities, school teachers, managers, and clergy serve. The advantages and disadvantages of this somewhat heterogeneous type of committee are as follows:—

(*a*) *Advantages.*—Varied experience of members, and possible prevention of "overlapping" of charitable action.

(*b*) *Disadvantages.*—Irregular attendance and consequent desultory reporting of cases, unequal distribution of the work, which falls upon the members who attend regularly, and general indefiniteness of action. Also the lack of direct delegated authority through the local Education Authority.

Other committees of grouped schools have adopted the following constitution, which works very smoothly:—

Members of the committee are directly appointed by the Managers of each school in the group to represent them and be responsible for the work in their own school. The Managers appoint either one or more of their own number, or a suitable person from outside their body, who should report at least annually to the managers.

(*a*) *Advantages.*—Direct delegation of authority from the Managers to the After-Care Committee, with the consequent moral support of the Local Education Authority (which, however, takes no financial responsibility).

(*b*) Definiteness of the sphere of work of each particular member of the committee, and consequent friendly relations and close co-operation between the teachers and the school after-care visitor.

(*c*) Uniformity of reporting with the same method as that obtaining at the Medical Inspection Office.

(*d*) Easy comparison of the work done by members.

(*e*) Avoidance on the one hand of duplication of visiting, and on the other of neglect.

Disadvantages.—Danger of overlapping with some other charitable association through lack of information: and a certain amount of unwillingness to co-operate on the part of other medical charities with a body on which they have no representation. N.B.—This has been found to be short-lived.

The smaller "grouped schools'" committees have often a disproportionately large membership to the work necessary to be done. This leads to perfunctory attendance and a sense of irresponsibility.

Single school committees consist generally of the Managers, or of the clergy and district visitors.

At first sight it might seem as if the "single school" system would make for efficiency with the minimum amount of fuss and trouble. There are, however, advantages in the "group" system which are very patent to anyone who has watched the working of both. Take, for instance, a comparatively large "group committee," working ten schools:—

1. It is obviously easier to find one efficient, keen, and businesslike secretary than ten, and the Medical Inspection Office is consequently relieved of much worry and correspondence.

2. The quarterly meetings of the committee are pregnant with suggestions for help in dealing with special cases: the members being drawn from a wide area have knowledge of large numbers of available charities and institutions.

3. Any child "migrating" to another school within the group is immediately followed up by the after-care visitor of the new school.

4. In the important matter of raising funds the appeal of a committee representing a wide area of rich and poor districts carries weight and achieves its object.

It should be noted here that one After-Care Committee of a large district depends entirely upon its Children's Fund, raised by the children themselves by means of entertainments, or by the contributions to the schools' collection on Empire Day for the Fund.

5. But the greatest advantage of the group system is the oversight which the Committee obtains over the health conditions of the child population in varying localities within the district. This is one of the—at present—little recognised results of the medical inspection of the country's children. It should have an effect of far-reaching importance in supplying knowledge of facts as to healthy conditions of life. Such physical conditions as sub-soil, altitude, flat or hillside land, protection from wind and exposure to sunshine are at present insufficiently recognised as important factors in the health and consequent well being of the community. An After-Care Committee of independent people may do much to keep these facts before the public, to bring them to the notice of sanitary and building authorities, and to create a public opinion which would support local authorities in what might otherwise be unpopular action.

The method of work in a "grouped schools' committee" is generally as follows:—

Immediately after a school inspection the medical officer forwards to the secretary for the After-Care Committee a list of all cases in that school requiring medical attention or careful treatment. This is efficiently done by means of copies of the letters sent by the school doctor to the parents of the children. These letters are treated in strict confidence. The cases are entered by the secretary in a district register, and the list is immediately forwarded to the After-care visitor for the school, who keeps a more detailed report book of her own. Urgent cases are noted, and must be quickly reported upon. General cases are managed by the visitor until the quarterly meeting of the committee, when action is decided upon if necessary. Members prevented from coming to the meeting must forward their report books to the committee. The result of the report is entered on the district register by the secretary, who thus keeps oversight over the whole work, and can bring up back cases, etc., for information when necessary. Any cases of persistent neglect by parents of the children are reported back to the Medical Inspection Office to be dealt with under the Children Act.

This concludes a brief outline of the administrative machinery in existence, and found suitable for After-care work in a County Area.

Practical Difficulties met with.

1. The parochial idea. It is extremely difficult in country districts to substitute the school unit for the parish unit. Yet this must be done if After-care work is to march harmoniously in line with medical inspection. At first, case-papers were being constantly sent about from one parish to another, from one district visitor to another, with the result that there was hopeless confusion in reporting, worry to the parents from duplication of visiting, and frequent neglect of the most troublesome cases. The dislike of poaching in one another's districts is naturally abhorrent to parochial authorities, but it is being gradually recognised that the Managers are responsible for the children attending their school, no matter where the children are domiciled.

Remedy.—Frankly to recognise the School as the unit in after-care work, and to appoint some one person *ad hoc* irrespective of district or parish in which the children live.

2. A similar difficulty arises in those districts where the parish nurse is entrusted with the after-care. She, as a paid official, cannot, of course, go outside her district, so that it is essential that she should not be the only visitor appointed, but that there should be another who can look up outlying children.

3. A more serious difficulty than either of these, however, arises in connection with schools the managers of which will do no systematic after-care work whatever. There are still about forty such schools in the county, the general excuse being something of this kind: "All our children are healthy," "No necessity for the work in my parish," "The district visitors look after the people," "We admit no obligation to report to the authority," and so on: the result being that no further information is obtainable until the children come again under the eye of the school doctor, and the brief and melancholy note is made, "Nothing done." Comment is needless.

Though failure to secure co-operation in every case seems certain, a very large measure of success has been attained. Since the formation of the County Association twenty-two "grouped schools" committees have been formed, covering eighty-one schools. There are also eighty-one "single school" committees. Thirty-nine boards of managers definitely refuse to do the work, and fifty schools are still considering the matter.

Of the 1,487 cases notified during 1910, in 182 schools working with the Association, 775 cases have received medical treatment, 352 have received home or nursing treatment, thus giving 1,127, or 75.8 per cent. reported as having received attention, leaving 360, or 24.2 per cent. reported as "nothing done." It should be noted that a certain proportion of these would be recently reported cases which have not yet been visited.

To show how far better it might have been with even keener and more energetic personal work, it is only necessary to note the results in one or two individual committees:—

	Caess Notified.	Treated.	Nothing Done.	Percentage of "Nothing Done."
Group 1	325	277	48 or only	14%
Group 2	196	180	16 or only	8%
Single School 3	49	37	4 or only	8%

These show an excellent percentage of treatment obtained, being 86 per cent., 92 per cent., and 92 per cent. of the cases notified, respectively.

It might be supposed that the difficult problem of the *neglected child* was much the same in urban and county areas. But this is not so. Where in towns the difficulty lies in numbers, in the country it lies in the comparative fewness of the cases. In towns it is possible, with large numbers of neglected children, to provide meals, medical treatment, travelling facilities to an open-air school, etc., on a large and cheap scale, and charge the district with the cost. But in a country village there may be only a few neglected children who cannot be fed except by doles to the parents—a wholly futile proceeding, whether through the Guardians or anyone else. Again, the *School Clinic* is a virtual impossibility under the present system of very small village schools. There are not enough delicate or "excluded" children in any village to form a special "playground class" under a special teacher. There are not enough ringworm cases in any convenient area to segregate them in a class room alone. There are no facilities for getting delicate and debilitated children to and from open-air schools. The result of these difficulties is that the "excluded" child is often under worse conditions at home than it would be at school, and it escapes daily observation altogether.

The food problem, of course, lies at the root of much of the evil, but it is outside the limits of this paper. It may not have been observed, however, how poor the children's food is, especially in *summer time*, when very little cooking is done, when skim milk is required for young stock, and there is little to spare for children (!) and when mothers are out at work all day, and send the children to school with a "piece" of bread-and-lard or tinned meat for their dinners. Cheap tinned meat and fish are staple articles of summer diet, and it is not to be wondered at that the weight of children increases little and sometimes decreases during the summer months. If well-cooked meals could be served in a shed or schoolroom in the evening during the summer months for adults and children alike, a solution of this difficulty might be found. (N.B.—It must not be imagined that the "piece" for dinner is really eaten by the delicate child; it is not appetising on a hot day, and is soon thrown down. Another factor in the food problem is the depraved appetite for cheap sweets, which checks the natural appetite for more nourishing food.)

To return to After-Care work. The most difficult part to persuade parents to take seriously is the urgent necessity for the conservative treatment of teeth. In spite of efforts constantly made by the visitors to get decayed teeth attended to or removed, only forty-nine cases out of 125 are reported as done. There is little prospect of this work being taken seriously unless it is made compulsory and free. Few country hospitals undertake dentistry, and the result of efforts to provide dental treatment at the schools have not as yet been encouraging. Tooth-brushes are almost unused, and in the few schools where tooth-brush drill was introduced by the teachers the L.E.A. has discouraged the practice.

The class of ailment with the next largest percentage of "nothing done" is *external eye disease*. But the *vision defects* show a good percentage of treatment —108 cases being treated out of 135 notified in the affiliated schools. This is probably due to the presence in the county of two ophthalmic hospitals, and also of an enterprising After-Care Committee which has instituted an Eye Clinic of its own.

The treatment of *enlarged tonsils* and *adenoids* is greatly hindered by the conflict of opinion between medical men on the subject. This brings up

another difficulty which the After-Care Committee has to face. It stands between two authorities—the school doctor, who recommends treatment but cannot prescribe, and, on the other hand, the private practitioner, who, knowing the cottage conditions, does not advise "operation." Hospitals have taken a large number of cases, about 110—but in seventy-nine cases nothing has been done.

The heaviest part of the expenditure of After-Care Committees comes on the "travelling expenses" fund, the next largest on "emulsion." "Clogs" have been introduced and advertised in several districts with conspicuously good results—between two and three hundred pairs being sold during the winter in one district alone. Stores of dry socks and stockings have also been provided in this district, which are kept by the teachers, who insist on *ill-shod children* changing when they arrive at school. Many "colds," rheumatism, and more serious ailments are by these means prevented.

It is, indeed, in the "preventive" work that After-Care will most surely develop. Cases of children "enjoying bad health" (as the mothers say) so quickly respond to good food, good conditions, and medical treatment properly carried out, that it seems to suggest that, if foresight is exercised, "after-care" may become obsolete. This is strongly impressed upon visitors who are dealing with cases of consumption amongst the children, some of the saddest and least possible to help under present conditions.

Sixty-one of these cases of consumption of the lungs have been notified in the affiliated schools during 1910. Fifty-two of them are under medical or home treatment, and for nine nothing has been done. The result of it all is, however, regrettably insignificant. The home conditions of the children are seldom conducive to recovery. Exclusion from school often means a lowered standard of cleanliness and clothing. The children often have to sleep with others in closed rooms, thus spreading the disease. If extra nourishment is provided by the mother for one child, four or five others may have to go short. Grants of money are known to be mis-spent; grants of food do not get to the child in a palatable or properly-cooked form. There is little appetite for any food except "cake," and the child is often put to work for which it is totally unfit. Insufficient rest for children is a universal evil, and the open-air hut for a child, at night, would be, under present circumstances, impossible. Very few Sanatoria for consumptives will admit children under 14, and no Children's Convalescent Homes will take consumptives. Absence from school involves almost certain deterioration of character—idleness and bad habits being inevitably produced.

After-care work for these children generally takes the form of a good meal daily at some private house, milk to drink at a dairy, payment for doctor, provision of emulsion, and travelling expenses to and ticket for a convalescent home if the case recovers sufficiently to be admissible. In many cases none of these efforts seem effective, and the consumptive child leaves school and passes out of control. The only solution to this problem of child-consumption seems to lie in the prevention, rather than in the cure, of the evil.

Open-Air School.

From close oversight of a large After-Care group consisting of thirteen schools for more than two years, the following fact stands out clearly. Every case of tubercular affection now active had been notified to the committee six months, nine months, or even eighteen months before as a "delicate," "general

debility," anæmic," or "glandular" case. Had there been at that time any possibility of proper treatment, nourishing food, open-air condition of life, rest, and suitable occupation for these children in a residential open-air school, the chances are all in favour of their never having developed Consumption at all. The extraordinary success of the open-air schools already established, for the building up of weakened constitutions, the arrest of symptoms of disease, and the increase of power of resistance to disease calls for immediate recognition in a congress of this character. Their development on residential lines for the delicate children of county areas would seem to be a contribution towards the arrest of race-degeneracy and the improvement of the physical condition of the people which it is unwise longer to neglect.

To sum up. There are two ways of improving the physique of the race. One, the limitation of the unfit; the other, the multiplication and development of the fit. The first, a difficult, dangerous, and perhaps presumptuous course, is a matter for gravest discussion and consultation. The second, there can be no two opinions about at all. It is a national work to which public authorities and voluntary associations can set their hands without doubt or hesitation, certain of the approval of the community and of the ultimate success of their effort.

Administrative Problems Arising out of Child Feeding.

By Councillor John A. Young l.d.s.
(Edinburgh School Board).

The new duties imposed upon Scottish School Boards by the Act of 1908 are in the most direct way an attempt to prevent destitution. In fact, thoroughly and effectively carried out, they would undoubtedly prevent a great deal of destitution, by securing a minimum of physical efficiency, as well as a minimum of education to every child at the age of 14 years.

The undoubted purpose of the Act is to secure that there should no longer be an underfed or underclothed or a filthy, verminous, or uncared for child attending our Scottish schools.

There is one administrative problem that stands in the forefront of all others, and that is the problem of securing Boards who will approach their work with a full acceptance of their new responsibilities and a determination to use their powers effectively.

Before that is done there is need for the education of the public who create the Boards and of the members who compose them. But considering the movement in public opinion that has taken place since the proposals were first made to confer some such powers on Education Authorities, and the effect of the first steps that have been taken, one can look forward with a fair amount of hope to an approximate realisation of the purposes of the Act of Parliament.

The administrative problems are twofold: concerning the direct work to be carried out by the Boards themselves, their relations with voluntary agencies and the work done jointly along with them.

It may be the best way in considering those problems for me to indicate how the Edinburgh School Board has dealt with them.

There were certain broad lines we tried to lay down as governing our scheme. They must recognise quite frankly the Board's responsibility both for investigation and provision, and provide for the fulfilment of that responsibility even without any assistance from outside or voluntary agencies.

In view of the somewhat precarious nature of voluntary subscriptions, and the prophecies freely uttered as to their rapid extinction once the powers of the Board were used, that was a prime necessity. And while being a scheme that would stand by itself and meet the needs of all underfed children, it was also one which could include all voluntary agencies and use their funds and their services, not only to do what they had been doing in the past, but to do it more efficiently.

The first step was to decide on the establishment of a cooking centre under Section 3, Sub-Section 2 of the Act. This enables the Board out of the school fund to "provide accommodation, apparatus, equipment, and service for the preparation and supply of meals to pupils attending school within their district."

This was a necessity from many points of view. The alternative is, of course, to utilise restaurants and purveyors to provide the meals. The experience of the voluntary agencies had shown that this method was open to many objections.

First, for the meal provided the cost was high. In general it consisted of a bowl of soup and a piece of bread, and cost 1½d. per meal.

Now, that might have been a good enough midday stopgap for a child who was otherwise well fed, but in dealing with the underfed child, especially where the Board are only providing one meal per day, it is essential that the meal should be a nourishing one.

Soup and bread, even if the soup were of the best, is insufficient. In dealing with private caterers the risk, that the soup would be of poor quality, and possibly very little more than a warm drink, could only be guarded against by a system of inspection both difficult and expensive.

In deciding to do all our cooking at a centre we secured many advantages. The quality and quantity of the material supplied is under the immediate supervision of the Board's officers. The price at which they can be bought when contracts are made for large quantities and for a period of time is only a fraction of what the retail purchaser must pay.

Then in the preparation of the meals in large quantities, the use of labour-saving appliances, and the reduction in all administrative expenses carries with it a very considerable reduction in the cost per meal value for value.

I may mention that the total cost of equipping the lower hall of a disused school as a centre capable of providing at least 5,000 dinners per day was £2,961 1s. 6d., made up as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Alterations on building	1049	15	6
Boiler	286	17	0
Electric lighting	121	5	10
Plant	1151	4	4
Tables, boxes, spoons, and plates	306	18	10
	£2961	1	6

The plant consists of:—Eight steam cooking pans, capacity 600 gallons, one large steam press, vegetable and potato paring machines, one three-cylinder dish-washing machine, one large steam boiler, three electric motors for the machines.

The staff consists of a head cook, one adult assistant, and one young lad, along with three unskilled helpers. Other unskilled helpers may be necessary if the numbers rise.

Apart from the advantages of efficient and economical preparation of good meals, the centre enables the Board to organise the service of meals under good, cleanly, and orderly conditions, with proper supervision of the children, so as to make that service of educational value.

Last, but not least, it is the indispensable basis for a scheme of co-operation with the voluntary agencies. Some of these are of long standing, and we were afraid that they might object to be merged in a general scheme; and yet, unless every agency dealing with the feeding of children falls into the one scheme, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the Board to satisfy itself that voluntary agency was or was not able to make provision for the case in the terms of the Act.

With a cooking centre the Board could offer preparation and service of meals to any agency prepared to co-operate with the Board, leaving to the voluntary body only expenditure upon food. This gives them not only a guarantee that the money they are spending is providing good nourishing food, but also the power, in appealing for subscriptions, to say that every penny given is actually spent on food for the children.

Having decided on the cookery centre, the Board drafted a scheme of co-operation consisting of a series of Care Committees, which I will briefly describe.

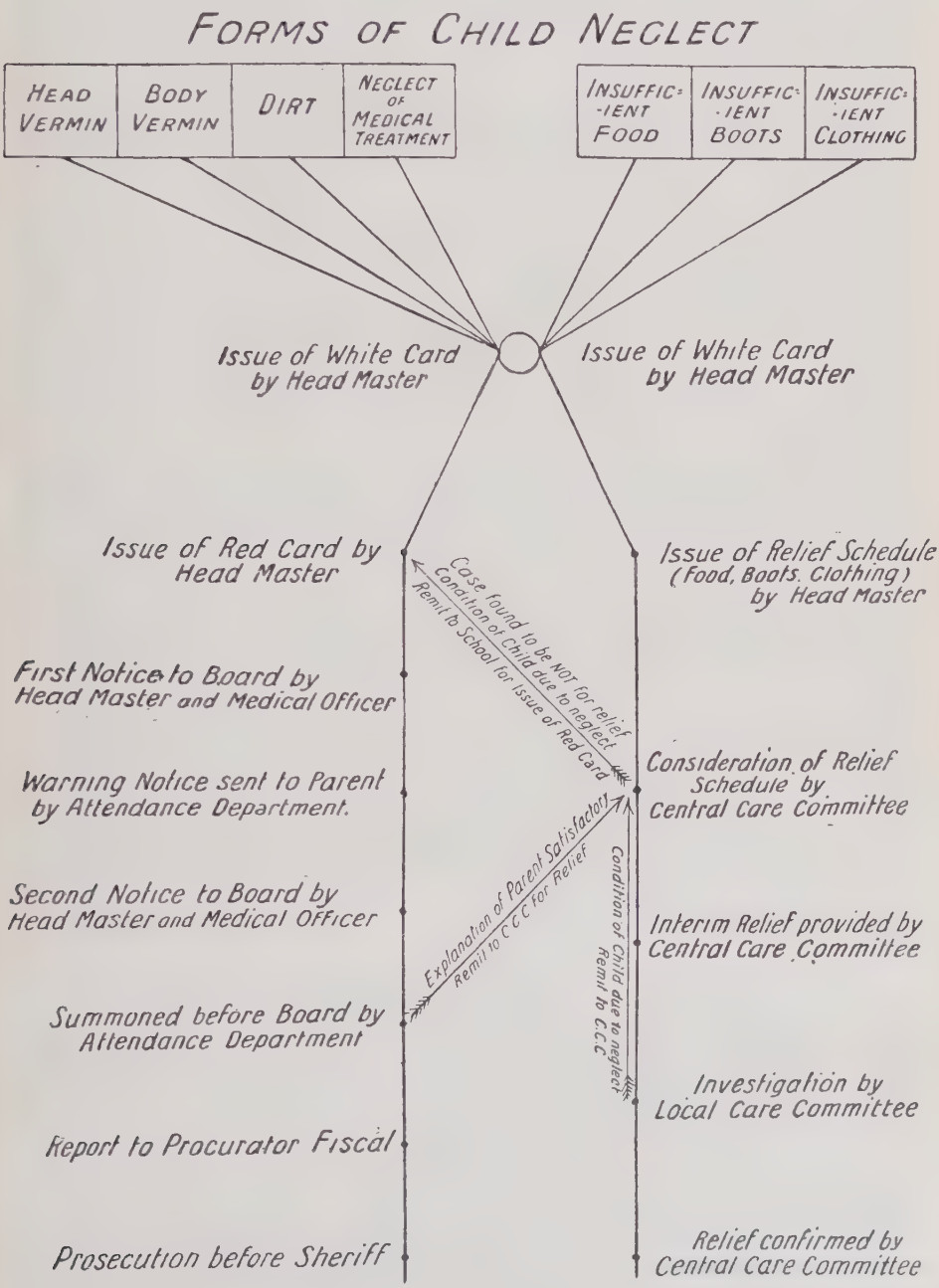
(1) The Central Care Committee consists of the members of the Board, representatives of such voluntary agencies for the feeding of children as are willing to join, and representatives of public bodies such as the Town Council and the Parish Council. Its functions are to collect funds for the feeding of necessitous children and to arouse general interest in the matter, and secondly to see that such funds are used to the best advantage.

(2) A series of local Care Committees. These are smaller in number and are attached to a school or group of schools according to a scheme prepared. These local Care Committees have important duties and on their efficiency depends whether voluntary assistance other than financial is to be given the Board in the administration of this duty or whether the work is to devolve entirely on the Board and its officers. They will consist of the members of the Board specially attached to the particular school or schools as visitors, the lady visitors to the schools, and experienced philanthropic workers such as the local health visitors. Their duties will be to supervise and assist at the service of the meals and to investigate the reports and applications sent in regard to underfed children, and more particularly, in the course of their inquiries, to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with their districts so as to be able not only to check reports but to find out and report cases of underfeeding or any other form of child neglect.

The local Care Committee, after inquiry, reports to what is perhaps the most important part of the scheme—the Executive of the Central Care Committee. On this we have representatives of the Board and contributing societies, but the majority consists of members of the Board. The final decision in every case rests with the executive, and they also decide when applications and reports are first sent in what temporary action is to be taken.

Our method of investigation and procedure is illustrated in the appended diagram, which applies to all forms of child neglect as well as underfeeding.

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE BOARD'S SCHEME OF ADMINISTRATION OF SECTION 6 OF THE EDUCATION ACT 1908 AND SECTION 12 OF THE CHILDREN ACT 1908


FORMS OF CHILD NEGLECT
HEAD VERMIN
BODY VERMIN
DIRT
NEGLECT OF MEDICAL TREATMENT
INSUFFIC-IENT FOOD
INSUFFIC-IENT BOOTS
INSUFFIC-IENT CLOTHING
Issue of White Card by Head Master
Issue of White Card by Head Master
Issue of Red Card by Head Master
Case found to be NOT for relief Condition of Child due to neglect Remit to School for Issue of Red Card
Issue of Relief Schedule (Food, Boots, Clothing) by Head Master
First Notice to Board by Head Master and Medical Officer
Warning Notice sent to Parent by Attendance Department.
Consideration of Relief Schedule by Central Care Committee
Second Notice to Board by Head Master and Medical Officer
Explanation of Parent Satisfactory Remit to C.C.C for Relief
Condition of Child due to neglect Remit to C.C.C
Interim Relief provided by Central Care Committee
Summoned before Board by Attendance Department
Investigation by Local Care Committee
Report to Procurator Fiscal
Prosecution before Sheriff
Relief confirmed by Central Care Committee

When a child is reported as underfed the headmaster of the school issues a white card of warning, and at the same time a schedule which has to be filled up when complete by the parent, the attendance officer for the district, the headmaster of the school, the Executive of the Central Care Committee, the local Care Committee, and endorsed with the final decision of the Board. The one schedule practically forms a record of the dealings with the particular child or children reported as underfed.

Meetings of the Executive Committee are held weekly, and all new cases are considered by them that have been reported since last meeting, and there is also undertaken a monthly revisal of the cases that have already been placed on the list for feeding.

The scheme has been so far successful that we have secured a complete co-ordination of all the voluntary agencies dealing with child feeding, and the funds up till now have been sufficient to meet the provision of food in all necessitous cases. The most difficult part of it is securing good local Care Committees. Of these we have as yet only a few in full working order. The others are in course of formation, as we are just gradually finding out the districts and the schools which provide a manageable number of cases for one committee to deal with.

The advantages of the scheme are that with the assistance of voluntary funds we can complete the first stages of the procedure of investigation laid down by the Act while the children are being fed temporarily. If the case is obviously and clearly a case for feeding it can be done without summoning the parent before the Board. After due warning, and if the case is a doubtful one, the necessary steps can be taken without any delay. That is, the case is reported formally to the Board and the parent warned and summoned to explain the condition of the child either on the report made to the Central Executive Committee or that made to them by the local Care Committee a little later.

It also satisfies the condition that the scheme will work either as an independent piece of the Board's work or as a co-operative one. In the event of the voluntary funds failing, the Board members of the Executive Committee would carry on the work of receiving the reports, the inquiry having been made in the first place by the attendance officers, and they could then decide to make such temporary provision as seemed necessary and report the case to the Board, who would then require to summon the parents to give an explanation of the child's condition before providing permanent assistance.

There are a good many difficult points to settle in the working of our scheme, most of which are bound to arise whatever method be adopted of dealing with the problem. In the first place there is the question of discovering the underfed child. For this we must rely very largely on the school staff and get the teachers and headmasters to understand that it is part of their regular work to report cases of underfeeding to the Board.

We have found that some have reported all cases where the children seemed to be underfed, and have noted in their report whether so far as they can tell the case is one where the parent is unable, by reason of poverty or ill-health, to supply the child himself or should, in their opinion, be able to provide without assistance. The Board can then investigate the whole circumstances properly. Others seem only to have reported such cases as in their opinion were deserving and suitable cases. That is an obvious mistake, because in the first place the Board, and not the teacher, must be the judges, and the needs of the children may

be greater in what might be considered most undeserving cases. Others, where there is strong reason to expect that there are underfed children and where children were previously fed by voluntary agencies, have reported none at all.

The point as to provision of meals must obviously be the need of the child and not the conduct of the parent. The latter point may, and must, determine whether relief or prosecution is to be the attitude of the Board toward him, but, knowing that the teacher is the official in the Board's service, who is in daily contact with the child and who can, by judicious and sympathetic questioning, find out more about the child's real needs than any other and at the same time to know about the family circumstances, it is of the utmost importance to secure their assistance, not merely formal, but wholehearted.

The medical officer seems indicated by the Act as one who would be likely to report the cases of under-feeding, but there are many reasons why we cannot expect too much in this direction from our medical staff. Their examinations, made at specified ages, in our case at entry, at 9 years, and 13 years of age, do not bring them in contact with all the children. Even if the physical condition of the child is unsatisfactory, many causes besides malnutrition might be responsible for producing the same results. There is another reason for not depending too much on a medical report, and that is we want to feed the children to prevent their getting into such a condition that they would be certified as suffering from malnutrition. In the main the Board must rely on reports from the headmasters, teachers, and attendance officers, supplemented by cases falling under the notice of members of the local Care Committees. It is also important, I think, to reserve the right of the parent to make application to the Board.

Our purpose is not to deter and keep down the numbers of children fed, but to feed all who require feeding. Recovery of costs and prosecution of the careless are equally parts of our duty, but these follow after care for the child, and are not an alternative.

The basis on which our selection of reported cases is to be made is one which requires to be decided. Ours is the somewhat rough-and-ready, but perhaps after all the only satisfactory, one—the family income basis. Where the income is less than 3s. per head after deduction of rent it is scarcely possible to expect that the family can be properly nourished. The standard may vary between one town and another and between town and country. The actual fixing of the standard is not a matter of insuperable difficulty, and it seems the best way of determining whether a child is or is not a suitable case for inclusion in the list of children who should be fed.

There is another fairly large class of children who come under review who give rise to difficulty which requires careful handling, that is, the children whose parents are receiving outdoor relief from the Parish Council. I think we are bound to assume that the parish authorities stand *in loco parentis* to these children, and it is impossible for us to say that they are unable by reason of poverty to make proper provision for the children.

In Edinburgh we were in the rather fortunate position that a very large number of these children were provided with a dinner by the Council as part of the relief given to the parents. And although it seemed as if the majority of the Parish Council were going to take up an attitude of hostility to the methods of the School Board in dealing with the feeding of necessitous children, no sooner was our scheme in operation than they were convinced by visits that it was in every way superior to previous methods, and even superior to the provision made

through private caterers by the Parish Council itself, and that, I might say, was so under inspection and supervision by the officers and visitors which the Council have at their disposal, that it was quite emphatically the best provision of the kind of which we had experience in town. An arrangement was accordingly come to with the parish council to provide the dinners through the Board's machinery, the Council paying to the Board a sum not greater than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per meal, which was the cost to them previously. It may involve the payment by the School Board of some, if not all, of the cost of preparation and service, but even so, the advantage in improved nourishment of the children and the gain in avoiding the separating and marking out of the children from their fellows is ample justification for the small expense involved. So long as it was not relieving the Poor Rate at the expense of the School Rate no objection could be taken. Our chief difficulty, however, arose with children who were not being fed by the Parish Council who were reported as underfed, and whose aliment seemed to us insufficient to provide adequate food. Each of these was reported to the Parish Council, along with the schedules of facts submitted to the Board, and in many cases either increased aliment or dinners were granted. We felt that it was highly desirable that we should secure as far as possible co-operation with the Parish Council. In dealing with a Council which showed itself unreasonable it might have been necessary to make representations to the Local Government Board and instruct the parents to apply for schedules and make formal complaint of insufficient relief, but as our primary purpose is to improve the feeding of the children more could be done by encouraging the spirit of co-operation.

The points I have mentioned may not exhaust those which may arise concerning the finding out and determining the actual numbers of underfed children, but they are the main ones which have come under our notice.

The service of the meals presents one or two problems. The two chief points we had to decide were: Where were the dinners to be served? and who was to serve and supervise?

At first we engaged halls for every dining centre. In this we followed the recommendation of the Board of Education to the English Education Authorities. After some experience, mainly on the score of expense, a change was made to the school in the cases where there was a school hall not used for teaching purposes. Each method has its advantages.

No attempt was made, nor do we consider it advisable to make the attempt, of using a class-room. The dinner interval is not any too long to allow of proper ventilation of the rooms.

With a hall which is only in occasional use we found that where all cooking and washing up was done centrally, that the simple provision of a piece of removable linoleum under the containers from which the food is served on to the plates made the only clearing up required, the sweeping up of a few crumbs after the tables were removed, and the assistance of one of the women cleaners for that purpose and also for assistance in service met the need. This is especially true where the number of children fed is proportionately small and where the school hall is good. This method seemed also to facilitate the assistance of the teachers.

Various factors will probably tend to make the use of outside halls more general with us, the chief being the development of the sale of meals to non-necessitous children. The numbers will, we expect, make the school halls too small.

I mention the alternative for two reasons—one because it is desirable not to rule out existing school halls under favourable circumstances, the other because

in planning new schools the provision of facilities for dining-rooms ought to be taken into account in reckoning the amount of hall space required.

The service and supervision of the meals raises the point of how far we may look for the assistance of the teachers in this matter. It is outside of school hours, and, of course, voluntary, but if order and cleanliness and tidiness and general decorum are to be preserved and give to the service a real educational value the presence of at least one teacher in each centre, though not perhaps essential, is very desirable.

The actual carrying of the portions from the service containers to the table is done by older girls, one to each ten or twelve children; these are chosen either among the older girls, who are on the list of necessitous children, or from the upper classes as a sort of class reward, or as the teacher decides. No difficulty is experienced in getting these, who, of course, get their own dinner without charge after the others are served.

The adults supervising were a teacher or teachers, who took the duty in turn, and where more than one school attends the same hall the turn of each individual teacher need not be very frequent. There is always one paid worker, and in some cases voluntary workers to assist. We still hope that when the local Care Committees are properly established that more will be done in that direction. So far as we have gone we are mainly indebted to the voluntary assistance of the teachers, a fact which, I think, says a great deal for the real interest they take in their scholars.

There is one rather serious administrative difficulty I have not yet touched upon. The dealing with those cases where the condition of the child is due to parental neglect. If the parent merely maintains that the child is well enough fed and refuses to make any application or to take advantage of the facilities provided, it is difficult, except in extreme cases, to prove neglect; of course in extreme cases it is possible.

We often find that our schedule, which includes an application by the parent, is filled up and signed by the mother, and on the father being summoned he denies all knowledge of it. We try as a rule to get the application signed by the father. Treating that as an admission of the need of the child we can then feed and put in operation the machinery for recovery.

In one case where the facts as to income were misstated we prosecuted and got a conviction and a fine, the publication of which will probably deter others from making false statements. In cases where we have a very strong suspicion that the poverty of the parent is due to his own misconduct, the difficulty is not inconsiderable. The Act says that on a case being reported to the Procurator Fiscal he shall prosecute before the Sheriff. In practice that official will only present cases in which a conviction is probable, and if a man is actually unemployed it would be difficult to prove that the man could be employed. So long as we have as many industrious men unable to find employment that state of affairs will remain. The whole administration call for the utmost exercise of sympathy and firmness, and requires a considerable knowledge of local, social, and industrial conditions.

There is one last point I wish to refer to: the relation between the administration of Clause 3 Sub-Section 2, and that of Clause 6. A cooking centre might be considered as provided under the powers conferred by either section; that is, as a direct use of the powers in Clause 3 or as part of the machinery required for carrying out the responsibilities imposed in Clause 6. If the centre is used, as it may be, for the double purpose of preparing meals for sale and for supply

to necessitous children, the one power may very usefully supplement the other. The provision of good meals sold cheaply may do a great deal for the health of children, whose parents are, so to speak, not beneath the poverty line.

There are hundreds of cases—it would be more nearly correct to say thousands—where, on account of the mother having to go out to work, it is not possible for the children to get a good midday meal. Some of these, especially where the mother is the only breadwinner, are necessitous cases, but many are not. The question of how far these parents will take advantage of the feeding facilities will be determined in the main by the question of cost. That in turn is determined by the kind of meal provided and by the decision of the Board as to whether the cost of preparation, service, etc., is to be met by the rates or included in the charge. So important do I regard this part of the work that I would without hesitation put administrative charges on the rates and sell the meals at the cost of food only. The Edinburgh Board has decided to charge a sum sufficient to cover both food and service.

As a temporary measure it will enable our organisation to cope with the numbers, which will increase more slowly with the higher charge than the lower. Even if the decision is permanent, the committee dealing with the necessitous cases may make a small charge to the parents in suitable cases and pay the balance out of the voluntary funds. Even without any voluntary funds, when the charge is made on the rates the Board could feed one or two of a family free on condition that payment was made for the others. In this way the one method could help the others, and children whose parents were just a little above the poverty line and who could, however, scarcely be expected to pay, say, twopence each for a dinner for all their family, might have them all fed at a rate which, in view of their circumstances, would be reasonable.

There may be a number of other problems which a further experience of the working of the 1908 Act will bring before us; those I have mentioned and the means we have taken to deal with them are simply those which have come to our notice in the brief period we have been working. The responsibilities the Act lays upon us are considerable, but if we do our best with them we will have earned the reward of those further responsibilities which the signs of the times would indicate are to be laid upon Educational Authorities.

Citizen Service as applied towards securing the Physical Basis of Education.

By Walter Milledge.
(Secretary Bradford Guild of Help.)

The Public Value of Citizen Service.

The claim that citizen service should be assigned a definite place in any scheme of public administration may be based on the profound educational value of such an arrangement. It is to be supposed that the most perfect administration will be secured when all the citizens fully apprehend the purpose and functions of

the authority, and loyally co-operate in their fulfilment. From this point of view the voluntary worker on a London Care Committee, or the helper of a Citizens' Guild of Help in a northern town, whose experience includes familiarity with the work of the Education Authority, is an instrument for informing public opinion, which the administrator cannot afford to neglect. Every inducement should be offered for his co-operation and every barrier should be removed between the official and the volunteer, if only that the work of the former may be appreciated at its true value, and may receive the impulse of public sanction.

Apart from its educational value, citizen service, wisely directed and supported, may be of immense public utility. Every fresh recognition of responsibility by the public authority opens up new fields of activity, which no purely official system can cover: for diagnosis implies treatment, and treatment proceeds to a modification of the home conditions of the child. Classification finally resolves itself into individualisation, and the general provisions of the authority will become most effectual when the personal services of the voluntary worker are engaged in applying them to a particular need. That each child shall have personal care and attention bestowed on it, is the dream of the true educationist, and only by a development of voluntary service can that dream be realised.

The fact that in London the Children's Care Committees alone include 6,000 voluntary workers, while the Guilds of Help throughout the country have about 10,000 helpers is evidence of the existence of a reservoir of latent energy. Appeals to the kindly instinct, which is our common heritage, and in some places to the public spirit of the community, elicit a ready response in the form of offers of service. How may this energy be applied to the best purpose?

Its Limitations.

A recognition of the limitations of voluntary service is the first essential to its employment on any extensive scale, otherwise inevitable disappointment must follow. It is a mutable quantity, and requires a firm framework of organisation, which can only be provided with the assistance of an adequate paid staff: to exercise a false economy in this direction is to court disaster. It is illogical to suppose that voluntary workers need less supervision or direction than paid workers; indeed, the exact contrary is the truth. Nor must it be imagined that the education official, who possesses a genius for enlisting and training voluntary workers, is other than an exception. It is obvious that any scheme involving the use of personal service must provide special machinery for attracting and directing it.

The voluntary worker is not an expert, and duties proper to the official must not be allowed to devolve on him. Thus when he is expected to display the acumen and pertinacity of an inquiry agent, and to furnish promptly a case paper, showing accurately the circumstances and character of a family, he fails lamentably. He is equally ill-qualified for deciding how much assistance shall be given, or for assessing the amount of repayment which shall be demanded for services rendered.

Few voluntary workers are equal to the strain involved by work entailing punctual daily attendance throughout the week, such as would be required, say, for the administration of a feeding centre.

To the official mind these would appear grave disabilities, actually their significance is small in comparison with the value of the real contribution of the helper, whose work would in many cases lose its virtue if it became more official in form. A swift investigation cannot be conducted without some sacrifice of

friendly relations with the investigated, and without friendship there can be little influence. An extraordinary influence may be exerted on the habits and character of others by persons whose natural gifts may not include precision or business-like methods; and it is because the element of personal equation enters so largely into any attempt to modify habit or character, that it is impossible to over-estimate the value of the contribution of the voluntary worker. He is capable of heroic effort and enormous self-sacrifice, and he brings to his work a freshness of mind and purpose which is in itself of compelling power.

Co-operation between the Education Department and the Guild of Help.

Some account of the work of the Bradford City Guild of Help in relation to the administration by the Bradford Education Authority of school feeding and medical inspection may contain suggestions for the use of citizen service in supplementing the work of the official administration.

School Feeding.

School feeding under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, has been carried on in Bradford since July, 1907. The number of children in the elementary schools to-day is 45,940, and during the last four years the number of children receiving free dinners at the end of March has been as follows:—

1908	...	1,738	1910	...	2,093
1909	...	2,993	1911	...	1,721

Notification.—Children considered to be in need are notified by the teachers, who accept applications from the parents or any interested persons. In one school only is there any reluctance to forward applications on the ground of the unworthiness of the parents, and the proportion of children fed there is slightly less than in other districts of a similar character. When the application is marked "Urgent" tickets are provided by return for daily issue by the teacher.

Investigation.—In the ordinary course the home is first visited by the attendance officer, who fills up a case paper containing a statement received in the home, and such information as he may be able to obtain in the neighbourhood. The statement of the wages of the head of the family is verified by inquiry from the employer.

Decision.—The case is then considered by the Canteen Committee, which sits weekly to deal with new cases, and to scrutinise the monthly reports on old cases. The decision follows approximately the following scale: Families with an income averaging less than 2s. per head, over and above the rent are granted breakfasts and dinners for the school children; if the income exceeds 2s. per head but is less than 3s., dinners only are provided; above that scale the parents are charged from ½d. per meal to the full cost, 2d., in proportion to their ability to pay. At the end of March, 1911, 193 meals per day were being paid for.

Repayment.—Attempts are made to recover the cost of meals from parents who should make provision, but, although in one case a man was sentenced to fourteen days imprisonment, recovery is extremely difficult. A common result of serving notice of liability is the withdrawal of children, who undoubtedly need the food, from attendance at the dining rooms. There is a warrant officer (plain clothes) attached to the staff, to whom is entrusted the investigation of cases of special difficulty. His authority with a certain class is a valuable asset, and his

visits have been productive of good effects in many unhopeful cases. Power is needed to compel attendance in all cases in which the School Medical Officer certifies that children are underfed.

Service.—One well-equipped cooking centre with a staff of nine, including two cooks, supplies twenty-eight dining centres, the food being distributed by two motor waggons. The service at the dining centres is conducted by teachers who volunteer for the duty, and receive remuneration at the rate of 5s. per week for attending dinners, and 2s. 6d. per week for breakfasts. One teacher supervises fifty children, assisted by four monitresses chosen in turn from the elder girls attending the dining centre. Sleeves and aprons for the monitresses and white tablecloths are provided weekly.

Results.—Much could be said in regard to the physical improvement resulting from the provision of school meals, and conclusive proof of this is furnished by a medical chart showing the result of a continuous examination of sixty-nine children during a period when they were receiving school meals, and also during two short holidays, when the meals were discontinued. Deterioration begins immediately the meals are stopped, and becomes very marked before ten days have elapsed.

The educational value of a proper service of meals must not be overlooked. Some of the children have never been accustomed to sitting down to a civilised meal, or to any variety in diet. The insistence on cleanliness and orderliness at table, and the entire arrangements for the school meal form a valuable object lesson.

In none of the departments of school feeding already described could voluntary service be properly used. Investigation by the attendance officers may not be wholly satisfactory, although their frequent visits ultimately result in a full discovery of the circumstances, and until there is a special authority for investigation and assessment, providing a common register and bureau of information for the education, health, and other departments, the present arrangement seems best. Teachers certainly appear to be the best persons for supervising the service of meals, although if voluntary service of sufficient regularity could be obtained, more individual attention could be given to the younger children.

Medical Inspection.

Medical inspection has been carried out in Bradford since 1893, at the present time the staff of the school clinic consists of the school medical officer, two assistant doctors, the school dentist, two nurses, and two clerks, all full time, who have also the assistance of the attendance officers and warrant officers. Children for whose treatment adequate provision cannot otherwise be made, receive attention at the clinic for such complaints as ringworm, suppurating ears, defective vision, chronic inflammation of the eyes and eyelids, decayed teeth, scabies, impetigo and other contagious skin diseases, and for verminous and sore heads—the particular diseases which are very common to school children, and very commonly neglected. The number of children so treated in one year has been 5,929.

An open air school on the hills outside the city receives 120 children selected by the school medical officer. The nature and effect of their treatment need not be described here.

There are ten school baths, swimming and ablutionary, six public baths, swimming and ablutionary, and five cottage baths. Any teacher may order a bath

when it is considered necessary, and in many schools the weekly bath forms part of the curriculum.

The foregoing may be a sufficient account of the public provision in Bradford for securing a physical basis for education. A comment from the columns of the *Yorkshire Observer* on one of the medical officer's reports is suggestive: "But even if the children were washed, dressed, and fed at school, they would still go back to the homes where these miseries spring. Is it not there that the reform should be made?" The field for voluntary service is in these homes. How may it be directed to the best advantage?

The Guild of Help.

The Bradford City Guild of Help was organised in 1904, it has nearly 500 helpers or voluntary workers, whose aim is to be the friends of all who are in need of help and advice. The city is divided into forty-three districts, each served by a group of helpers. The helper is furnished with a handbook containing a description of the functions of the various public authorities, and voluntary agencies, together with detailed instructions for invoking their assistance, and it is the duty of the district head to advise and direct his helpers. The helper keeps a diary of all that transpires in regard to the family under his care, and this case book is copied at the central office every fortnight, after the district meeting. Every new case is visited first from the central office, by an experienced investigator, and the helper receives a case paper containing the results of her inquiry, together with some suggestion for preliminary action. No helper is given more than four cases, but he is expected to visit weekly, and the average period of supervision is more than six months. The scope of the helper's work includes everything which affects the family.

It may be objected that the Guild of Help is merely an army of general visitors, while what is needed is voluntary specialists. In many homes, however, some general solution of the family problem must be attempted in order to permit any special treatment of the individual child. It may be doubted whether the labels care committee worker, health visitor, etc., are really of great significance, for under whatever guise the friendly visitor enters a home, his interest and concern cannot be confined to one aspect of family life, but must include all its conditions. The truth is we want experts, but *general* experts not specialists, and under proper conditions of organisation, training is largely a matter of length of experience. In Bradford there is an After Care Committee for the special schools, in direct relation with the authority. Twenty-three workers have the supervision of 156 mentally defective, blind, deaf, and dumb children, while thirty others devote two hours a week to the instruction in their own homes, of children unable to attend school. All defective children are registered with the Guild of Help, and if the After Care worker discovers conditions in the home outside her special province she requests that a helper may be sent. There are indications of a probable development of the method, by which supervision of a special nature may be exercised by a specially appointed Care Committee, while the general work is undertaken by a Guild helper.

The co-operation of the Guild of Help with the education department began with the personal notification of single cases by a teacher or attendance officer. There is now a recognised arrangement with the authority by which a Guild official attends after the meeting of the canteen committee, and takes a list of all new feeding cases, for friendly visitation. There is no definite system of co-operation with the school clinic, but selected cases are being notified in increasing

numbers by the medical staff, while the feeding lists include many families with children under treatment at the clinic or attending the open air school. Experience proves that it is reasonable to assume that in every home where the children receive free meals, either there are equally vital needs which a helper may supply, or that by some form of constructive help the family may be restored to a position in which free meals will be no longer needed. Some modification of habit or conditions is generally essential to the successful treatment of the sick child, and the medical staff could notify a large number of cases in which useful work might be done by the voluntary worker. At the present time, it would be difficult to find a score of cases on the school feeding lists in which the need for other help is not at once apparent. Seventy per cent. of them are of the persistent type—children of widows or deserted women, who, by working in the mill may be earning 11s. upwards, or of families in which one parent is incapacitated, or of the man with a small wage and a large and youthful family, or of parents who are deficient or vicious.

The first and most important consideration for the voluntary worker is the attitude of the parents. The advocates of a public provision for necessitous children have discarded the superstition that by making that provision they are undermining the natural relations of parent and child, they believe that by insuring a minimum of opportunity for the children of the poorest, they are more likely to increase parental appreciation of the importance of the child. If by means of personal service the educational value of the public provision can be in any way increased, that must surely be reckoned as its most important function. The helper is continually engaged, on the one hand in persuading parents that if they cannot or will not provide what is necessary, they must accept the school meals, and on the other hand that if the community is feeding their children, they must wash them, mend their clothes, and send them to bed early. Some glimmering of the meaning of all this must soon arise in the minds of the parents, in spite of their instinctive dislike of inspection and investigation, and they may be led to perceive that they, and the teachers, and the doctors, have a common purpose.

It is not difficult to show the desirability of supplementing school feeding by the provision of other necessities of life. Boots and clothes are not easily furnished out of a weekly income of 1s. 2d. per head, exclusive of rent, which was stated to be the average for 473 families receiving meals in 1909. The helper can obtain clogs and clothing from the Cinderella Club, or by begging them from friends. Suitable sleeping accommodation is an important condition, especially in the case of an ailing child, and one additional bed might secure this, but be quite beyond the means of the parent to provide. The helper visiting from week to week can give detailed attention to all points. He will notify the defective drain in the yard where the children play, see that the flagging girl is packed off to a holiday home, arrange for convalescent treatment for the boy who has undergone an operation, discuss spring cleaning or removal to a healthier street, and generally foster in the parents a solicitude for the welfare of their children which is rarely entirely absent.

Even more important is it that there should be continuous supervision of the homes of neglectful parents. In the majority of this class the neglect is not of a character which justifies either prosecution or the continued supervision of the Cruelty Inspector, but is sufficient to nullify to a very considerable extent the provisions of the authority for the benefit of the child. If the conditions are bad, watchfulness is needed in order that the right moment may be seized for drastic

action. In the milder cases improvement can only result from persistent friendly influence.

A scrutiny of the records of more normal families, some of them extending over four or five years, reveals the fearful insecurity of their position. The weekly income allows no margin for contingencies, while in some homes the chain of misfortune appears unbroken for many months together. Illness is succeeded by shortness of work, births, deaths, and even marriages appear in the form of catastrophes, as they reduce the wage-earning capacity or cause unusual expenditure. Under such circumstances a resourceful helper will provide both moral and material support. With him the care of that family is a personal matter and his most valuable contribution is his expression of active comradeship.

From the point of view of the educationist, the development of voluntary service is the key to a solution of many problems. The aim must be to increase the sense of personal responsibility in the citizen by providing facilities for his complete understanding of, and co-operation with, the work of the authority, so that he will not only insist on getting an adequate administration, but will support it to the uttermost with his own personal service.

The Provision of Country Holidays, Vacation Schools, and Play Centres.

By Mrs. Leslie Mackenzie.

(Convener of the Health Committee of the Edinburgh School Board).

Some may think that the limit of irrelevance has been reached when we come to Holiday Homes, Vacation Schools, and Play Centres as part of the prevention of destitution. It may be just that a woman was chosen to touch that limit, but it is not just that a Scotchwoman should be set up to talk of Vacation Schools and Play Centres in the City of Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mrs. Kimmins.

Imitation, however, is sincere flattery, and in Scotland we have begun to imitate your two great developments—Vacation Schools and Play Centres. Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mrs. Kimmins came to show us what to do and how to do it. But, in the provision of Holiday Homes, Fresh-air Fortnights, and in general the "boarding out" in country families, the very poorest of city children, Scotland probably led the way, or at least has a long and honourable history. The "boarding out" of pauper children, though not without its faults, is admitted to be in principle one of the most distinctive and best features of the Scottish Poor Law system.

If you will examine the lists prepared, for example, by Mr. Motion, of Glasgow, or Mr. Kyd, of Edinburgh, to show the after-history of the boarded out children, you will be satisfied that the boarding out of children with selected families has in it the germ of prevention. There seems to be no fundamental reason why the conception of the Holiday Home should not be developed along the lines of the boarding out system. This was, indeed, tried by the Holiday

Home Committee of Leith twenty-five years ago; but the difficulty of finding suitable guardians and the difficulties of inspection destroyed the experiment. The system, however, of boarding out with an individual family is well worth considering; for it avoids the necessity for large institutions, the expense of elaborate service, and the not inconsiderable danger of epidemic disease.

To appreciate what classes of the community the Holiday Home affects, go to one of the depôts where the selection of children for the Holiday Home is carried out and see the crowd of children eager to be selected and the mothers anxious and pressing that their children shall have the benefit of the country. The children by instinct, and the mothers by experience, know that the children go to the country thin and pale, and come back fat and rosy. This is their diagnostic proof that change of air, change of environment, change of food, and, above all, long and quiet sleep, form the best system of medical treatment for curing the depressions of the city and for preventing the diseases of juvenile life. The mothers are perfectly right. They follow by instinct the best methods of preventive medicine, which is also the prevention of destitution.

As the "Coullet" restaurants in Dundee feed the expectant mother, so the Holiday Home may well be extended to include the jaded, over-driven, neurasthenic mother of the one- and two-roomed homes. To the Edinburgh Hospice women, for a small sum, may come to be confined. One woman, who had come for the birth of her ninth child, said with a glowing heart to the nurse at the end of the fortnight: "Nurse, this is the first holiday I've had in my life." If a fortnight in a lying-in hospital is interpreted by the mother of a new-born infant as a holiday, even though the days are full of agony and danger, is it not time that we considered whether the child would not also benefit by the country holiday of the mother?

Then look for a moment at the children that are actually selected. The Holiday Home Committees find it necessary to exclude, first, all forms of acute disease; second, all infectious diseases; third, all forms of active disease of bone and joint, and the like. For the present it is hopeless to make provision for the transfer of such cases to the country; for the difficulties of suitable hospitals and suitable medical service are beyond the powers of the voluntary organisations. The children selected must, therefore, for the present be, first, convalescents from infectious disease, provided the infectious period is over; second, the convalescents from other diseases; third, all those children that suffer from the anæmia and depression of poverty and the lightless, airless slum.

I am not without hope that, as the medical inspection of school children gets to closer grips with the home, the Holiday Home system will grow into a well-organised system of Convalescent Homes specialised to the main classes of children's diseases. It is known that the disgracefully common epidemics of measles and whooping-cough are, apart from their own immediate destructive effects (bad eyes and ears, etc.) among the chief causes of the recrudescence and spread of tuberculosis among children. If the Holiday Home could divert this feeder of tuberculosis, it would be justifiably regarded as one of the chief means of preventing destitution.

Hitherto this work has been organised and carried on by voluntary funds and voluntary service. How great the goodness of heart of the givers and the philanthropic impulse and energy of the workers have been and are, only those that have come into close contact with the committees and the children can dimly realise. It seems time that those splendid efforts should receive the recognition and support of the official services. And something like this seems

to be contemplated by the Scotch Education Department when, in their Memorandum of 1908 on the Medical Examination and Supervision of School Children, they say regarding Holiday Homes and Convalescent Homes:—

"The experience of the Holiday Homes and Convalescent Homes in many parts of Scotland has confirmed the records of the open-air schools of the Continent. It should be possible for many Boards to make arrangements with voluntary agencies so that children certified to be in need of recuperative treatment shall receive such treatment without complete interruption of their education. The Local Authority for Public Health may provide, furnish, and maintain houses of reception for convalescents from infectious diseases." (P. 6.)

The Vacation School, though somewhat new to this country, is familiar enough on the Continent and in America, where the education authorities are always ready to try fresh experiments. The Vacation School is not intended to be the mere continuation of the bookwork, during holidays, of the ordinary school, or the mere re-establishment of its grossly over-exacting discipline. It is intended rather, by turning the senses on to organic nature and awakening the mind to the possibilities of organising the environment through the child's own energies, to afford some recuperative variety to the routine of the elementary school, and to do for the later stages of school life what the kindergarten aims at doing for the earlier. The trouble is to find the proper directors and directresses for a Vacation School, particularly as the teacher of the ordinary school is also human and needs a vacation too.

Of Play Centres all that it is necessary to say in London is: "Go to Bermondsey and see Mrs. Kimmins's play centres." They opened my eyes, and they will open yours. If you go with any doubts, you will come back without them; for in the charming child communities that have grown up under Mrs. Kimmins's imaginative care you will see, in the concrete, the immense educational and social possibilities of the Play Centre. I know of no organisation that reveals so perfectly how fundamentally alike the minds and characters of children are.

The essential idea of a Play Centre is to provide a place where the children, out of school hours, may have perfect freedom both to play their own games and to profit by the skilled direction of the real student of child life. How little is needed to unlock and organise the play energies of children, how much their lives are sweetened and enriched by the tender direction of skilled people, you may learn for yourselves if, imitating Mrs. Kimmins, you try the same experiment as we tried a year or two ago in Edinburgh. A gentleman on New Year's Day was so affected by the poverty of the street as a suggestive playground for children that he said to a friend of mine: "I'll give you £100 if you can do anything to give those poor little things a clean place to play in." The Edinburgh School Board provided the clean places. The £100 was expended in providing toys and appliances and in the payment of an organiser, who had had experience in the organising of Play Centres. Many teachers volunteered to take a turn at the Play Centres. Three or four centres have been established. That they satisfy a real want of the poorer home, which has only the street as its play-room, is proved by the fact that the centres are always more than filled by the children attracted to them. The usual play hours are from 4.30 p.m. to 7, that is, until the working mothers return home to prepare the supper and take over the charge of their own families.

To bring these scattered observations to a point, I have only to remind you that Holiday Homes, Vacation Schools, and Play Centres are but a small part of a vast system for the development and expansion of personal efficiency, which, after all, is the primary method of preventing destitution. How much preventive effect is to be assigned to this cause or to that it is no more possible to say than it is to say how much of our happiness is due to the sunshine or to the green trees. But we know that these count for something, and they are a part of the great system we live by. By providing a country holiday for the enfeebled children, by developing the children in the Vacation School along the lines of nature, by sweetening the imaginative memory of the child in the Play Centre, you are at once raising the personal level of the child and relieving the life of the over-burdened home.

Discussion.

Mr. Ernest Lesser (Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association) said that in the few minutes he had at his disposal he wished to plead for a greater measure of co-operation between the Care Committees and boys' and girls' clubs and such cognate institutions as boys' brigades and boy scouts. He thought that such movements could rightly be called cognate institutions, because if they looked upon education in the widest sense he thought it would be seen that such movements were playing an important part in education, not only in a physical sense, but also in helping to build up character, and especially in helping to teach children to use their leisure wisely. He did not think that sufficient importance was attached to the necessity of teaching children in our large urban areas how to use their leisure wisely, and he thought it was only a platitude with which they would all agree that more children had gone wrong through the unwise use of their sometimes too ample leisure than as the result of any deteriorating influences to which they had been subjected while at work. He thought that from that point of view the boys' clubs and brigades and the boy scouts had done a very valuable work for the children, work which had not been done and could not be done by any official agency, and which deserved a greater measure of recognition than it had yet had. The opportunity that a club manager had for influencing the boys under his control was of quite a peculiar character. The relationship between the club manager and his boys was quite different to that even which obtained between the boy and his father, or between the boy and his master, and between the boy and a minister of religion. The confidence which the manager of a club got from the boy was a confidence which had to be born; it had to be earned by the influence of the manager's personality. He was able to exercise that influence because he did not come to the boy with any official label on him—he came with no definite status; he simply met the boys as a friend. The boy was free to leave the club at any time, and when he stayed and became attached to the manager they might be quite sure that the manager had great influence over him, and if he was the right sort of person he could use that influence in seeing that the boy was sent to the right sort of work, in seeing that he got proper opportunities for physical recreation, in seeing that he attended a continuation school, and generally in keeping an eye on him and taking care that the good influence of the school was not wasted during the difficult period of adolescence. He sincerely hoped that into this big field of voluntary work officialism and bureaucracy would never enter, because he believed it would be the deathblow to their peculiar value. He viewed with apprehension the attempts that were now being made by the War Office to sweep the brigades and boy scouts into the official net. He believed that was a very unpopular move, and so far it had not met with success, and he hoped it never would. If the club manager was also a member of a local Care Committee he could often see things and bring to the notice of Care

Committees or Public Health Authorities conditions of things which were going on in the families of the boys who belonged to his club—things which might otherwise have remained unnoticed. Therefore he ventured to put in a strong plea that there should be more public recognition of the voluntary work which was being done for boys by the movements to which he had referred.

Mr. R. C. Davison said he wanted first to speak for a moment of one essential difficulty of Care Committee work which was felt, he thought, all over the country, and that was the thoroughly bad drafting of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act. There was in that Act mention of an arrangement that children should be fed in order to enable them to profit by their education, but unfortunately the Board of Education had not given any directions as to the means to be adopted to select those children. It was simply hinted in one Report that the doctors should have something to say in the matter. The point he wished to make was that no ordinary staff of school doctors was sufficient to deal with this matter from day to day in the schools —in fact, the doctors had said that they would not like to be responsible for saying that a child was suffering from mal-nutrition in every case. Owing to the absence of any directions the whole matter of providing food for such children was in a state of chaos, and Care Committees had not been able to do their work thoroughly. He wanted to take their minds back to the first two papers they had heard read. He thought they must all have noticed that there was some difference of opinion between Miss Maud Davies and Mr. Pepler. He thought that difference needed to be emphasised, and he thought they wanted to think about it a good deal more. It was the important point that really affected Care Committees at the present stage of their development. They had had the rather curious experience, he thought, of a voluntary worker like Miss Davies condemning the great experiment of voluntary service and on the other side they had an official worker disparaging himself and his own class of officials. As one who had watched the development of the work of Care Committees he admitted he had been discouraged, although be believed in voluntary help. Especially he believed thoroughly in the point that Mr. Milledge touched upon when he said that this opportunity of service was of untold value in spreading a knowledge of the social needs of the people throughout the community. What were the main differences between the official and volunteer? He thought the greatest difference was that the official must work by rule of thumb; he was responsible to his elected authority and he must consider their wishes before the wishes of anybody else. He therefore must treat cases in classes and not according to individual needs. He must pigeonhole his cases, but individuals refused to be pigeonholed. Mr. Pepler even went so far as to say that he regarded himself and his colleagues as possibly a serious public menace, and he (Mr. Davison) would not like to contradict him. (Laughter.) Miss Davies had taken the other position, and had emphasised the gaps and failures which arose under the present voluntary Care Committee work. He believed that much of what Miss Davies had said was true, but at the same time he believed the difficulties could be overcome. He would like to see a further staff of officials to help them in their work, but not to stand between the voluntary workers and the parents and the families. Let there be direct contact between the voluntary workers and the families that came under their guidance. He believed that the Care Committees could do much to bring the schools closer to the homes and the homes closer to the schools. The divergence at present was enormous—the parents regarded the schools with suspicion, and they looked upon themselves as the victims of these authorities. Care Committees had done a great deal to dispel that illusion, and he believed they could do a great deal more in the future. He wanted to suggest that the Care Committees, as at present constituted, were suffering from an internal defect—that was they were in danger of becoming a philanthropic luxury of the leisured classes, and they needed to forge a link between the Care Committees and the school by bringing into the committees the working classes—the neighbours of the children and the parents themselves as far as possible.

Mr. J. Flint (Hackney Local Association of Children's Care Committees) said he was in very close contact with some eighty or ninety Care Committees, and the point he would like to make was this—that while he thoroughly believed that if this work was to be done it had got to be done by voluntary agencies, it never would be done and never could be done unless those voluntary agencies were properly co-ordinated and properly regulated, and that could only be done by properly paid officials. The voluntary workers that he had come into contact with had in a

measure done their work very well indeed, but the work was so onerous that it was not to be wondered at that many of them had failed. It seemed to him that the point at which there had been failure could be overcome by the machine made to work admirably, and that would be when there was a proper linking up between the individual Care Committees and the local associations under whom they worked. It would be necessary to organise in groups precisely in the same way as it was found necessary to organise the school managers. It was most unfortunate that in London they had had Advisory Committees appointed by the Board of Trade who did not work in direct connection with the schools. The work which had to be done in connection with the children was not merely the placing of them in jobs—anybody could do that—but it was necessary to watch the children after placing them, up to the age of 17 or 18, and that could only be done by the After-care Committees themselves; and unless those committees were properly organised in connection with the school it would not be done well. He was very thankful to their friends from Edinburgh who had come to the conference to tell them how admirably they had started the work there, and he could wish that they could be transported to Scotland to see how the machinery worked in that country. If they could get enough voluntary workers, with just sufficient of the official element, not to interfere between the voluntary worker and the case, but simply to keep the machinery in regular motion, these committees would be a success, but until they got that happy combination the whole thing must be a failure.

Miss May Yates said she was a delegate to the conference from the Food Reform League, and she was led to take part in the discussion because Mr. Pepler in his paper, speaking of the feeding of school children, had recommended that milk and oatmeal and proteids should be given to those children who liked it. She thought it might interest the conference to know the admirable results that had been obtained in Edinburgh by the use of oatmeal dinners. The committee found that they could continue the free meals for two months beyond the usual time when they gave oatmeal dinners instead of the usual bread and soup, and the result of the use of this healthy, economical food was most striking. It was found that the children liked the oat food, and they throve on it. As they knew, very large sums were being expended on the feeding of school children, and she would venture to suggest that if the Care Committees would encourage the use of good, cheap wheat foods, such as oatmeal, the money now spent on other foods would be utilised to greater advantage and the children themselves would be permanently benefited by cultivating a taste for these healthy and economical proteid foods. The report that had been received from county council and other schools where they had used these foods for the children was that the scholars were better nourished and did better work than those children who did not have those wheat foods. She ventured to suggest that health committees and school nurses would do a great amount of good by directing the attention of the parents and children to the necessity of using these foods, and in that manner they would be doing something towards preventing destitution.

Dr. Savage (County M.O.H., Somerset) wished to say a word upon After-care Committees, more in their relationship to school inspection work, and particularly in their relationship to their work in rural districts. Most of the speakers and most of the papers had been more concerned in connection with the work as it affected urban districts; but he would like to direct their attention to the question as affecting small rural areas. A good many observations had been made as to the relationship in after-care work of the official and the voluntary worker. He was very glad to hear that discussion because it seemed to him that that was one of the fundamental things which they had got to settle, and to settle on a proper basis before they could go any considerable distance in Care Committee work. They had had one gentleman in his paper actually saying that officials and voluntary workers could not work together. It seemed to him that it should be exactly the opposite, and that if they were going to get any success in this work officials and voluntary workers must work cordially together, and it seemed to him that there was a very distinct line of demarkation between the duties of the one and the duties of the other. They must all be agreed that they could not get efficient administration without efficient machinery, and it seemed to him that the machinery part of the work should be run and controlled by the official and the actual working part should be carried out by the voluntary worker. That seemed to him a definite line of demarkation between the duties of the one and the duties of the other. At the present day there were

an enormous number of voluntary workers who were only too willing and ready to work on After-care Committees and the like. If those ladies and gentlemen were brought into such an administrative machine as he had referred to their services would become of the greatest utility, but if there was not such an administrative machine it seemed to him that the voluntary workers were really an unmitigated nuisance. (Laughter.) In regard to their rural work in Somerset they had adopted that relationship between the two classes, and, like Miss Burrows in Worcestershire, they did not have anything to do with the managers, as managers, in connection with their after-care work. They had care sheets, which were sent out from his (the speaker's) office within three days of the case coming to the committee, and these care sheets were sent, not to the managers, but to the district education sub-committees. They used the district education sub-committees because there they could get the services of a clerk and the County Education Committee had made an increase in that official's salary in order that he should do this work. It was that gentleman's duty to distribute the cases to the various voluntary members of the committees who would look after the case. The system worked very satisfactorily, and the point he wished to make was that in doing this work it was exceedingly important that they should have central control. The case sheets should come back to his (Dr. Savage's) office in order that they might know what was being done. They arranged that the sheets should be returned within four months. If at the end of that time they did not come, they let another month go by, and if then they had not been returned they got the clerk to get them and send them on himself. That was very important, because all the work of referring these cases to voluntary societies and public health authorities was done centrally through his (the speaker's) office. Then there was another important point—he did not know whether it affected urban districts, but it certainly affected rural areas—and that was the relationship of the voluntary workers to the school nurses. They had a large number of school nurses who attended the medical inspection of the children and who received direct instructions with regard to those cases that wanted treatment, and followed the cases up. They did not make a distinction between the school nurses and the voluntary visitor—that was if a case was referred to the school nurse they did not say that it should not also be referred to the voluntary visitor. They liked it to be referred to both. Some people thought that the poor parent was getting over-visited. That might be the case in urban districts, but it was certainly not so in the rural districts where life was slower and where the poor liked to have visitors. He had come to the conclusion that many of the people they had to deal with only believed a thing was true if they were told the same thing by two or three people. (Laughter.)

Mrs. TOWNSHEND said she had had something to do with London Care Committees, and the point she wished to make was that she did not think it had been sufficiently brought out that Care Committees were an enormously important development of our time, not only because of the work they were doing but because they were a pioneer experiment of what lay before them in the future, viz., the work of the volunteer within the public body. She thought it was a curious result of our dread as a nation of theory that we should have had to learn the most elementary facts with regard to such a combination from blunders which had been very disastrous with regard to Care Committees. If those in authority had considered the matter a little theoretically as to what they could and what they could not expect from volunteers then a great deal of time would have been saved that had been absolutely wasted. It appeared to her—she hoped she was wrong—that Care Committees were just now going through a most dangerous crisis. Many of the people she knew who were most valuable workers on Care Committees had said to her within the last two or three weeks, "I am going to resign; my time is being wasted." That such a state of things should occur was a very great pity, and it might have been avoided if those in authority had realised exactly what they could expect from volunteers and what they could not expect, and if they had settled the place of the paid worker. They had heard from a gentleman from Edinburgh that the point was realised there. Why was it not realised in London? It was chiefly because of the terror of increasing the rates. Instead of considering what amount of work must be done by paid workers they had appointed for 9,000 London schools two organisers and twelve assistant organisers, which was really a drop in the bucket. All those organisers could do was to "prod" the volunteers. That, of course, was not the way to treat volunteers; the way to treat them was to guide them and try to bring home to them a sense of responsibility for a certain definite task which they could undertake, and if it was

found that they could not undertake that task they should say, "Thank you, we don't require you any longer." If that were done, as it might be, and if they had a paid secretary at the head of every committee, the work of the Care Committees of London would be in a very different condition from what it was at the present moment. She did not suggest that they should have a paid secretary for every Care Committee; but she felt sure that a paid secretary who was interested in the work could run three, four, or five schools, and in that case they would be able to see that the Care Committees were doing their work properly. She would like to point out that it might be possible to get a great deal of paid work done by the school attendance officers; but her own pet theory was that these paid officers ought to be nurses.

The Rev. W. Main said he spoke as a delegate from the Edinburgh School Board. Mr. Young, in his interesting paper, had told them that there was some difference of opinion as to the setting up of a cookery centre in Edinburgh for the feeding of the school children, but he knew Mr. Young would bear him out when he said that all the members had gone in to loyally support the system, and they now had a cooking centre which was one of the sights of Edinburgh and to which visitors to the city were taken. If any other authorities were thinking of adopting a similar system he would ask them to remember that there was another side to the question, and one that was well worth considering, and that was whether it was not possible instead of making themselves restaurant keepers to utilise for the purpose of feeding the school children those agencies which already existed. However, the chief point he wished to refer to was in connection with dealing with culpable parents—the parents of neglected children. They had power under their Act to deal with these people by force of law, but he was one of those who was entirely sceptical as to the success of dealing with culpable parents in that way. He had absolutely no faith in threats and penalties and fines and imprisonment. There was a time when there was an attempt to make people into members of the church by frightening them with the terrors of the world to come, but he had always been one of those who had taken leave to doubt whether any sincere case of a genuine religious life was ever produced by such means, and in the same way he did not believe they would ever redeem the culpable parent by threats and fines and imprisonment. He spoke as one who had had some experience. He had served seven years as chaplain in a Scottish prison, and he knew the results of police compulsion. He would say to members of local Care Committees as a matter offering a wide field for their earnest and enthusiastic activity—redeem the culpable parent by bringing to bear upon him and his home the grace of God, the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, Whose Spirit and power could alone effectively purify, sweeten, and ennoble the life.

Mrs. Rackham said that she spoke as a school manager and as a member of the Care Committee of Cambridge. She would like to draw attention to the very serious danger which existed from overlapping on the part of Care Committees and other agencies who, as part of their work, undertook the care of suffering children. This overlapping of Care Committees with guardians was an old story, for which at the moment there did not seem to be any practical cure. She would give them an illustration which had actually occurred in her own experience. The case was a boy of school age who was discovered to be suffering from a tuberculous hip joint, who was visited by the school nurse and also by a member of the Care Committee. At the same time the health visitor was in daily attendance on the case. It was a case of neglect on the part of the father—the child was motherless—and therefore the inspector of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children also had the case under his eye. The child was attending the hospital, and the case was referred by the hospital authorities to the Charity Organisation Society to see if they could do anything to help. The district nurse was visiting the case in her professional capacity, and at the same time the child was on the list of the local Invalid Children's Aid Society. They had no Guild of Help in Cambridge; if they had she had no doubt that the child would also have been visited by somebody from that society. (Laughter.) She was glad to say that the case got on extremely well; but what a terrible amount of waste of effort was involved! She wanted particularly to draw attention to the fact that in the case she was referred to none of the many agencies could be said to be in any way poaching on the work of the other—to every one of them it was a proper and suitable case. The remedy, of course, was for one society in a district to keep the other societies posted up with lists of those who were helping, or better still, for the various societies to send lists of their cases to a central office for registration. One way in which Care Committee workers could

supplement the work of the local authorities was in regard to the work of the borough dentist. Cambridge was a pioneer in starting dental clinics among the elementary school children. The borough dentist found that his work among the children was hampered very much by the fact that they had not the least idea of what was meant by the use of the tooth brush. A philanthropic gentleman gave them a sum of money to buy tooth brushes for the children. The children took the brushes home, but they did not use them. She hoped that the Care Committees were going to co-operate in this work by getting the children, if possible, to contribute perhaps a halfpenny a week towards the purchase of a brush, which they thought would make them value them the more. She wanted to introduce some sort of tooth brush drill into the schools such as she believed existed in some of the American schools so as to keep the children up to the use of brushes. Mr. Pepler in his paper had dealt with the prosecution of neglectful parents. She thought that both the previous speaker and Mr. Pepler took rather a pessimistic view of the matter. She agreed that in many cases prosecutions might have failed not only in regard to the individual parent but also as a deterrent, but where public opinion could make itself felt very strongly, such as in provincial towns where these cases were fully reported in the local papers, there was no doubt that a feeling of disgrace was produced on the delinquent which might have a very deterring effect. When the prosecution had not resulted in either imprisonment or fine but in the imposition of costs there had certainly been a good effect produced.

Mr. W. M. Ramsay (Edinburgh School Board) said they had discussed whether voluntary workers or official workers were the best. He did not think for a moment that there was anybody present but what had come to the conclusion that they needed both. Both were necessary, and to effectually carry out the work they had in view both must be obtained. He was specially interested in the fact that the Care Committee, if it was to be a living, active organisation, had to follow the child to its home. If the Care Committee could follow the children to their homes and link up the school and the home then they would be doing a tremendous lot for the future of the nation. Like Mr. Main, he ventured to differ from Mr. Young, but no sooner did Mr. Young and the majority of the Board carry the day than he took off his coat and took his place by their side, and he had relished the work tremendously. It was doing good, and after all it was a hard and cruel thing to compel a child to come to school hungry and ask it to take full advantage of the education given. If the child was hungry it was not in a position to take advantage of the education offered, and he was glad to say that they had not to go even to the medical officer to get permission to feed a child. If the head master of the school certified that the child was not in a condition to take advantage of the education offered, then the child was, through the Care Committee or an executive consisting of members of the Board and members of the voluntary societies, at once dealt with and food provided. He was sure they were all delighted with Mrs. Mackenzie's paper, in which she told them how they took the children from their sordid surroundings into the fresh air of the country. He was a great believer in the work that Care Committees could do in looking after the children's play, because there was a great truth in the statement that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing grounds of Eton, and the future of the nation depended, he believed, in a very great measure in turning the spare moments of the lads and lassies into healthful, happy, and beautiful surroundings. In all these things he thought the conference had been a very profitable and a very helpful one.

Mr. Denman, M.P., said he agreed with the observation that had been made that when they were discussing the functions of Care Committees they must not forget that they would always have an interest in the industrial welfare of the child. You could not get a voluntary worker interested in a boy of 14 or 16 without that worker being intimately interested in what business that child was going into. He wanted to emphasise the need for these Care Committees and of their co-operation wherever employment committees were set up. In London they were basing their whole organisation on the Care Committee system. The Care Committee, when it first sent a child to the Employment Committee, let them know the qualification of the child whom they were to place. When the child was placed they sent back the particulars to the Care Committee, and asked the Committee to report anything about the child's industrial future. If the child got out of work the Care Committee sent the child back to the Employment Committee, which again dealt with him or her as the case might be. In that way he thought they were relieving the Care

Committees of a difficulty which they had felt in practical working. The school visitor, however much interested in the industrial welfare of the child, could not go and visit all manner of employers, but by being able to send them to the Employment Committee they would be able to help them in exactly the way they wanted. From the point of view of Employment Committees, After-care Committees were essential. In almost every one of the Employment Committees, as far as he knew, that had been set up in provincial towns, they had been striving to try and create some sort of Care Committee organisation. He mentioned that simply to emphasise one point—that Care Committees were quite essential to help in bridging the chasm which separated the school from the workshop.

Mrs. Mills (Barrow Union) said she would like to touch upon the boarding out of children in country homes. In Barrow they had only fourteen boarded out children, as they had cottage homes to which most of their children were sent. She took upon herself the responsibility of looking up those fourteen children for three months as an experiment, and she found that out of the fourteen there were two that were in homes where there was consumption—a most undesirable condition of things, as they would all agree. She also found that the people that applied for those children were always those people that could not afford to keep them, and they looked upon the money that they got as going towards helping to keep some of their own children. Altogether she was very much against boarding out children. The children in the homes were much healthier, they were much cleaner, they were better clothed, and very much better mannered; because when they had a matron who knew how to manage children she would see that they were properly looked after as regarded their food, their cleanliness, and their manners. They found that the people at Barrow were very glad to have girls out of the cottage homes as domestic servants, and one had even come to London. The point she wanted to make was that they must not take any notice of the figures that were given as a result of the boarding out system, because all the forms that she filled up were lies—she knew it. (Laughter.) Well, she either had to get these poor people into trouble or tell an untruth. She hoped the members of the conference would not go away with the idea that the boarding out of children produced the best results; it was exactly the contrary, and at Barrow she was glad to say they had decided not to board out any more children.

Canon Rawnsley said his education authority were very anxious to ascertain from somebody at the conference—someone might perhaps send the information on a postcard—as to whether in any of the counties any attempt had been made to obtain the voluntary help of the parents' pence by means of some bonus on the part of the county authority towards the payment of the doctor's fee in those cases where the medical officer had certified that the child must have medical attendance. They in Cumberland believed it to be very important to obtain the interest of the parents in the cure of the child's ailments, and they also liked the idea of the child itself taking some part in its own cure by bringing its own pence to school. An attempt was made through their Children's Help Committee to obtain some such small sum from the little ones. Only a halfpenny a head was asked, but he was sorry to say the whole thing had proved a farce. There was no help for the matter while their authority did not empower them to do more. If the parent of a child refused the doctor's help they could only bring that parent up at considerable trouble and cost before the Justices to obtain back the money that they paid first of all to the doctor. That was a lamentable condition of affairs, and he would be glad of any information that any member of the conference could give him. Then there was another point on which he would like to receive some information if it could be obtained, and that was in regard to the treatment of tuberculous children. They had found in the North that a very large number of children were suffering from tubercular trouble which was curable and which could be cured if only they could be sent to an open-air school. He wanted to know what was being done by county authorities to prevent these children being a burden to themselves and their families, and inefficient citizens of the State in the future. His third question was, what was being done up and down the country to see that at any rate part of the outer school life of the child was being catered for by seeing that in the winter evenings into the homes were carried healthful books. He knew that in many counties there were school libraries which were carefully looked after, and which were used in the homes of the people, which was all very good; but was there any real solid attempt being made to take

into the homes a taste for good literature, such as could be done by the means of some such simple expedient as circulating school libraries.

Mr. CONWAY (Bradford Trades Council) said he would like to ask Mr. Pepler whether the feeding in the London area under the supervision of the Care Committees which, according to one of the speakers, was in such a state of chaos, was due to the bad drafting of the Bill. That was not their experience in Bradford.

A LADY DELEGATE said that in his paper Mr. Pepler had urged the voluntary committees to be pioneers and not followers. When she (the speaker) was a member of a Care Committee attached to a County Council school they were all suspended by Mr. Pepler because they wanted to be pioneers in a certain matter. She would like to know how Mr. Pepler reconciled his two attitudes—the way he had spoken that morning and the way he had acted on the occasion she referred to.

Mr. PEPLER, amid laughter, said that that morning he was a voluntary worker; two years ago he was an official in the lady's district, and that made all the difference. Of course, speaking generally, he did not wish to say that the voluntary worker and the official could not work together. Unfortunately he himself was rather a difficult person to work with, but he did not think that was the experience of his colleagues in the office and in the district in which they worked. He thought that on the whole the officials got on extraordinarily well with the voluntary workers, and he thought that would be agreed to by everybody. At the same time he thought they should realise their different functions. They could not have a football team composed of amateurs and professionals, and they could not have a Care Committee composed of a paid secretary and voluntary workers if they were both to do the same kind of work. He thought there was room in the Care Committee organisation for paid secretarial work of a purely clerical kind. As to what were the qualifications of the school managers in London, the only qualification he knew of was an acquaintance with every member of the Borough Council or the London County Council. (Laughter.) With regard to the feeding arrangements in London they were not in an actual state of chaos, and they were not directly under the Care Committees. The Care Committees were only responsible for the selection of necessitous children; the local authorities were responsible for the feeding arrangements. As he had said, he did not think that the actual feeding arrangements were chaotic; he thought the whole of the children were being fed in an orderly and decent manner. That was not the point; the point was that by doing it in the way they were they were creating destitution and keeping the child in his mire and dirt. He wanted to remind them that the more efficient their organisation was and the more pleased they were at seeing the number of children under their protection go up, the greater harm they were doing to the country. (Cries of "No.") Well, he was surprised to hear that they liked to know that there were hungry and necessitous children in the country; personally he loathed the thought. As to prosecuting parents, that was a question that must be left to the locality to decide. In London it would be quite different from Cambridge, as in a great city he did not think that prosecutions acted much as a deterrent to others.

Mrs. ROGER GREEN (Burton-on-Trent) said that reference had been made to the difficulty of getting children to use their tooth brushes. Was there anything against offering a prize in the schools for the best kept teeth?

A DELEGATE said her authority adopted such a system in their schools, and she did not think there had been any objection raised.

Mrs. H. HALL said a point she could never understand was why it was that the only class of children who were effectively dealt with by the London County Council in their special schools were the deaf children. Those children were dealt with in such a way that they were able to earn a really good living after they left. She would like to know why it was that similar results were not obtained at the other special schools. She was inclined to think that at a great many of those special schools for mentally defective children the work was absolutely lost because there was no proper system of co-ordination.

Third Day, Thursday, June 1st.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was taken by Professor M. E. Sadler, and the subject discussed was THE FUNCTION OF THE BOARDING SCHOOL (DAY OR RESIDENTIAL). The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Day Industrial Schools.*
By Mr. J. G. LEGGE, Director of Education, Liverpool.

2.—*The Delinquent Child in the Reformatory.*
By Mr. M. G. LLOYD BAKER, Gloucestershire County Council.

Day Industrial Schools.

By J. G. LEGGE.
(Director of Education, Liverpool.)

The Day Industrial Schools are carried on under Section 71 (1) of the Children Act, 1908, which slightly modified the old Section 16 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, and runs as follows :—

> "If the Secretary of State is satisfied that, owing to the circumstances of any class of population in the area of any local Education Authority, a school in which industrial training, elementary education, and one or more meals a day, but not lodging, are provided is necessary or expedient for the proper training and control of the children of that class, he may, on the like application and report as is required by this part of this Act in the case of industrial schools, certify any such school (in this Act referred to as a Day Industrial School) as fit for the reception of children to be sent there in pursuance of the provisions of this part of this Act relating to Day Industrial Schools."

REASONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCHOOLS.

The Education Act of 1870 led to the compulsory attendance of children at school, and to the State making itself responsible for the educational care of children. Private effort, therefore, gradually relaxed or changed its purpose, with the result that the old "ragged schools" and similar charities, which had not only the education, but the physical care of children for their object, rapidly tended to become extinct, and their place was not at once filled. There was, therefore, no particular provision for the children previously cared for in these institutions and others in the same circumstances. Consequently there were found to be a considerable number of children who did not attend school, and whose conditions did not permit of their doing so. For the parents of such

children penalties under the Attendance Bye-laws were useless, as the condition of the children imperatively demanded a certain amount of physical care—they were ill-fed, dirty, and even verminous, and not fit to mix with the ordinary children—as well as education.

DESCRIPTION OF CHILDREN RECEIVED INTO THE DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

(1) Children committed to the schools under warrants of commitment by a magistrate, viz.:—

Children of neglectful parents upon whom the ordinary fines under the Education Acts have no effect.

Children of parents who are unable, owing to their occupations, which require them to leave their homes very early in the morning, to secure the attendance at an ordinary day school of their children who may thereby become disobedient or neglected.

Children whose parents belong to the extremely improvident class, and who are greatly neglected by them.

Children of intemperate parents where the father may be in receipt of good wages, but where the children are neglected.

Children who are running the streets, or begging, but whom it is undesirable and unnecessary to send to a residential school.

Children who have committed petty thefts, but who are not regular thieves.

Children who are charged by their parents with being beyond control.

The method of procedure in the first four categories mentioned above is by way, first, of what is termed an "attendance order" made on the parent. That is to say, an order made by the court, on the representations of the local Education Authority, ordering the child to attend regularly an ordinary elementary school. A breach of this order is followed by commitment to the Day Industrial School.

In the last three categories the procedure is more summary. A child is brought before the court charged with running the streets, begging, or stealing, as the case may be; and, usually, after a short remand for inquiries, it is then committed to the Day Industrial School.

In all cases the commitment may, at the discretion of the magistrate, remain in force until the child is fourteen, or for such shorter period as the magistrate may determine.

(2) Children admitted to the schools without an order of the court (called voluntary scholars):—

Besides the children *committed* to the schools, the managers of any Day Industrial School may, at their discretion, at the request of the parent or guardian, and on his undertaking to pay such sum or sums, not exceeding 1s. 9d. per week, as may be agreed upon, receive their children, not sent by an order of the court; such children are known as "voluntary" scholars.

These children are of the following descriptions:—

Children of widows, or deserted wives, of good or fair character, who, being forced into the position of breadwinners for the family, have to leave home early in the morning to follow their occupations, and so are unable to see that their children are properly attended to or sent to school.

Children of widowers in similar circumstances.

Children of a family in which the father is incapacitated from work by illness or infirmity.

With regard to the condition that the parent or guardian undertakes to contribute to the child's food and industrial training, it will be obvious that in the great majority of the children referred to in the first and last category it is in most cases impossible to secure any payment, and in practice this condition will be found, generally at least, to be waived. The legal aspect of the practice is open to some doubt.

Treatment in the Schools.

In the schools the children are given three substantial meals a day, and they are regularly bathed and washed; they are under close medical supervision and (in Liverpool, at any rate) they are provided with the services of a qualified dentist. The curriculum is very similar to that of the ordinary residential Industrial Schools and consists of school work and industrial and handicraft instruction, much stress being laid upon the latter. In this regard, indeed, the schools afford an admirable example of that practical education which is commending itself to all interested in the educational progress of the country. In the Day Industrial Schools the practical work is in the highest degree *educational* in that it tends to keep the child in touch with its environment, and with what life means to the particular child; giving it something to do which it recognises as definitely useful, and helping to implant, at least in germ, the idea of usefulness to others as well as to oneself.

Day Industrial Schools as Means of Poor Relief.

It may be claimed, in respect of both committed and voluntary cases, that the children received into the Day Industrial Schools are all in need of relief, inasmuch as they are all underfed or ill-fed, neglected, and in most cases dirty and ill-clothed. They are all, in short, children of the very poorest, or most improvident classes to be found in our large cities, and if it were not for the existence of such schools many of them would probably find themselves under the care of the Poor Law Authorities. This is evidently the view of the Legislature, as Section 82 (3) of the Children's Act provides (as did the Order in Council of March, 1877, made under the Act of 1876) that if the parent or guardian is unable to pay the contribution he may be ordered to pay when his child is committed to the school, he shall apply to the Poor Law Guardians of the parish in which he is resident, who shall give him sufficient relief to pay the sum, or as much as they think him unable to pay. But the guardians have the alternative of offering relief in another way, and this, with other technical difficulties, has rendered the clause ineffective.

As regards voluntary scholars, the guardians of the three Poor Law districts in which the Liverpool education area lies, all recognise that the Day Industrial Schools afford a means of relief of which they approve, and towards the maintenance of certain children in them they actually make contributions to the education committee:—

(1) The Liverpool Select Vestry—the Poor Law Authority for the older portion of Liverpool—for the last twelve or thirteen years have been paying 9d. per week (paid quarterly on the production of the attendance registers) in respect of each child resident in their area who is received as a voluntary scholar into one of the Day Industrial Schools.

(2) The Poor Law Guardians of the West Derby Union have also, on the facts being fully explained to them, quite recently intimated their willingness to make a similar contribution; while

(3) The Poor Law Guardians of the remaining Toxteth Union have adopted a different plan, their scheme of contribution being more restricted than in the other two cases. For each child resident in their area received as a voluntary scholar in a Day Industrial School whose parent (*a*) is in receipt of outdoor relief, or (*b*) is employed by them at their workhouse, as a form of outdoor relief, they increase the amount of relief allowed by the sum of 6d. per week in classes (*a*), or the remuneration paid for the work of the parents in classes (*b*) by the same amount, on the strict condition, in all cases, that this 6d. is paid by the parent to the Education Authority. It will be seen that this scheme is not so comprehensive as that adopted by the other two bodies of guardians (i.) in the amount allowed, and (ii.) in respect of the children for whom it is made, as children of parents who do not happen to be in receipt of some form of relief from the guardians are not paid for by them at all. It is, nevertheless, an acknowledgment that the care given to the children in the Day Industrial Schools is acceptable to the guardians as a form of relief.

It should be stated that in the cases of all the three Boards of Guardians they make investigation into the circumstances of each case by their own officers before they make their contributions, but I am not aware of a single case in which the contribution has ever been disallowed.

This practice of admitting children to the Day Industrial Schools without an order of the court received attention from the recent Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress. They referred to it in Chapter 8, "The Children," under the section, "Children of mothers in receipt of outdoor relief," page 192, as follows:—

> "For many of these children we think that provision might be most satisfactorily made by means of day boarding schools on the model of the Day Industrial Schools. The children at these schools are day boarders, and receive more care and personal supervision than is possible or perhaps desirable in the ordinary elementary school. We understand that in Liverpool and Glasgow such an arrangement is already in force with the Day Industrial Schools."

In the Minority Report issued by certain members of that Commission, the plan is directly commended (page 829 of their separate report) in the following terms:—

> "There is one development of the industrial school which comes very near indeed to the work of the Destitution Authority. . . . Such schools . . . especially under the wider powers given by the Children Act, 1908, appear to us to have a very distinct use for the large class of parents—usually widowed mothers—who can earn a livelihood only by being absent from home for the whole day, and who are quite unable properly to look after their children. We have already described in what an enormous proportion of cases the children whom the Destitution Authorities are maintaining on outdoor relief are demonstrably suffering in body and mind, and growing up to be themselves weaklings, paupers, and criminals, from the inability or neglect of the parents, to whom the Destitution Authorities are entrusting the scanty dole of outdoor relief for the children, to give them the necessary amount of care and attention. It is, we think, a most unfortunate consequence of the separation of the provision for the children who come under the Poor Law from that made for other children in the same locality, that only in two towns does it seem to have occurred to the Destitution Authority to make use of the Day Industrial Schools as a

means of providing for the children on outdoor relief. . . . It has been suggested to us that such 'day feeding schools,' to use the old phrase, are apparently exactly what is needed for the children of those widowed mothers who cannot be trusted to expend wisely on their children the full amount necessary for their maintenance, and yet who are not morally bad enough, or mentally defective enough, to warrant their children being completely taken out of their control. If the children attend the Day Industrial School from morning to night, it is possible absolutely to ensure their being properly fed, clothed, taught, and supervised, without running the risk of subsidising the mother in careless or irregular habits of life. The mother, in fact, may be set free to earn her own living, and, if possible, provide the rent, without outdoor relief in any ordinary form, and without the family home being broken up. Such a 'day feeding school' has, we believe, once or twice been started by English Boards of Guardians, only to be abandoned. The Day Industrial School stands, in a score of towns, ready to hand, offering exactly what is needed."

Cost.

The total cost (excluding capital charges) of each child in the five Day Industrial Schools in Liverpool, for the twelve months ended September, 1910, was £13 2s. 6d., of which the food amounted to £3 10s. 8d., and the medical supervision to 7s. 2d. Setting against this expenditure the amounts received from H.M. Treasury in grants, contributions from parents, and some other small receipts, the net cost, *i.e.*, the cost to the rates, worked out to £8 9s. per head.

It should be borne in mind, however, that were these children not being educated in a Day Industrial School they would probably be on the rolls of some public elementary school in the city, the average net cost of a scholar in which amounts to £1 9s. 4½d., and if this be taken into account, the net cost is reduced to £6 19s. 7½d. per head.

The average number of children in the five schools for the year was 1,105, of whom 140 were voluntary scholars.

Government Grants.

From the time of the establishment of the Day Industrial Schools in 1877 to the 1st April, 1909, the grants received from H.M. Treasury in respect of the attendance of children at the schools were limited by statute to a maximum of 1s. per head per week for "committed" cases and 6d. per head per week for "voluntary" cases. The Liverpool Education Committee, in common with other Education Authorities carrying on Day Industrial Schools, had repeatedly made urgent representations as to the inadequacy of these grants, but as the limit (contained in Section 16 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876) was a statutory one, nothing could be done until it was removed by statute. As a result of the agitation mentioned, this was accomplished in the Children Act, 1908, which repealed the section referred to. A new scale of grants was then issued by the Secretary of State, which came into force as from the 1st April, 1909. The new scale provides that the payment for children *committed*, if under Section 11 (2) of the Education Act, 1876 (children neglected and beyond control), shall be at the rate of 2s., and if under Section 11 (1) of the same Act

(mere truants), at 1s. 6d. per head per week, while the payment for voluntary scholars is 1s. per head per week—double the previous amount.

It will be seen from the following statement showing the grants received in respect of children in Liverpool Day Industrial Schools during the last four years that the revised scale has resulted in the committee receiving a substantial increase in the amount of grant for these schools, though the number of children has not much varied, viz.:—

Year.	Amount of grant received.
1907	£2,923
1908	£2,729
1909	£3,416*
1910	£4,608

In addition to the grants just specified—which are calculated on the average attendance of the children at the schools—small additional grants are allowed in respect of manual instruction (*i.e.*, wood- and metal-work) and drawing; the rate of payment for manual instruction is 6s. or 7s. per scholar according to whether the award is "good" or "excellent" (only boys over 11 and in the upper standards being eligible for grant), and for drawing 1s. 9d. per scholar. The grants received in respect of these two subjects for the last four years are included in the amounts set out above, but it may be interesting to show them separately, viz.:—

Year.	Drawing	Manual Instruction.	Total.
1907 ...	59 17 0 ...	43 19 0 ...	106 16 0
1908 ...	55 2 6 ...	45 18 0 ...	101 0 6
1909 ...	53 12 9 ...	82 18 0 ...	136 10 9
1910 ...	56 5 3 ...	69 12 0 ...	125 17 3

General.

Official inquiries into the system of Day Industrial Schools have had nothing but praise for it. The Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools stated in their report of 1896:—

> "In our opinion these schools are founded on right principles; parental responsibility is enforced; the home tie is maintained; the child, whilst subjected to so much discipline as is necessary, is not deprived of its liberty, and is treated on a system of kindness; and the school authorities recognise that in dealing with such a neglected class it is requisite to have even better teachers and better appointments than those which suffice for an ordinary school. The work of dressing and attending to these children is often of a most disagreeable character. But it is encouraging to know that the fact of the teacher doing so much for the children personally attaches not only the children to the teacher, but also the teacher to the children, and that, as a rule, a teacher, having once taken to the work, would not exchange it for employment in a public elementary school."

* Increased rate of grant in force for the latter six months only of this year.

And, similarly, the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Provision of Funds for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, in their report of 1906, said:—

> "We think that Day Industrial Schools deserve all possible encouragement. They have obviated the necessity in many cases of committal to long-detention schools, and the results have been very satisfactory."

Again, the Physical Deterioration Committee of 1904 had before it several witnesses who pleaded for the establishment in appropriate districts of just such schools as the Day Industrial Schools, as much for the mental and moral improvement of the children as their physical improvement.

But one weak spot in the Day Industrial Schools system has to be admitted. I may be permitted to quote from an old report of my own, addressed to the Home Secretary in 1901:—

> "A Day Industrial School should be a great deal more than simply a feeding day school, it should be a centre of great social effort. An attempt should be made not only to elevate the children and to keep in touch with them after school hours and after their school term is over, but also to get in touch with the parents and influence them. Further, while they are in the school special regard should be had to the laborious lives—not necessarily on that account unhappy lives—which these children will have to lead in youth and manhood. Special pains, therefore, are requisite to develop the industrial as well as the literary side of their training. The Day Industrial School should be an example in this country of the striking movement which has spread with such force during recent years in Scandinavia in favour of a practical education for those children who must, by force of circumstances, lead upstanding and practical, not sedentary or contemplative, existences."

As pointed out earlier in this paper, the industrial side of the training of the children in most of these schools is now fully developed, but when we regard the schools as centres of social effort, there is one function in particular on which more attention has to be concentrated. The children's standard of life once raised has to be maintained, and therefore strenuous effort has to be made to find situations for them when they leave, and prevent their sinking back into the slough from which they have been haled. But this is a matter of even greater difficulty in the Day Industrial School than in the Residential Industrial School. The children leave at 14, and are almost entirely in their parents' hands. Moral suasion may do something, but not as much as kind enthusiasts would have us believe. It is a question whether the managers of Day Industrial Schools should not be given powers of disposal and of supervision, not perhaps identical with, but akin to those granted to managers of the residential schools. Any such powers will have to be exercised with great discretion, but coupled with the facilities for the placing out of children which may fairly be expected from the operation of the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, they may be trusted to effect, before many years are passed, a sensible improvement.

The Delinquent Child in the Reformatory.

By M. G. Lloyd-Baker.
(Member of Gloucestershire County Council.)

The general Preface to the Educational Section gives no information whatever as to the history or present standing of Reformatory Schools, and I may be pardoned if I briefly set out both these points. The first I may perhaps illustrate from the history of the school with which I am connected. In 1851, Mr. Barwick Baker, a country squire and magistrate of Gloucestershire, was impressed with the necessity of, in some way, getting hold of lads who had fallen once into crime before they had time to get deeper into the mire. Amongst the protests of the neighbours, who were firmly convinced that they would all be murdered in their beds, he built a very small and unpretentious building on his own estate, where in the first two years he received some twenty-four lads. These were either boys convicted of some crime, or lads who were in danger of falling into evil ways. As he had no legal power either to get these lads, or to keep them, he had to rely entirely on persuasion for both objects. In this he was fairly successful, as in the first two years only four left the school without the consent of the managers. In 1854, three years after the commencement of the school's career, it received its certificate from the Home Office and became the first certified Reformatory School in the Kingdom. At once other schools began to spring up (the school at Redhill was already in existence, though not yet, I think, certified), and the system grew rapidly and with almost unchecked success to be what we know it now. It would take long to trace the effects of the various Acts of Parliament, but we may glance at the situation as we find it to-day, modified as it has been by that most welcome measure, the Children's Act.

A Reformatory, then, is an institution in which boys (and, of course, all the remarks apply equally to girls) can be received for varying periods on committal by any Court of Justice, provided they are over the age of 12 and under that of 16, for any term of not less than three or more than five years, but not in any case beyond the time that the lad reaches his nineteenth birthday. Since the passing of Lord Norton's Act it is not legal to send a boy to prison before sending him to a Reformatory.

In considering the exact duration of the boy's detention in the school, it should be noted that a very important weapon is placed in the hands of the managers by the power which is given to them of deciding at what period a boy shall be placed on license. This term needs some little explanation. Directly the managers think that a lad has acquired that degree of stability and that desire to do right that will enable him to fight the battle of life with a fair chance of success, they may, at any time after eighteen months of his sentence have expired, place him in a situation of whatever kind they consider most suited to his particular case. Once in this situation he becomes to a large extent a free agent, with the one reservation that he may not leave his place of employment without the consent of the managers, and that upon the slightest complaint from his employer he may be brought back to the school to undergo a further period of reformation. This probationary period is one of the important subjects in all Reformatory work, and it is impossible to overrate the good or evil which may result from a proper or improper use of the power vested in the managers. At the present moment the tendency is, I think, to shorten the period of actual

detention as far as possible, with a view to increasing the probationary period; but my own observations lead me to think that in some cases, at any rate, this tendency is overdone, and that boys are placed out on license when they would be better under the sheltering care of the school.

Until a short time ago, this probationary period only extended until the expiry of the boy's sentence, but by the operation of the Children's Act it is extended in all cases until a boy arrives at the age of 19, whatever the term of the original sentence may have been. I think that all those engaged in Reformatory work will welcome the change as one which will give them a hold of the boys during the period which is at once the most impressionable, and at which it is most difficult for a lad to look after himself.

With regard to finance, a Reformatory School is maintained partly by a *per capitem* grant from the Treasury, and partly by contributions from the various local authorities who send boys to the school. Some schools have a more or less flourishing subscription list, others have none.

The above brief description refers to every Reformatory School; but now arises a serious difficulty in endeavouring to give an even approximately true account of the schools as a whole. It is this very difficulty that presents at once the weakness and the strength of the system. Owing to the very wise discretion that has been exercised by those responsible at the Home Office for these schools, it has come about that it would be well-nigh impossible to find two schools which resembled each other in any but the most superficial sense. This is exactly as it should be, for it must be remembered that the success or non-success of any given school depends on the personal care and attention bestowed upon it by the managers, superintendent, and officers generally, far more than on the observance of a hide-bound set of rules and regulations. Thus it must happen that every school will vary from every other according to its financial circumstances, geographical position, surroundings, and, above all, according to the mental bent of those responsible for its well-being. Thus we have town and country schools, schools that give most of their attention to the teaching of trades such as carpentering, ironworking, etc., and others which devote themselves to agriculture and to making the lads capable farm labourers and perhaps small holders. Again, one school will pride itself on its drill and gymnastics, whilst another will devote considerable attention to such a subject as singing. But when all is said and done, we may be sure that each school in its own way is endeavouring to do its best to turn out the lads committed to its charge in such a way that will make them good citizens and a credit to all concerned. Let us see how far they achieve their object.

If we take the figures from the Blue Book issued for the year 1909 we find that the number of boys discharged from Reformatories in England and Scotland for the years 1906-7-8, were 3,765. Of this number the total of those re-convicted amounted so far as is known to 445, or something under 12 per cent. When we consider that every one of these lads has been in trouble lately—otherwise they would not be in a Reformatory at all—I think it must be agreed that the results are from this point of view satisfactory.

So far I have dealt very briefly with the juvenile delinquent himself, and have sketched his career in a Reformatory School, but even thus far I have been able to show that this subject is one which may fittingly be discussed at such a Conference as this, for by the influence of these schools many and many a lad who would, if left to himself, fall into vagrancy or worse, and who would very likely become chargeable to the rates or the taxes for a considerable portion of

his career, is enabled to make a start again, and in the large majority of cases to become a self-respecting and law-abiding citizen. But to my mind the subject must be looked at from a much wider point of view before a proper idea can be formed of the usefulness or otherwise of these particular schools. I have always been brought up to believe that the reformation of the individual boy or man, very important both to himself and the State though it undoubtedly is, is of less ultimate importance than is the deterrence of others from pursuing the same course of wrongdoing, and it is from this point of view that I consider the schools should be judged as to whether they are or are not efficient agents in the prevention of destitution and crime. Now this is extremely hard to gauge, for very little actual evidence is forthcoming, but one occasionally gets a useful hint. A few weeks ago I was showing a well-known M.P. round our school, when he asked a boy whether he was happier in the school than at home. The boy replied "Yes," and I think the visitor rather expected me to be pleased with the boy's answer. As a matter of fact, I do not think that this particular boy would refuse the chance of going home if he got it, but still I think it is quite a dangerous circumstance that such an answer should be possible. His frame of mind will do *him* no harm at all, rather the contrary; but how about his brothers and neighbours? If he goes home or writes home and tells them what a jolly place a Reformatory is, and what a good time he has, can anyone deny that one incentive to them to keep themselves outside the clutches of the law has been removed, and that an existing terror to evildoers has been lessened? It is quite easy to state a fact of this nature, but quite another thing to suggest a solution of the difficulty, unless, as some people do, by declining to admit its existence. It is not in human nature not to wish to see the lads committed to one's charge as happy, as well-educated, and as competent in their various employments as possible, and indeed it would not be well to set up any other standard than that of the highest for the general education and welfare of the lads, but somehow or other the feeling that it is a disgrace for a man to allow his son to be sent to a Reformatory School must be maintained, and the boy himself must be kept under such strict discipline that his account at the school to his friends at home shall not make any of them long for similar experiences.

Now it is obviously easier to lay down as an axiom that a certain course should be adopted than it is to say exactly how it is to be brought about, but I would direct your attention to two matters which bear on the subject. I understand that they will both arise in the deliberations of the Departmental Committee on the Reformatory and Industrial Schools which is now sitting. The first is a proposal which receives the support of a large number of people whose names are well known in Reformatory circles, viz., that the old name of Reformatory should be changed for some other name. The reason given for the proposed change is that a boy who has once been to a Reformatory is thereby branded for the rest of his life, and that it is made harder for him to obtain situations, or otherwise to help himself forward in the battle of life. Now on this point the evidence is by no means all on one side but we will let that pass. Suppose it could be shown beyond any doubt that the Reformatory boy was to some extent handicapped, is not that just one of those safeguards which may prevent a parent viewing with equanimity and even with satisfaction the prospect of his son's committal to a Reformatory School. If he realises that his boy who has been committed to such an institution will not only be fed, clothed, and educated at little or no cost to himself, but at the expiration of his sentence he will be found a situation and launched on a career with more care and solicitude than falls to the

lot of many unconvicted boys, and further that every precaution will be taken to blot out entirely his past mistakes and to place him on precisely a level footing with the boy who has kept himself clear of the police, will he not be likely to think that the best way in which he can provide for his other boy's future is to ensure *his* being placed in this happy position?

The advocates of this change—and I desire to speak of them with the greatest respect—appear to me to miss the point altogether. They appear to think that whatever stigma there may be attaching to the word Reformatory will be abolished by an alteration to some other name. They seem to forget that the stigma attaches not to the name but to the fact, and that if the name be altered to any other which your fancy may suggest, yet you will not get away from the fact that the boy in question has been convicted of some offence against the law, and has, in consequence, been placed in a home of detention. The name Reformatory is well understood, or at any rate it is better understood than any new name is likely to be, and if fault be found with the fact that some professions are at present closed to Reformatory boys, I suggest that the right way to remedy this is to endeavour to so enlighten the public that those professions may be thrown open to them, and not to endeavour to smuggle them in by the back door when they are not admissible by the front

May I take one more point? It has been suggested to me by a member of the Commission that it would be an improvement if all Reformatories were placed under the various County Councils instead of under the Home Office, as at present. Curiously enough the chief argument in favour of the change in his eyes is the chief objection in mine. That is that instead of receiving a fixed sum per annum as we do now, and having to cut our coat according to our cloth, we should be able, as the Asylum Committees are now, to dip into the pockets of the ratepayers for every improvement, real or fancied, that we might want. At present we often have the safeguard against extravagance that we have not got the money and cannot get it, but this excuse would be entirely lacking were the rates behind us. Putting on one side the question of the actual money, I feel sure that with the best intentions in the world, the fact of being able to get hold of some spare cash (of somebody else's) would be an inducement to erect such things as splendid gymnasia and swimming baths, which, however pleasant they may be, are to my mind the sort of things that, while of little actual good to the boys, yet help to give to outsiders the very natural but very undesirable impression that the boy in the Reformatory School is better off than the one outside.

In conclusion, I would say that most of the difficulties with which we have to deal are those of detail such as would not appeal to an audience not composed of those especially interested in the subject, but that what I think we most desire is to be left alone to work out our own salvation with the help always so freely given by H.M. Inspectors, and above all things we most respectfully beg that we may not, as has been suggested in some quarters, be placed under the control of the Board of Education, which has, I think, quite sufficient work of its own to do.

Discussion.

In opening the discussion, Mr. J. G. Legge said that the Day Industrial Schools now existing were the result of the old ragged schools, the real founder of which was generally supposed to be John Pound, the Plymouth bootmaker. These ragged schools, continued Mr. Legge, played a very important part, at the beginning of the last century, in improving the condition of the poor children. They also gave force to the demand for more schools, and in a large measure led to the great Education Act of 1870. When that Act was passed, the care of the ragged schools was left to voluntary efforts, and that voluntary effort, as it often does, varied and relaxed. It was very soon found that these schools had a value of their own, because the class of children with whom they dealt used to escape the machinery of the Education Act of 1870, and, moreover, were not desirable children to have in the ordinary Board school, because owing to their uncleanliness they kept other and more respectable children away. In 1876, therefore, special provision was made for those who had worked on the old ragged school system, and legislative power was given to the School Board in areas where that class of children existed in any considerable numbers, to form Day Industrial Schools. Regarding the children who were supposed to be beyond the control of their parents, the law in dealing with those children had two ways of handling them. One was by an "attendance order," which consisted of an order made on the parent by the Court on the representations of the local education authority, ordering the child to attend regularly an ordinary elementary school, otherwise a commitment order would be obtained. The other way of dealing with the children was, when they were caught either begging or stealing, to commit them to the Day Industrial Schools. But it was very hard to get a child committed to a Day Industrial School. They had to prove a case strong enough to satisfy a magistrate. Once a child was inside a Day Industrial School he was well fed and cleansed, and was given an education having the characteristics of industrial training. He himself considered that that kind of education could very well be introduced into many of the elementary London County Council schools of the present day. It trained them to be able to use their hands and make themselves useful. These schools were a great benefit, and if it were not for them he thought a large number of the poor children would have to go into the workhouses. In Liverpool the children in these schools cost the gross sum of £13 each per annum. They received something under £5 from the Government, and if they took off £1 9s., representing the ordinary cost of education, they got the net cost of the child down to £7 per annum. The Poor Law authority allowed them 9d. per week per child, but that did not even cover the cost of their food. The Day Industrial Schools had been the subject of many public inquiries, and they had also stood the stress of three Departmental Committees of the House of Commons, and whether the Committees were Conservative, Liberal, or Socialist, they had never had anything but praise for the schools. One point he would mention in conclusion, that he did not think the day industrial school managers should have the children taken away from them at 14 years of age. Other systems had power over the child until it was 18 years old. (Applause.)

Captain Arthur J. St. John (Penal Reform League) said that he wanted first of all to make some remarks respecting the life in reformatories and the difficulties they often had to contend with. It was only the other day a London magistrate had before him a boy charged with some little theft or other. A letter was produced in court which had been sent to the boy from his brother who was then in a reformatory. The letter asked the boy to "pinch" something in order that he could get into the reformatory. (Laughter.) The magistrate asked if that was what he wanted to do, and the boy said, "Yes, sir, and I shall thank you to send me to the school, sir." He (the speaker) thought the boy "who pinched something" to get into the school was doing a good thing in one sense. It was every boy's right to want a good education, and it was only right to see that every boy who passed through the reformatories did have a decent education. He thought the prisons should be conducted in the same way as the Day Industrial Schools were, and he knew for a fact that there were several prison reformers who were trying to do that at the present time. They were introducing industrial forms of education, and the Borstal authorities were doing the same thing. Those of them who had seen boys

sent to the reformatories would understand the difficulties they had to contend with. On one hand they had the general public which cried out at the enormous penalty of five years for some petty offence, and the child would cry and hug its mother; but on the other hand they were really protecting the child from its evil surroundings. It did not mean that the whole term of five years would be served; very often it was only eighteen months, and sometimes less. After all, what had those boys or girls done who had been sent to reformatory schools? In a lot of cases they had only done what everyone did at school and now—and perhaps then—thought nothing of. (Applause.)

Dr. ALLAN (Glasgow School Board) said that Mr. Legge in his paper had referred to Glasgow as having done a great deal in helping the Day Industrial Schools. They had in Glasgow a somewhat different form of carrying on their institutions. They had a population there of 130,000 children, of whom about 2,000 were in industrial schools, 1,000 in day industrial schools, and 200 or 300 in smaller schools outside Glasgow. There was no fear of a sympathetic magistrate in Glasgow. It the child was found wandering he was packed off immediately. He would like to say that all that had been said favourably about the Day Industrial Schools applied equally to the Glasgow schools. He would not say they were better, but they were quite as good as any others. Their training started at 12 or 13, when they went into what was called a supplementary school, and it consisted of half-time industrial work. Probably only about one-third of the time was done, but it did a good deal in fitting the child for its future life. They taught the girls sewing in their Industrial Schools, and the women who looked after them were much better qualified to do so than their mothers and fathers. They understood them better, and could teach and restrain them. The Day Industrial Schools were the proper schools for poor children, and they worked uncommonly well where the mother had to go out to work as well as the father. The average contribution from the parent was 1s. per week. In Glasgow they could enforce that payment, even going to the length of imprisonment where the parent spent his money in drink instead of paying the amount due to the school. They sometimes prosecuted the child, too, and found that the training of a short term in an industrial school very often stick to him throughout his whole life, with very beneficial results. After three months in a training school, in Glasgow they sent them to the industrial school for a short term, and they found that was the best mode of procedure. In conclusion he thought the children of the upper classes would be extremely benefited by a sojourn in one of the Day Industrial Schools. (Laughter.)

Mr. F. A. EDWARDS (Hammersmith Union) said it seemed that these Day Industrial Schools provided three meals a day and a good education. But the elementary schools did that now, and so far as he knew the Guardians had not only the power to give them instruction and three meals a day, but also to lodge them as well. They did more than Mr. Legge supposed, and so far as they could, made them as good children as the general class. They had some children in their receiving home who went to the London County Council schools in the daytime, and he could not see why more of these special industrial schools should be established. In his opinion Mr. Legge fell into an error when he wanted to start some more of them. That gentleman had stated that the gross cost of these children was £13 per annum, but was that the whole total or was it only a portion of the real total? It seemed to him like a householder reckoning everything except his rates, taxes, etc. It was impossible to build these schools for nothing. The cost of the children in these schools worked out about the same anywhere, and when everything was included it came to about 14s. per week.

Mr. J. FLINT said he did not wish to make a speech, but he should just like to ask Mr. Legge a few questions. He wanted to know if something like the training given in the Day Industrial Schools could not be given in the ordinary elementary schools, or whether it was intended only to give it at Day Industrial Schools and ordinary Industrial Schools, because he thought that children who were not guilty of these little criminal offences should also be given a chance to get into the schools. However, he was not sure the education authorities would care to extend the curriculum in that way. Another thing he should like to ask Mr. Legge was, did he think that as soon as a boy reached 14 he should be discharged from the school? He had seen some of the work done at these schools and he certainly thought that if the boy was kept there until he was 16, and during the last two years of his stay he was put to some special industry, it would be productive of very good results.

The Rev. C. G. GARDNER (West Bromwich Union) said he wanted to refer to

one or two points in Mr. Legge's paper with regard to the Day Industrial Schools and Poor Law relief. Mr. Legge had stated that if it was not for these schools they would go into the workhouse. He (the speaker) was surprised to hear that, because they did not bring their children into the workhouse. They had selected for the children a most beautiful site in their immediate neighbourhood. They had an excellent building, and medical inspection once a week. They taught them indoors and outdoors. One thing where they, as Guardians, held the advantage was in the fact of being able to adopt the children if they liked, and they had adopted them in very considerable numbers. Directly they found the home was against the children's best interests or likely to cause them suffering they took the child in, and until it was 16 years of age they absolutely prevented it from going home, and sometimes even then they prevented it from lapsing into its old evil ways as soon as it got back home by shipping it off to Canada and there finding it good employment, where it was impossible for them to get back into their old habits. He ventured to say that no one was doing more for the prevention of destitution than a well-ordered and well-governed Board of Guardians. They apprenticed all their children either as carpenters, bakers, or shoemakers. They were now also putting some of them on the land. They were going to advertise in some of the papers and get some of their boys out on to farms in Worcester and elsewhere. Whilst there they would be under supervision, and visitors would be appointed to go round to the different homes to see if the boys were being properly looked after and cared for. Therefore, in his opinion, there was no earthly reason why poor children should not come under the supervision of the Poor Law, and it seemed to him to be far better that they should all be kept together. Children who had been guilty of some little petty offence, however, he thought, should not be mixed with the other children.

Mrs. Homan (Women's Industrial Council) said the subject of Industrial Schools had interested her for many years, and she would like to say a few words about them. The children who went into the schools were there mostly not because of themselves but because of their parents. A good father or mother was of inestimable value to the child, therefore if a child had neither a good mother or a good father they had to make up for that deficiency. (Hear, hear.) She thought a great many more children should be sent to them, but the great difficulty was that the magistrates did not know what an Industrial School was and often discharged a child who would be much better off in the school. At Poplar they had big girls and big boys, and they had been playing about the streets and wharves for years. They had an instructor there who had a very good influence on these big children. The children were much better taken care of at the Industrial Schools than at any other school. Sometimes there was no mother, and the father had to be out at work and could not look after his children. There were many well-educated working men who would gladly pay 1s. per week or so for the care of his children. She thought they wanted more Day Industrial Schools and more boarding schools where the parents could send their children and know that they would be well looked after.

A Delegate said she did not know when she sent up her name as wanting to speak that she was in the presence of so many Guardians, but there was a great difficulty in knowing whether it was best to adopt a child as they did at Poplar or not. She thought the children should be placed in schools where their parents could see them now and again if they wanted to. In her opinion these Day Industrial Schools were the best method of dealing with the children of widows or deserted wives, of good or fair character, who, being forced into the position of breadwinners for the family, have to leave home early in the morning to follow their occupations, and so are unable to see that their children are properly attended to or sent to school, and also for the children of widowers in similar circumstances, and the children of a family in which the father is incapacitated from work by illness or infirmity and would not come into the House.

Mr. Legge, in replying to the different questions, said he would endeavour to be brief, but many important questions had been raised in reference to his paper. With regard to the feeble-minded or morally defective child the case was not so difficult as one would imagine. During the last five years a certain number of extensive institutions had been started which held a joint certificate from the Board of Education and from the Home Office as certified industrial schools. There were only two or three of them at present, but he thought it was quite desirable that more of the Day Industrial Schools should be started. The greatest problem was, what became of the children after they were 18? (Hear, hear.) Mr. Edwards asked why

these schools should be extended. He (the speaker) did not know that much extension was needed. Glasgow and Liverpool certainly had enough of them at present in their cities now. Dr. Allan had told them there was accommodation in Glasgow for two or three thousand children. He did not think London should only have two; there was need and room for more than that number. With regard to the Rev. C. G. Gardner, of West Bromwich, that gentleman had stated that in reading his paper he said that the children would, if it were not for the Day Industrial Schools, go into the workhouse. He had put it much more discreetly than that, as they would see if they only referred to his paper. In Liverpool they had got a big receiving house in Belmont Road, and in many cases they were still taken into the house, but he was quite prepared to admit that the work done by the Guardians was admirable. In the old days there was a certain amount of rivalry between them and the house, but now the Industrial Schools had the best of the children. Mr. J. Flint had asked him a very awkward question as to whether he thought the instruction given in the Day Industrial Schools should be also given in the ordinary elementary schools. He would ask them to look at history. Up to the end of the eighteenth century the best part of the ordinary child's education was got at home, and only at the school did it get the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Then the factory system came in and the home life ceased. The child up to that period lived in an atmosphere of practical life. Part of its play was taking part in the parent's handicraft. It had only just dawned upon them that they had lost that home system. They had now got to try, as it was impossible to get it back, to get it into the school, and thus educate the children somewhat after the old style. It had often been proved by definite experiments that manual exercises not only trained the body for work, but also had an effect upon the brain, and assisted in brain development. The more complex you make your exercises the better it affected the centre of the brain. You could not get more complex physical exercises than in a course of carpentry and other forms of manual work. One of the finest of all was the playing of a musical instrument, which was a very good thing for the training of the brain. There was really no reason why manual work should not be performed in an ordinary elementary school. He hoped to see in the next year or two, perhaps in August next year, three more schools built, with workshops in the building, and also domestic centres for girls, and so constructed that during the last period of their time there was only accommodation for half of them. In that way the elder children would have to spend half of their time either in the workshop or in the domestic centre. In the case of boys they would spend at least half an hour in the domestic centre, and the girls would spend half an hour in the boy's centre, so that no girl would leave without being able to lay a carpet down securely.

Mr. Lloyd Baker, in dealing with the criticisms of his paper, said the point was raised as to the desirability of extending a large part of the reformatory system into our ordinary schools. Although he had done his best to make his boys as good as he could, he had objected to the improvement of education being made solely in the class of schools where only children of badly-conducted parents went. The other children should be taken first: it was not right that the worst class should have the best education. With regard to the question of supervision until the age of 19 years, he himself entirely agreed with that, and he thought it was the best deterrent possible.

Fourth Day, Friday, June 2nd.

MORNING SESSION.

(*Joint Meeting with the Mental Deficiency Section.*)

The chair was occupied by Sir William Chance. The subject discussed was THE TREATMENT OF MENTALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Training of the Mentally Defective in Special Schools.*

By Dr. W. A. POTTS.

2.—*Mental Tests for Defective Children.*

By Dr. A. R. ABELSON.

(*The papers and the discussion which took place are given in the proceedings of the Mental Deficiency Section on pp.* 672 *and* 681.)

UNEMPLOYMENT SECTION.

Prefatory Statement.

THE PRESENT POSITION.

It will be convenient to keep clearly in view the twofold aspect of the problem, viz., firstly the "relief of the unemployed," and secondly, the prevention of unemployment. We have to consider on the one hand the provision to be made for those who have been thrown out of employment, and on the other the steps to be taken to prevent men from becoming "unemployed" by any discontinuity which can be obviated.

With the first question, the provision for what is, in one aspect, the "reserve army" of industry, voluntary philanthropy has busied itself in England for at least two hundred and fifty years; but any recognition of State responsibility in the matter (apart from the general provisions of the Poor Law) seems to have been, prior to the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905, only spasmodic and episodical. The large Grant from the Exchequer in 1799-1800 for distribution among the Bethnal Green Silk Weavers, and the extensive relief works out of Government loans in the Lancashire cotton famine in 1862-5 afford the best-known examples.

With regard to the prevention of unemployment—that is to say, the promotion of continuity of employment—little has yet been done beyond inserting clauses in recent Acts of Parliament referred to below.

(i) The Law.

The statutory provisions with regard to Unemployment are scanty. By the Merchant Shipping Acts provision is made for the establishment of Mercantile Marine Offices; and it is an offence for any engagement of a seaman, fireman, etc., to be concluded anywhere but at one of such public offices.

The Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, for the first time empowered Local Authorities, otherwise than under the general provisions of the Poor Law, to relieve unemployed workmen in distress (i) by paying the cost of their migration or emigration; (ii) by maintaining them in farm colonies; (iii) by instituting relief works; and (iv) by setting up a universal system of Labour Exchanges. The last-named provision (though it was mandatory in its terms) was not carried into effect. The payment of wages on relief works cannot be made from the rates, and as voluntary contributions were from the first hopelessly inadequate, and soon fell away to nothing, the provision of relief works has come to depend almost entirely on the Grants doled out for this purpose from the Exchequer, every proposed work having therefore to receive the specific approval of the Local Government Board.

The Labour Exchanges Act of 1909 provides for the establishment of Labour Exchanges throughout the United Kingdom by the Board of Trade.

With regard to the prevention of unemployment, the Port of London Act, 1907, contains a section requiring the Port Authority to take steps, with regard

to its employment of casual labour, to avoid the evils of "under-employment." More general in its scope is the provision in the Development and Roads Improvement Funds Act of 1910, which definitely requires that in sanctioning or proceeding with schemes of work under that Act, regard shall be had to the state of the labour market.

(ii) The Authorities.

The Authorities for providing for men actually out of employment are, under the Acts above stated, (*a*) with regard to enabling such men to find new situations, the Board of Trade in its Mercantile Marine Offices and in its new Labour Exchanges Department; (*b*) with regard to sanctioning schemes of relief works to be aided by Exchequer Grants, the Local Government Board; (*c*) with regard to migration or emigration, training in a Farm Colony, or employment on relief works, the Distress Committee (in London, also the "Central Body") constituted by the Town or County Council to carry out the Act, and composed partly of Councillors, partly of Poor Law Guardians, and partly of persons of philanthropic experience.

With regard to preventing unemployment—that is, promoting continuity of employment—the Authorities are (*a*) the Development Commissioners, the Road Board and the Treasury under the Development and Roads Improvement Funds Act, 1910, and (*b*) the Board of Trade, in its Labour Exchanges Department, under the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909. With the exception of the Port of London Authority, which (as above mentioned) has a statutory obligation to try to "decasualise," no Local Authority appears to have been specifically recognised as having any responsibility for "regularising" the aggregate demand for labour. But by successive Circulars the Local Government Board has pressed on all Local Authorities the desirability of doing their building, road-making, and other work, as far as possible, in the winter slackness.

(iii) The Facts.

We are only now beginning, and that only very imperfectly as yet through the Labour Exchanges, anything like a survey of the numbers and industrial capacity of the Unemployed. Though little beyond the monthly statistics in the *Labour Gazette* has yet been officially published, it appears (i) that there have so far always been trades in want of more skilled workers than are at the moment available anywhere in the kingdom (*e.g.*, at present, motor-car body building, and shipbuilding rivetters); (ii) that there are a number of occupations which habitually fail to provide a full week's work for those engaged in them, these unfortunate persons obtaining, on an average of the whole occupation, only from 3.3 to 16.8 days' work in the month; (iii) that whilst not a few vacant situations cannot be filled, owing to an actual lack of qualified candidates, there is also at all times and seasons a large number of persons for whom no situations can be found; (iv) that about 3,000 persons per month are now, by the Labour Exchanges, placed in situations in districts other than those in which they have been residing; but that this leaves everywhere a surplus for whom no situations can be found anywhere in the kingdom; (v) that the unemployed for whom situations cannot be found are of all ages (about half of them being under 40 and many being mere boys) and of nearly all occupations, more than half of them being usually unskilled labourers in the various trades, and about one-sixth of them belonging to one or other branch of the building trade; and (vi) that both these conditions are (to a

greater or less extent) chronic and general, in good years as well as in bad, at all seasons and at every Labour Exchange.

The continuity of employment (and therefore the rarity of cases in which men are involuntarily thrown out of employment) appears to vary enormously from occupation to occupation; the percentage of dismissals or resignations from any given staff in the course of a year being very small in the municipal and railway services, agriculture, coal mining, and many factory industries (though some of these have "fringes" of casual labour, and some make seasonal demands for extra hands); whilst it is very great in all casual labour, in constructional engineering works and in the building trades in large towns, and great in the shipbuilding and some branches of the engineering trades. In all branches of casual labour the discontinuity is enormous, and certain of them have already been singled out by the Board of Trade for special treatment. The statistics for these trades are now being recorded in a special manner, showing the number of applicants given work, the number of jobs given, and the estimated average number of days per month which each applicant got who succeeded in obtaining work at all during the month. But the application of this method will need extending to all trades which employ casual workers before any estimate can be framed as to the extent and amount of Under-employment that exist.

The occupations, or the kind of situations, for which on the occurrence of vacancies sufficient hands cannot be found, vary from district to district from year to year and from season to season, but they have, so far, hardly ever been entirely wanting. They fall into two main groups:—

1. Vacancies in new or growing industries demanding skilled men for permanent work. There has, for instance, long been an unsatisfied demand for coach-body painters and for women textile workers.

2. Vacancies in seasonal trades which require, for short periods, much larger numbers of certain workers than can be obtained at the season in which they are needed. Thus, skilled women workers in the clothing trades are always being sought for at each busy season.

The number of applicants for whom situations cannot be found differ considerably in different districts and in different years, but show, *in the aggregate*, much less fluctuation as between different months of the year. The applicants of this kind who remain on the books of the Exchange are everywhere almost always of the same types, except for the greater or less prevalence of the "Under-employed" casual labourer, according to the relative part played by dock, wharf, riverside, or market employment.

As to the numerical extent of the shifting mass of workers during any one year, the numbers out of situation at any one time, the length of time that either individuals or the average case remains out of work, and the aggregate fluctuations, month by month, or year by year, of this constant "reserve army" of industry, we have at present hardly material for a guess. All we know is that among the aggregate membership of the Trade Unions giving out-of-work benefits, there are, in the best years, 98 per cent. in employment; and in the worst years, 89 per cent. But these men number only 750,000 out of an adult male wage-earning population of 12,000,000; and we know that they include quite a disproportionate number of the trades in which fluctuations of employment are exceptionally great (shipbuilding, engineering, building), and hardly any workers in the occupations in which fluctuations are exceptionally small (municipal and railway services, agriculture, etc.). We have therefore no warrant for assuming the percentage of unemployment in this 6 per cent. of the population—a

percentage varying from 2 to 11 per cent.—to be other than wildly misleading if applied to the whole community. With regard to seamen, the Mercantile Marine Offices record the engagement of over half a million men a year. No record is kept of the number out of employment at any one time. What we know about all the other classes is that, though the whole country is not yet covered and not all unemployed persons apply, the Labour Exchanges had, in their first year, about half a million applicants; and that they have now usually, on these books at any time, somewhere between 80,000 and 100,000 actually registered as wanting situations. Any such figure must be taken as being exclusive (i) of extensive parts of the United Kingdom lying away from the 175 largest towns, (ii) of most women and girl workers, except in textiles, (iii) of the greater part of the "under-employed" casual labourers; (vi) of all seamen; and (v) practically all agricultural labourers. It may be added that (*a*) the number of vagrants "on the road" is variously estimated at between 30,000 and 80,000; and that the number of able-bodied men in health in the workhouses (principally in London, Liverpool, and a few other large towns) now usually reaches 10,000.

First Day, Tuesday, May 30th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Presidential Address.

By Sir ALFRED MOND.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish in the first instance to thank you as president of the section for the very large attendance we have here this morning. I may say the section over which I have the honour to preside is one of the most important of all the sections of this conference. (Hear, hear.) I am sure the subject it deals with is one of the most fundamental and also one of the most difficult of all the social problems presented for our solution. I am very glad to think we not only have a good attendance, but we have had sent in to the section a very large number of excellent papers by experts in their different branches. I feel sure the reading of those papers and the consequent discussions on them will be extremely fruitful, and before we terminate our labours we shall all of us have learnt a great deal on the subject in which we are interested, and not only that, but we may have mutually assisted ourselves and others to a clear conception of the whole problem, and to some greater solution of its difficulty. The problem of the unemployed—I much prefer to call it that of want of work—is not at all a new problem in the world. It sometimes appears to be assumed that this problem arises merely from our industrial condition. That, I think, is a misconception. The industrial conditions which exist to-day have certainly intensified the problem and made it more evident, but the want of work, the absence of work, can exist in an agricultural community, and in one in which there is no such thing as what we know as an employer. When I say that, I will ask you to think of a country like India where, when there is a great famine, you have millions of people who have no work, and who are on the borderline of starvation. Yet these millions of people are all to a large extent peasants on their own holdings; they have no employer in our sense of the word, no employment in our sense of the word, and yet these people are, truly speaking, quite as much unemployed as many man on a ship-building yard when that yard has a lack of orders. The problem, therefore, is not entirely, not even mainly perhaps, a problem of an industrial State. Yet in Great Britain our conditions have changed to such an extent in the last century, we have become so largely an industrial community, that when we are dealing with unemployment we have to devote the greater part of our attention to what I may call industrial employment.

Now, there are three or four main ideas and lines into which we can divide our subject. The first is the division of the categories of the people who are classed in a loose and unscientific manner among the unemployed. It is very

often this looseness and want of classification of the unemployed which leads to objections to remedies and to the proposal of false remedies for the solution of our problem. I would like for the purposes of my address broadly to divide the unemployed into the following categories. The first are those who want work, who are capable of working in their respective industries, but who cannot obtain work owing to the general demand for goods being less than the supply. The second are those who want work, but who are incapable, or only partially capable, of working owing either to a lack of demand for the particular work which they are able to do, or to some physical, moral, or mental deficiency which prevents them being fully effective workers. Thirdly, you have the class of those who do not want regular employment. Many of this class are not inefficient in the sense that they are not capable workmen, or that they are morally, mentally, or physically deficient; in fact, many of them are very good workmen, sometimes among the best and cleverest; but they belong to a class to whom regular employment for any length of time in one place is constitutionally unpleasant. Sometimes I fancy this class must represent a reversion to the nomadic epoch of the human race. When they have been in any place for a certain length of time the wandering spirit seizes them, and although they have no complaint to make of their condition they want to go out and look for pastures new. Then finally you have the remainder—those who may be termed unemployable. Of course, these may be unemployable for several reasons. They may be unemployable from physical incapacity, or from defect of character, such as addiction to drink, dishonesty, or slackness, which make them undesirable and inefficient workers. They may be unemployable because they belong to the category of the work-shy who never will work when they can find any other method of obtaining a living.

Having divided up the subject into these headings, we are immediately brought face to face with a very considerable difficulty: that we have really no information as to what proportion of the so-called unemployed population of the country falls under these various categories. I am going a little later to speak on the subject of statistics, and will then deal a little more fully with the point. But one of our great difficulties is that we have no kind of real knowledge, except within very wide and rather loose limits, as to what is the real sub-division of the entirely different classes of people suffering the same consequences from entirely different causes. Then we have very little idea—practically no statistical basis for ascertaining the length of time individual workmen are unemployed. Obviously, that is a matter of the very greatest importance. If members of trade unions, or indeed, every workman in England, had no work for a week during the year, that would not be more than the amount of rest which our industrial conditions require, and which would enable a man to remain an efficient workman. If we knew those who were regularly out of work for only a relatively short time—a time during which they could manage to maintain themselves and their families without hardship—the problem would be more one of encouraging a holiday by means of either private or public assistance than a question of finding work for them. The firm with which I am connected, Brunner, Mond & Co., introduced as far back as 1884 a scheme of a week's holiday for their workmen, and we find the efficiency of the men and their health so much improved by this holiday that I am sure not only the men, but also the employers, very largely benefited from giving them what appears at first sight rather a sentimental piece of philanthropy. At first a week's holiday on full pay was granted to all men who had not been absent without leave for more than ten days in the preceding year. Latterly such men have been given double pay for this week's

holiday; 97.6 per cent. of all the workers having qualified in 1908 as contrasted with 43 per cent. in 1884. The intensity of modern factory work is of course enormous compared with that of the past generation. Continuous employment in many industries in which people work year in and year out, without Sundays or time off owing to continuous processes, is a condition which to my mind is almost inhuman. In the old days when everything was done in a more leisurely way, when the stage coach was still on the road, and nobody was in much of a hurry, the village blacksmith and the village bootmaker when he had nothing to do for two or three days in the summer did not consider himself very hardly treated as a person lacking employment. He went forth with his family and enjoyed the summer air and the summer scenery. That, of course, the modern factory worker can no longer do, and neither can the modern employer unfortunately to a large extent. We are apt to overlook this intensity of work both as a cause of breakdown of the workman and also as a reason why we should regard the merely temporary unemployment for a short period as not necessarily a great social evil. But when it becomes, as it is apt to become, and in many cases is, chronic, when people are unemployed for long periods, and cannot find work in their own trades or even in any trade for weeks and months, the effect is not only great hardship to the man and his family, but a social evil and an economic loss of great magnitude.

After all, every trained workman represents a valuable asset to the community. A considerable amount of money has been spent in teaching him; he has passed through an apprenticeship, an apprenticeship to his trade, and by that fact he has become much more valuable than an untrained man. He is an economic factor of value, as much as a doctor or lawyer or anyone who has received a more expensive education. But if you allow that man to become, through unemployment, incapable of the work for which he has been trained, if you reduce him to a lower standard of labour in the labour market, or if you reduce him as some are finally reduced to a condition when he no longer can do any efficient work, you are causing a great economic loss to the community, an economic loss which I think has never yet been quite realised. We have dealt with this question not too much perhaps, but very largely from what I might call the sentimental side rather than from the economic side, and if to-day I am rather more economic, I think it is only right for a section like this that we should endeavour to avoid what I may call the purely humanitarian aspect of the problem, and as far as possible try to bring it within the purview of the science of economy and social science. (Hear, hear.)

I just mentioned the difficulty we are in owing to the lack of reliable statistics. We have no statistics in this country I regret to say—I am afraid there are no statistics in any country—which really give us either the magnitude of the problem we have to deal with or a logical separation of the classes with which we are concerned. You frequently see quoted—I see them every month in the so-called Board of Trade Statistics on Unemployment which are published in the *Labour Gazette*—figures relating to unemployment; you see the most remarkable deductions are drawn from these figures by social reformers, party politicians, and newspaper writers. Yet anyone who has even gone into these figures with any care will note that all the trade unions represented in the returns number only 764,000 members out of something like $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of trade unionists in the country, and only represent 395 trade unions out of a total of 1,173; and will further see that these figures are confined to a very large extent to very fluctuating industries like shipbuilding and engineering, while entirely ignoring the much larger percentage of trade unionists engaged in more stable industries, such as

the textile. He will recognise that these figures, although they may give the comparative data from year to year, are absolutely useless, and more than that, they are entirely misleading as a basis on which to establish in any way the number of unemployed in this country. Attention has been drawn to this fact more than once. Mr. W. H. Beveridge, in his excellent work *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry*, deals fully with this subject, and Professor Bowley, whom I am glad to see with us to-day, in an article published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, in September, 1908, refers to the recognition of the existing imperfections and defects of these statistics on unemployment; adding that although they are published monthly in the papers hardly as much stress is laid upon them as they deserve, perhaps from a consciousness of their difficulty. Now, none of these figures, as I have said, give us any idea at all of the length of time individuals returned as unemployed have been out of work. Neither do they give us any information as to the cause of unemployment, such as the effect of the weather. I think we might learn something from some of the American returns. I consider the returns of the Labour Bureau of the State of Massachusetts are really the best figures dealing with unemployment and the unemployed which I know. They at any rate do state why a man is out of work, from want of stock or stress of weather or for other causes. They do endeavour to get some separation of that kind. But after all it is not much value for you to know people are out of work in the building trade in certain months, one year with another, if you have nothing to tell you why. It is obvious that in one year with a severe winter there would be a very much larger amount of unemployment in the building trade than in a year when you have a very mild winter, and unless you add explanations of that character the figures in themselves are perfectly useless to the social student. Some figures were published in a report on trade unions in 1905-7, unfortunately only from three unions, but they are important unions, the Amalgamated Engineers, the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, and the London Compositors. They are not based on all classes of members, but only on some; yet these figures are the only ones I have been able to find, and they are of considerable interest. They deal with the following proportions—that is, the proportion to the total membership of those who were unemployed in a given year for three days or more, but less than four weeks.

Among the Amalgamated Engineers the percentage was 9.5 in a good year, and in a bad year 13.9; Carpenters and Joiners in a good year 15.4; in a bad year 18.3. For four weeks or more in a good year the Engineers had 9.1, in a bad year 21.1—a most remarkable rise in the figures; Carpenters and Joiners four weeks or more unemployment was in a good year 4.3 per cent., and in a bad year 24.8. These figures do show the enormous fluctuations in these trades between good years of trade and bad years of trade, showing that in those trades to a large extent unemployment was not chronic, but a fluctuating condition. The average number of working days lost by all members in a good year was nine days for Engineers and three days for Joiners—extremely good figures. They mean, if you average up all the members they lost, only an average of nine and three days in each trade. But in a bad year the Engineers lost twenty-three days, and the Joiners nineteen. Now, the curious thing is when you come to look at the average number of working days lost by unemployed members you find that these figures are very much higher, and they increase very much with age. Between the ages of 55 and 65 the percentage of days lost by unemployed members in a bad year may go up to ninety-eight. What does it tend to teach? It tends obviously to show that happens which you might expect, viz., that in a bad year the inefficient workman

is the first man to lose his job. The older man, 60 to 65 years of age, no longer capable of producing a maximum amount in a shop, is the man who soonest loses his employment, and has most difficulty in regaining it. Another thing they show, viz., the unemployed members relatively lose a larger number of days compared than the average members. Another conclusion to be drawn from the figures is that the unemployed members in themselves on the whole are the least desirable among their people for employment; that is to say, you find that the best, most efficient workman probably is losing no time at all, but there are a considerable number of what may be called less efficient or less desirable, out of work. It would be a useful thing to keep in our mind when we arrve at the point of considering remedies.

Now, as I have stated, our statistics are very unsatisfactory. Unfortunately, other countries are not in a much better position. I have been very disappointed indeed with Germany. We are so used to look to Germany as a place where people revel in statistics and figures, always preparing them with enormous elaboration, if not with equal accuracy. I was in hopes of being able to learn a good deal on this subject from German statistics. But I noticed that Professor Otto Most, who I am very glad to see has kindly contributed a paper to our section, dealt with the subject in the *English Review* in September and October last in two articles on German Unemployment. According to him, Germany has done a great deal as far as quantity is concerned, and very little indeed from the point of view of quality. It would take me too long to go into it in any very detailed examination. I could never understand—I have never yet been able to understand—why the Board of Trade cannot improve its statistics. Many more unions than those included in the *Labour Gazette* returns give unemployed benefits, and I feel sure that if pressure were brought to bear upon the secretaries of those other unions they also would furnish the requisite material. (Hear, hear.) I am perfectly sure, with energy and goodwill, something could be done in that direction. The lack of a Central Statistical Department by our Government leaves us in a state of hopeless chaos and confusion. (Hear, hear.) One of the greatest troubles of social reformers in this country is that they are continually having shot at them from different Government Departments enormous masses of uncollated and unexplained statistics. One day we get something from the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board publishes another a week afterwards, and then the Home Office suddenly thinks it is being left behind, and issues a mighty Memorandum. All these things cover to some extent the same ground, and you and I have to wade through enormous quantities of figures and Blue Books to try to extract some grain of knowledge. If we had a proper Statistical Department to deal with all the statistics of the British nation and British Government, whether relating to the work of the Treasury, the Home Office, the Local Government Board, or the Board of Trade, not only would our statistical information be infinitely better, but the amount of work now thrown on anyone following this subject would be much reduced.

Now it has been very commonly assumed that the amount of unemployment among unskilled workers is very much higher than among skilled workers. I have never been able to find any statistical foundation for this assumption. The unskilled worker in a single trade naturally goes out of work sooner than the skilled worker, but that is not to my mind a true statement of affairs if you take the whole of the country together. Undoubtedly in so far as every skilled man in an industry probably has two labourers to assist him, as in the shipbuilding industry, or in the building industry, you will find in those trades a larger amount of unskilled

labour out of work than skilled labour. But remember that a large amount of unskilled labour is engaged in agriculture, in transport, and in industrial occupations of an exceptionally permanent character; while we must furthermore include in our census figures the whole class of domestic servants. In presence of these facts, I think the unemployment throughout the country must be less than would be assumed from the Board of Trade statistics. Certainly this would be the case when the official figures yield such an exceptionally high result as they did in the last few years owing to the great depression in the shipbuilding industry. Professor Bowley estimates that 200,000 or fewer able-bodied adult males are out of work for non-seasonal causes one year with another, this number fluctuating between 100,000 in the best year to 300,000 in the worst—figures which also appear to reduce the magnitude of the problem very considerably. I would like to point out the extraordinary fact that in twelve months our Board of Trade unemployment figures have changed from 8.2 to 2.8 per cent., which must be evidence to everybody who has thought over the matter how very much overweighted they are by one particular industry. We know that a change of that magnitude and character has not taken place within the last twelve months in British industry. Anyone engaged in trade knows that trade was very good last year, and is very good this year; but if you go into it you will find that because the shipping industry was depressed for two years, and because the proportion of people engaged in the shipbuilding yards so overweight the Board of Trade returns, you suddenly get, by a sort of magical somersault, a reversal of the figures, 8.2 to 2.8 per cent. It almost seems like a conjuring trick, but in reality the figure was never 8.2 per cent., and I do not suppose is now 2.8 per cent. (Laughter.)

Now we have, of course, to consider, to complete our subject, what are the leading causes of unemployment in this country. I should put prominent among the causes of want of work the fluctuations in the consumption of the world's markets. Fluctuation in the world's markets is, of course, due to several circumstances, but is most largely caused by variations in the world's harvest, agricultural production being that which is least under the control of human agencies. When I commenced I said the purely agricultural country suffered from lack of work as well as the industrial one if its harvest failed. Even now we indirectly feel in our industrial world the effect of the failure of harvests in the reduced demand for goods in exchange for the agricultural produce which those people produce. Therefore a drought in Australia, failure of the maize crop in Argentina, failure of the monsoon in India, early or late frost in Canada, pest in South America—all these things affect most largely our state of employment by affecting the demand for our goods. Now with a better organisation, a greater knowledge of the condition of the world's markets, and better means of communication we certainly know more and estimate better what the consumption of the world is likely to be in the immediate future than we could in the past. For all that, it is impossible for producers at present to estimate the demand in advance with sufficient accuracy to enable them really to regulate the supply in accordance therewith. Even in industries which are fairly stable it is very difficult, notwithstanding all statistics of demand, for the manufacturer to know exactly how production and consumption will come out a year or two ahead. And although a manufacturer naturally endeavours not to produce more than the market will absorb, and does not go out of his way to employ labour which is not likely to be permanent, still the fluctuation in the state of the world's consumption produces a margin over which he has as yet no control.

Yet that cyclical variation in trade is perhaps one of the greatest causes of lack of work, one of the chief factors in what we call unemployment. We are better off in some ways than purely agricultural communities. In the latter when the crop fails—it used to happen to us when we were a purely agricultural community—there is a famine, and the hand of death again reduces the surplus population to the margin of subsistence. At any rate, in our industrial community, we can average that risk, because there is no famine everywhere in the world at the same time, and we are more certain of being able to find people who will exchange their products for ours than a purely agricultural community. We can always be certain of being able to exchange products for foodstuffs. Of course, unemployment may be almost non-existent in a country with a very low average standard of life. In many agricultural countries you find this to be the case. They have not got the same problem we have; but they have a problem of their own. Everybody is very badly off, but nobody intensely badly off; and that is of course more characteristic of agricultural communities than of our own. The next cause is somewhat connected with the first—a monetary crisis, a financial crisis disturbing and curtailing the credit of the world, and thereby disturbing and curtailing demand and production. A third and very important cause is seasonal interruption of employment—as in the building trade and many others which are by their very nature bound to be slacker in the winter months than they are in the summer. In countries where the climate is more severe but less variable than ours those engaged in such industries have been forced to accommodate themselves to a much greater extent to that condition of things. In countries where you cannot build in winter, everybody knows the number of months of idleness to expect, and has to lay by in the summer in order to live through the winter, and it is very remarkable to what an extent even the poorly paid, accustomed to this necessary prudence, succeed at any rate in keeping themselves alive through the hibernating months. In England our climate is irregular. Frequently you can build factories throughout the whole winter. Sometimes we are interrupted for a relatively short time, sometimes for a long time, and when these long interruptions occur our building industries, which have not accommodated themselves to those conditions, see all the people engaged in them thrown out of work with the result that we have a larger amount of acute distress. This is not confined to the building industry—I merely use that as an instance. There are a number of other industries, such as constructional engineering, in the same position. A fourth cause is changes in the character of industries. That, of course, is a cause not always noticed, although we have striking examples of it. The substitution of motor traction for horse traction in a very few years, with its effect not only on those engaged in horse traction, but on those engaged in concomitant industries, is a striking example of a sudden change among a whole class of workers. It is remarkable that on the whole so little disturbance has been caused by the change, and it is extraordinary how those affected have accommodated themselves to it so well. A change like that must cause at the time, and for a considerable period, a great amount of unemployment. People who have been brought up to the harness and saddlery trade find it difficult suddenly to change round. Indeed, it is almost impossible for them to go into other industries. The extention of machinery, although ultimately it will produce greater employment, can temporarily occasion displacement. The removal of industries from one district to another, as well as change in their character, coupled as it very often is with absence of fluidity in the labour supply, is another cause of unemployment. You often find that workmen remain

for a long time in the vicinity of declining or dead works instead of moving, or being moved, to districts where their labour is in demand.

One of the causes which has not, I think, been mentioned—I have not seen it mentioned anywhere else—of want of demand, and therefore of want of work, has always been a cessation or reduction of English investments abroad. In order to create a demand for our industrial products it is essential to develop and enrich new countries, thus increasing their purchasing power. This policy has been unconsciously pursued by British investors for many years. Owing to the drain upon our resources by the South African War we had no money to invest abroad, and the result was that our trade fell off very much. It is only since we have once more accumulated sufficient capital to be able to exercise that stimulating influence on our export trade which investment of capital in foreign countries outside has always brought with it. You have seen since 1904 a continual increase in our export trade, culminating in the unprecedented figures of the last two or three years. It would take me too far from our subject to go iuto this matter in detail. It has been very fully dealt with by such competent authorities as Sir Edgar Speyer, Mr. George Paish, and others, who have statistically established the interesting fact that the growth of our exports of manufactures is in almost immediate connection with the expansion of our investments of capital abroad.

I sometimes think that our rigid trade union system is apt to cause want of work as far as their own members are concerned. The rigidity of wage conditions results in a lack of elasticity which often prevents an employer from obtaining orders, say in competition with firms abroad in time of trade depression, which he could obtain if a new bargain could be made with his men for that particular job. I am thinking more particularly of the engineering trade, In cases where a firm has to compete with Belgium, for instance, for contracts in India, Japan, or elsewhere, a reduction in piece rates would enable them to take the contract and provide employment in circumstances in which unemployment would otherwise be inevitable. Now I am quite ready to admit the enormous difficulties from a practical point of view of a trade union adopting such a course. I am quite aware that they would say that those rates would immediately become the standard for the whole country, and the objection is undoubtedly a very serious one. I do not pretend at the moment to see my way to overcome it, but I do think it is worth our while to see whether we could not introduce more elasticity, because obviously the trade union would benefit if it kept people off the unemployed books, workmen would benefit, the trade of the country would benefit. I am the last person in the world to attempt to beat down or to reduce trade union wages, but I do think our state of industry to-day has become so complex that the old rules, largely an inheritance from the ancient Guild system, can no longer be applied with the same rigidity as in the past.

How far is drink a factor in our unemployment? I think in the last class I have to deal with—the unemployable—that drink is an enormously larger factor—a much larger factor than people have been ready to admit. I do not think any who have really studied and carefully investigated the subject would deny for a moment that an enormous percentage of those who have gone down among our unemployable, owe their fall to drink. Nor do I think anyone would deny—with practical experience—how many able lives he has seen wrecked, not only in the working, but in all classes, by it. This is not the time to deliver a temperance lecture—I do not intend to do so—but I would

say this, that the one thing which strikes all people who come from our colonies —and only recently I had it impressed on me by some of our Canadian friends— is the immense amount of drinking that goes on as compared with what goes on in the Dominion. The Canadian finds it difficult to understand how we permit what is obviously and generally admitted to be a large factor in creating the unemployable, to go on as untrammelled as we do. Everything that tends to diminish efficiency among working men, such as bad houses, lack of sanitation, bad conditions of work, all tend to increase unemployment. It is obvious that a very considerable proportion of the unemployed are in good years out of work owing to some physical or moral defect. They are the men who cannot keep pace with the rest of the industrial army in productive capacity, the intensity of which is constantly increasing, and every man receiving a wage superior to his productive capacity is an economic loss to the country, and can, probably, only secure employment when profits are high.

There is one factor which I hope will be more fully investigated than it has ever been in the past, and that is the question of population. What is the relation of population to unemployment? We know there is a tendency in all organic life to increase itself to the limits of the law of the minimum of subsistence, and this tendency also exists in the human race. There, however, it is tempered by counteracting influences of civilisation—that is to say, that where a community has reached a certain standard of comfort apparently the population will not grow at a rate seriously to endanger the maintenance of the average attained. Now, although this is a very important point bearing on all social questions, and especially this one, I have not been able to find—it may be my fault—any real investigation of the laws that determine the growth of population. We seem to be very ignorant about it, yet it is of extreme importance. I hope that many who are attending this congress, and who are able social students, will devote some time and attention to the question. You will see that it has an enormous bearing on the problem of what we call the reserve of labour. While population goes on increasing in a haphazard way you are continually trying to fill a bucket with no bottom if you try to provide employment for everybody, for if at a given moment you find employment for everybody the population immediately shoots ahead again and produces more population living just below the margin of employment. On the other hand, we do see, and it is a most extraordinary phenomenon which we witnessed in the nineteenth century, how the population of the world has grown in order to meet the demand that exists for labour. You had the population of England remaining almost stationary for centuries, and then in the nineteenth century the extraordinary thing is that we have always produced enough population to meet our demand for labour, and usually rather more. What are the laws which govern this phenomenon? Why do we not produce a great deal too much or a great deal too little? It is one of the subjects which I think wants the most careful investigation. Again, there appears to be some fundamental law by which the standard of subsistence you have arrived at seems to govern the growth of your population. I am not speaking here of what is called artificial checks—I believe their importance in this question is immensely exaggerated—I believe the fundamental laws must lie much deeper than any human agency—much deeper, because, after all, if you take a country like India, the race reproduces itself certainly but not in accordance with the standard which prevails in Europe. The factors and causes involved in this are extremely obscure. I cannot see my way through them at all, but it is essential that they be studied

if we really are to arrive at any right comprehension of this question. It cannot be disputed that industries create their own population. From this point of view industries of luxury and fashion are far from being good economically—they are bad economically. It is thought that by stimulating trade you are making the money go round, and doing a large amount of good to the country, but that is a superficial view of the economics of the question. You establish these industries of luxury and fashion, but you also create the population to carry them on; both are extraordinarily fluctuating. The industry of fashion is the most fluctuating thing imaginable. The industry of luxury, the first which is depressed, goes down as soon as the economic conditions are unfavourable, and then you have got a large population for whom you have no employment. It is this which has led me to the conclusion that the concentration of large wealth in a few hands is by no means a good thing for the economic condition of a country. A general diffusion of wealth creates a demand for staple commodities which is much more likely to produce an equal level of employment than the concentration of wealth in a few hands, which tends to be spent in a fantastic or capricious manner, and can be diverted at any moment at the will of the owner. (Cheers.)

I am afraid I am detaining you longer than I had intended, but I will now pass on rapidly to some of the remedies which have been suggested, some of the remedies which have occurred to me, and which I think suitable for future discussion. I am not one of those who imagine you will ever find a complete remedy for unemployment by providing work for everybody. As a matter of fact, I do not believe anybody does—anybody who has studied the subject seriously. But I have stated the problem, and I think everyone must agree that the causes are many; the material is various so that the remedies also must differ according to the different conditions and opportunities. Obviously you cannot apply the same remedy to the engineer out of work, because of lack of work, and to the man "dossing" on the embankment in London, who has not done a decent day's work for years. It would be very like treating people who have a cold in their head as you would treat people suffering from alcoholic poisoning. We are becoming more and more social doctors, and the one bottle of coloured water—the fashionable prescription for social ills—is giving way to careful examination and more careful antitoxin treatment. Among the remedies, dealing firstly with those who want work, who can work, but who cannot obtain work, I think it is this class for whom the Unemployment Insurance Bill now before the House of Commons will be most useful. Up to now the skilled trades have through their trade unions really saved the State a great deal of anxiety by providing their own remedy for unemployment by insurance, and they have rendered good service to the community by meeting the whole wave of industrial depression so far as their members are concerned. If the whole labouring population of the country were organised in a similar way a very great part of the problem of unemployment would be solved; that is to say, we should let them shoulder the burden of unemployment which belongs to all of us, and call them noble and self-sacrificing people. But it is not fair to put the whole economic burden of depression on the working classes engaged in industry. Employers are concerned also in the problem, I think, because they have not taken their fair share in the task of keeping up the reserve of labour. Supposing we were very short of labour, employers would devote much more time to make certain they could get workmen when they wanted them. Probably they would be glad to pay a retaining fee to have them at call, just as they take trouble about their raw

material; in fact, we have always had a crude system of getting people whenever we want them, which has made people careless. In countries where the labour difficulty prevails, you see a very different state of things obtaining; you see the trouble people have to get labour. On the other hand, the question which has occurred to me is whether the employer requiring a reserve of labour was not the right man really to bear the burden of having his labour in hand. In the theatrical profession the payment of understudies is a well recognised practice. The payment of an understudy is really a payment for a reserve in case of breakdown, and the same rule should to some extent apply in other industries. It seems to me, however, unreasonable that the employer should bear the whole charge of economic depression, and the proposal to divide the burden between the employer, the workmen, and the State, as it has done in the National Insurance Bill—which commends itself to fair-minded people—has always seemed to me to be the most equitable solution of this problem. The proposals before the House of Commons no doubt will have the careful examination and study of members of this section. All I can say to you is I wish to congratulate the Government that they have made a start on this. I know it has taken a great deal of courage, because the results obtained so far by experiments in this direction which have been tried have been very unsatisfactory, and of a negative character. In Switzerland, in Germany, in Belgium, municipal unemployment insurance has been tried on many occasions, and it has always failed, and all the reports which have been made by investigators have been of a most discouraging kind. I think there are two reasons for that: One because the schemes have been too local in application; local application of unemployed relief must fail as an economic absurdity. Unemployment is national; it is never a local condition. It is a ridiculous thing to put on people who are already suffering from unemployment the further burden of dealing with unemployment, because it does not equalise the burden all over the country with districts that are in a fair state of employment. The other reason is because there has been no real selection, and a lack of the agencies and machinery which we shall have under the Government Bill and of the discipline and honesty of the English trade unionists. We can do a great many things in this country which cannot be done in others. Our working population is under discipline. It is very well disciplined in industrial matters, and extremely honest. It has been used for years to contribute, to receive benefits, to look after each other, and to look after themselves. I know that any contribution we give from the employer or the State will be just as carefully looked after as their own contributions were in the old time. Therefore I hope, therefore I welcome this great experiment, and I trust we may regard it as a hopeful effort to eliminate at any rate much misery, keep up the standard of maintenance, hold families together more or less, and to maintain efficiency among that very large class who want work but for the moment cannot find it. To chase these people from casual ward to casual ward, set them to break stones and dig holes which nobody wants, or to make roads that are not required, was the most irrational thing the human mind could conceive as a means of helping the unemployed. (Laughter.) Fortunately, the dark ages when those ideas prevailed are, I think, rapidly passing away. The Labour Exchanges are already beginning to show their value. Mr. Winston Churchill said the other day in the House of Commons that they had advanced £2,400 to workmen in travelling benefits to enable them to reach their work, and that they had already been repaid £2,200 of that money. You can trust the working men of England to treat you honestly. I think this side of

the Labour Exchanges will probably have to be extended. One of our difficulties —a recognised difficulty—is the want of fluidity of labour. This is owing to some extent, to a large extent perhaps, to the enormous expense to workmen of breaking up their homes in one place and fitting up another at a distance. Moving for a workman is a very great expense, which he often cannot afford. So he hangs on in the hope of something turning up simply because he cannot get away. We must distribute labour—not encourage it to stop where it is by local relief works.

If you must have recourse to relief works of any character you should do useful work where it is wanted, and take the people there where they are wanted, even to the outskirts of this country. We have the example of India. The Government, acting with much intelligence and foresight, can draft an enormous population from one district to another, and do really useful work. We ourselves seem to have learnt very little from all that work in India where they have a department and machinery ready to be put into action the moment it is required. What do we do here? If times are good everybody is quite happy; if times get bad we have a few unemployment processions, somebody asks a few questions in the House of Commons, town councils suddenly hold emergency meetings, and in the middle of the trouble they begin to do what ought to have been done years before. A repetition of that process is really heartbreaking, particularly when you think that in India, where they deal with an alien population which cannot read nor write, and are ignorant, difficult to move, and inefficient, yet they take millions of them, transport them from one province into another province, and succeed in doing something useful with their labour. I think the amount of ineffective and non-economical work which we have done in this country is a real blot on our system.

Among other remedies that have been advocated, certainly with some effect, are the diminution of child labour, and a reduction of hours. The reduction of hours from my experience in our works is really compensated for by increased efficiency to such a large extent as to provide very little increased employment. The diminution of child labour will also not have very immediate effect on employment, but it will have a very large effect in the future; for by diminishing child labour there will be a better training of the children, better education of the children; you will bring your next generation up to a level at which your unemployables ought practically to disappear. Your unemployable is very often not a bad man, but he is frequently stupid and untrained. If that man had been trained as a child he would have been a valuable person. In the next generation I hope we shall get rid of a large amount of untrained material. One of my firms have started technical classes even for grown-up workmen in subjects such as engineering, with lectures by members of our own staff. We found it had a great effect in training and in increasing the efficiency of the workmen, a point that has not been considered very much in this country. In Germany they have a great technical university, with thousands of pupils, and all of them grown-up men engaged in factory work, largely foremen or the better artisans, with practical experience of the factory take a course in order to learn the necessary theory. The results have been surprisingly good, and very valuable indeed to industry by increasing the efficiency of the workmen. It is not unnatural that a man who has had a lot of practical knowledge should pick up theoretical knowledge much quicker than a child who has no practical knowledge, who cannot co-ordinate, who cannot understand really the application of theory to anything practical. Perhaps there are there as many as three

thousand students a year, remaining from one to two years, very often paid for by their employers in order to learn the theoretical part of their work, which they have never been able to learn before they became workmen.

Then as to the instruction for boys. Young boys should be kept at technical classes; the attendance should be made compulsory, and it should be the rule that boys not attending a night school should not be allowed to be engaged. As an indication of what may be done in this direction I may mention the rules laid down by Brunner, Mond & Co. in their works: "Boys under the age of 14 will not be employed, nor will persons 14 to 18 years old, who have not previously passed the sixth standard in a day school or night school. All young persons (not apprentices) under the age of 19, or who reach the age of 19 during the session, shall attend evening classes at least nine times out of ten during the evening school session. Apprentices shall so attend during the whole period of their apprenticeship, unless specially exempt on the ground that they have been chosen to attend day classes." All these educational matters would tend to help us in the future, and after all it is to the future one very largely looks.

One safety valve I will refer to for a moment—that is emigration. As famine used to be the safety valve for an overgrown population in the old times, so emigration is the safety valve for the modern State which has got a congested population. But emigration will not take from us our defectives; emigration only takes from us those whom we can ill spare. Our colonies want, rightly, I think, good and able men. Any man who has been over in Canada and other colonies knows that the ineffective man here would die of starvation under the rough conditions of those countries. He would be quite useless for any purpose. We have a large number of those who are morally or physically deficient as effective workers, and what we have to do is to convert these defectives into efficient workers. Our problem is a very difficult one; we have got to deal with people of weak or bad character. Nobody says you will always be successful, whatever remedies you adopt, but for all that a great deal can be done.

I should like to say a word on behalf of the labour colony. Now labour colonies have been held up as failures; we have been told how much a cabbage costs to grow, and for how much less it could be purchased in the market garden. We are told it is a gross waste of public money. In fact, the existence of the labour colony has been threatened. But nobody expects St. Bartholomew's Hospital to produce a dividend; nobody expects an ill person to be earning full wages. The labour colony is not an economically productive unit; the labour colony is a place in which we try to reclaim human beings, and unless you look at it in that way you absolutely ignore its object. I remember a visit I paid to Hollesley Bay some years ago. I was not impressed by its failure; but I was by its colossal success. I saw people who not many months before had been in street slums browned and tanned digging fields, learning agriculture, and becoming useful workers on the land or elsewhere. Some drift back, certainly; but no doctor will undertake that everyone of his patients will be cured. A great many of them die, but for all that you do not say that medical science ought to be done away with, and that doctors ought to be abolished, and because every case is not cured you do not say the hospitals ought to be pulled down. These social hospitals want to be increased—they want to be regarded in a rational way. I am perfectly convinced a very great deal can be done for these people by good labour colonies. Even if we cannot see the benefits at once, we shall in time, and be able to restore these men and their families to a decent life,

and rid our streets of all that visitors to our great towns must regard as a disgrace.

Now there is one class extremely difficult to deal with indeed, and that is the "work-shy." We all know them; they are usually the people in the unemployment processions, usually the people who get from the charity of the English people what the real unemployed ought to have, but which they are too proud to ask for. They are not necessarily incapable of work, but they have a constitutional dislike to work. Now, the only way of dealing with these people is a rather violent way; they have got to be made to work—(Hear, hear)—and we have got to make up our minds either to make them work or leave them alone to do the best they can. Are we ready to go back to a somewhat mediæval practice? There were days when men who would not work were put in the stocks and flogged in front of the village green. On the idle and incorrigible rogue that must have had an excellent moral effect, and on the work-shy of that time and place. I do not think we need go as far as that, however; but are you prepared to go as far as they have gone in Germany and start detention labour colonies—(Hear, hear)—to which these people shall be sent? They should not be treated badly or harshly, but they would not be treated luxuriously, nor would they be made to break stones and pick oakum as in the workhouse wards, which is both stupid, useless, and degrading. They would be put to do some work in which they could take an interest. The German detention colonies are still a matter of experiment, and some reformers there will tell you they have been a great failure. I will not give you any *ex cathedra* opinion, but you will see that Professor Most, a considerable authority on this subject, in a paper which will be read here later, hopes that further developments of the system will lead to better results. Of course, he says, there have been only about 25 per cent. permanently reclaimed, while a large number relapse; but even if you only reclaim a fourth or a fifth you will be doing a great amount of good. I do not believe that the work-shy population is a very large one. I do not believe that it amounts to much in numbers, although the processions going round the streets like a procession on the stage seem to impress the public with an idea of magnitude. But when once we have them out of the way, when we have the physically or morally inefficient either segregated or placed in a position to become efficient, when we have separated those who could work but would not work, from those who would work but are temporarily or seasonally out of employment, we shall have our task clearly before us. We shall know where we are, which will be an immense advantage to everyone who takes an interest in social reform. When we get that we can easily deal with the exceptions, with those who are left.

Many methods have been advocated, and many others will come, I have no doubt, with experience and time, and we may adopt some of them; but your patience, on which I have already made great demands, will not permit me to longer detain you to deal with them at all extensively. The subject is enormous, and can only be dealt with generally in connection with the immediate proposition before us We shall fill up the details as the conference goes on, as the papers are read, and as our discussions proceed.

I am very glad to find that the interest which is now taken in this subject has become so widespread among all classes, which indicates a greater sense of social responsibility than I think we have ever before had manifested in the world. We all now feel that we are our brother's keeper; we all now feel that we are all of us responsible for certain economic conditions of our country; we all now feel that we ought not to allow personal interest to stand in the way of national welfare. Well, that is an enormous step forward—a most hopeful

thing. Many capable and earnest workers, not only here, but in all civilised countries, are working at this problem. This is an inestimable advantage, to be able to put the experiments of the whole world into our crucible and there extract and work out the result so that we may obtain from them the best distilled and refined gold which is obtainable in social reform. Perfect we shall never make our imperfect world; neither shall we convert men into angels; but we can bring some order out of chaos; we can relieve much of the suffering that exists; we can prevent waste of human life and happiness. I am glad to be able to welcome here to-day many distinguished workers in this great field, and I am confident that our deliberations will lead to valuable results. In the solution of social problems there are two great requisites—knowledge and courage; knowledge to teach us what to do—courage to go and do it. A good many people have too much knowledge—so much that they lose all courage. (Laughter.) Some people have too much courage and no knowledge, and rush blindly into paths which lead to disaster and retard social reform. With these two qualities which are required, let us not be afraid of arriving at logical conclusions, and when arrived at let us not fear to carry them out. Everyone agrees in theory, but in practice they say the thing is impossible. Not at all; nothing is impossible to those who apply to social problems the spirit expressed in the phrase of Danton during the French Revolution: "Il nous faut de l'audace, et encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace." (Prolonged cheers.)

Councillor Ben Turner (West Riding County Council) proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Alfred Mond for his address, which had been a remarkable one. He was certain that it would be most useful to the delegates who had attended that conference. The President had endeavoured to deal with the problems scientifically, and had not said much about humanity. He (the speaker) had not much faith in a science that had no humanity in it, and he wanted the two, if possible, to be applied to the unemployed problem. Unemployment pre-supposed employment; persons were employed for a purpose, and that purpose was private profit. Therefore we had to get down to the logical end, and get rid of unemployment and non-employment by some reasonable re-arrangement of society. The President said a yearly holiday paid well; if so, why not a week's holiday per quarter? That seemed to be logical to those overstrained in work. The President did not seem to attach so much importance to the eight hours' movement, and while this might not in some directions increase employment, an eight hour day in municipal employment would have that effect. There was a need for the regularisation of both work and play. The Insurance Bill he welcomed because it was an attempt to deal with the humanities of life. But one thing more was required, and that was, if there was a right to live there should be a right to work.

Mr. Campbell (Edinburgh Distress Committee) seconded, and expressed the Section's deep sense of gratitude to Sir Alfred for his inspiring address, which was full of suggestions, as all such inaugural addresses should be. Many would think fresh avenues of thought had been opened out.

The motion having been carried by acclamation,

The President, in acknowledgment, thanked the audience for their appreciation of what he felt to be a very imperfect attempt to deal with the problem. Having been laid up for some weeks, and having been pressed with Parliamentary work, he had not been able to give the address the time he would have liked. (Cheers.)

The section then adjourned till the afternoon.

First Day, Tuesday, May 30th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was occupied by the President, Sir Alfred Mond. The subject of discussion was LABOUR EXCHANGES, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*The National System of Labour Exchanges.*

By Mr. C. F. REY, General Manager, Board of Trade Labour Exchanges.

2.—*The Work of the Labour Exchanges in Relation to Women's Employment.*

By Miss CLAPHAM, Organiser for Women's Employment, Board of Trade Labour Exchanges.

3.—*The Advantage of the Labour Exchange to the Large Employer.*

By Mr. ARNOLD S. ROWNTREE.

The National System of Labour Exchanges.

By C. F. REY.
(General Manager, Board of Trade Labour Exchanges.)

ORGANISATION AND METHODS.

A BILL "to provide for the establishment of Labour Exchanges, and for other purposes incidental thereto" was introduced by the President of the Board of Trade on behalf of the Government on May 20th, 1909. It was received with favour by leading members of all parties, and, meeting with practically no opposition, was passed on September 20th, 1909, and became the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909.

The Act itself is limited to a very few sections, of which the chief one provides that "the Board of Trade may establish and maintain, in such places as they think fit, Labour Exchanges, and may assist any Labour Exchanges maintained by any other authorities or persons." Another important section enables provision to be made for advancing by way of loan the fares of workpeople travelling to employment found for them through a Labour Exchange.

On the introduction of the Bill, however, an outline of the system projected by the Board of Trade was presented to Parliament, and the general regulations for its management were drawn up after full consultation with representative associations of employers and workmen, and were approved by Parliament.

The system of Labour Exchanges which is now being established under this Act is national in both senses of the word—it extends, or is intended to extend, to all parts of the United Kingdom, and it is directly managed and paid for by a national authority—the Board of Trade. The details of this national system may now be briefly described.

The Central Office of the system is naturally situated in London. It does not, except in certain specified cases, deal with employers or workpeople direct, but serves simply for organisation, control, and the collection of statistics.

Under this Central Office the whole country is divided into eleven principal divisions (shown in Table I.), each under the charge of a "Divisional Officer," who is responsible for all the Exchanges in his division, and through whom all orders and communications concerning them pass. Each division is thus a unit for purposes of control and also for the purposes of "clearing house" work, *i.e.*, the transference of unemployed workpeople in one place to meet an unsatisfied demand for labour elsewhere.

In each division are a number of Exchanges of different grades, as set out below, according to the number and importance of the towns to be served:—

Exchanges Class A	- -	Towns over 100,000.
„ „ B	- -	„ 50,000 to 100,000.
„ „ C	- -	„ 25,000 to 50,000.
Sub-offices „ D		Suburban districts and small towns near larger ones.
„ „ E		
„ „ F	- -	For special trades and districts, *e.g.*, near docks, etc.

This gradation by population is of course not absolute; it depends to some extent on the industrial conditions and the situation.

The grade of the Exchange determines roughly both the staff allowed and the extent and variety of the accommodation for workpeople. The staff varies from a manager, an assistant manager, and six clerks in the larger types of Exchanges, to a single officer in charge of a waiting-room. In the larger Exchanges provision is made for dealing separately with skilled applicants of all kinds, general labourers, skilled women, unskilled women, boys and girls. The Exchanges are only in the first stage of their development, and are housed in such temporary premises as could be found and adapted at short notice; it is, however, proposed to build premises for the more important Exchanges.

The total number of proposed Exchanges of all grades is 350, but at the present moment only about 200 of these offices are open—though these include nearly all the more important ones. The whole of the remainder will, it is hoped, be opened by the end of the present financial year. Provision will then have been made for practically all towns with populations of 25,000 or more and their suburbs, together with a certain number of smaller towns. There will still remain to be dealt with the bulk of the separate towns under 25,000 and the country districts.

TABLE I.

Number and Distribution of Exchanges.

Division.	Divisional Centre.	Exchanges open May 1st, 1911.	Exchanges to open later.	Total Exchanges proposed.
London and South-Eastern	London	33	18	51
South-Western	Bristol	12	7	19
East Midlands	Nottingham	17	12	29
West Midlands	Birmingham	21	19	40
Wales	Cardiff	10	11	21
Liverpool and District*	Liverpool	11	14	25
Manchester and District*	Manchester	28	31	59
Yorkshire	Leeds and Sheffield	27	11	38
Northern	Newcastle	13	9	22
Scotland	Glasgow	20	7	27
Ireland	Dublin	6	13	19
		198	152	350

With regard to these, two alternative methods are proposed. One method involves the distribution at the post offices of registration forms to be filled in by applicants for employment and posted to the nearest Exchange. The other method involves the provision by the municipal authority or otherwise of a room where an officer from the nearest Exchange can attend on one or two stated days each week (so far as possible a market day is chosen) to receive applications from workmen and to see employers. In such cases public notices are exhibited to the effect that applications for employment or workpeople may be made to this officer in person at the place and time stated, or by post at any time to the nearest Exchange. A single officer will be able to deal in this way with perhaps four or five smaller towns, travelling constantly from one to the other. The first plan is, with the consent of the Postmaster-General, being tried experimentally at about twenty post offices, and the second is being tried in the West of England and other rural districts.

The Labour Exchanges Act further empowered the Board of Trade to constitute Advisory Committees in such cases as they thought fit for the purpose of giving the Board advice and assistance in connection with the management of Labour Exchanges. These Committees consist of "equal numbers of persons representing employers and workmen in the district, appointed by the Board of Trade after consultation with such bodies and persons as they may think best qualified to advise them on the matter, together with a chairman agreed on by a majority both of the persons representing employers and of the persons representing workmen, or in default of such agreement, appointed by the Board of Trade."

* These two divisions comprising the whole of Lancashire and Cheshire are under the charge of the same officer, and a "clearing house" at Wigan has been established for the notification and circulation of vacancies unfilled locally in the various Exchanges in the two counties.

A number of these Committees, which deal with large areas and not with single Exchanges, have been established, and most of them have already met; a list is given below:—

London and South Eastern Counties.
West of England.
South Wales and Monmouth.
East Midlands.
Eastern Counties.
West Midlands.
Northern Counties.
Scotland.
Ireland.
Manchester and District (including East Lancashire and Cheshire).
Liverpool and District (including the remainder of Lancashire and Cheshire).
Hampshire and neighbouring district.
Yorkshire, West Riding (Northern Section).
Yorkshire, West Riding (Southern Section).
Yorkshire (Eastern Section).

Under the Special Rules with regard to the registration of Juvenile Applicants in England and Wales, the Board of Trade are empowered to establish Special Advisory Committees for Juvenile employment in such areas as may be thought expedient. In accordance with this provision the Board have established, in co-operation with the Local Education Authorities concerned, such Committees in the following towns:—

London.

A Central Committee, who, with the assent of the Board of Trade, have appointed the following Local Committees:—

Camberwell.	Hackney.	Walham Green.
Camden Town.	Stepney.	Bethnal Green.
Clapham Junction.		

Provinces.

Bristol.	Nottingham.	Dewsbury.
Devonport.	West Hartlepool.	Halifax.
Exeter.	Surrey.	Huddersfield.
Plymouth.	Bath.	Leeds.
Southampton.	Birmingham.	Ashton.
Ipswich.	Carlisle.	Blackburn.
Northampton.	Middlesbrough.	Bury.
Norwich.	Sunderland.	Rochdale.

Other Committees in London and the Provinces are in process of formation.

The work of Juvenile Committees has not been specially dealt with in this paper, as a special paper on this point is being contributed.

For the same reason the women's side of the work has not been specially dealt with in the present paper.

Guiding Principles.

Such, in brief, is the system of Labour Exchanges now in process of establishment in the United Kingdom. Its main characteristics may be summed up by saying that it is national, industrial, free, voluntary, and impartial.

First, the system is national, as is mentioned above, in two senses. It is framed so as to cover the whole of the United Kingdom and it is administered by a

department of the central government, through officers appointed and paid by that department.

Second, the system is industrial and not eleemosynary. Every attempt has been made to free the Labour Exchanges from any form of association with the Poor Law, charity, or the relief of distress, and to give them the character of a piece of industrial organisation of which any man may avail himself and with as little loss of self-respect as is involved in using the post office or a public road. The administering authority is not the Poor Law Guardians, or the Distress Committees of the Unemployed Workmen Act, or even the Local Government Board, but the Board of Trade—a Department already in close touch with employers and workmen. The questions asked of workpeople at the Exchanges relate solely to their industrial qualifications and not to their poverty, family circumstances, thrift, or similar matters. The only thing to be obtained through the Labour Exchanges is ordinary employment, so that there is no inducement for those to come there who want only relief and are not capable of work. On the other hand, the Exchanges deal with all kinds of employment, skilled and unskilled, with the single exception of indoor domestic servants.

Third, the system is free—that is to say, no fees of any kind are charged either to employers or to workmen.

Fourth, the system is voluntary. No compulsion is exercised or is exercisable under the Labour Exchanges Act upon employers or workmen to use the Exchanges against their will. The success of the system depends upon its efficiency and upon the persuasiveness of its officials.

Fifth, the system is impartial, as between employers and workmen, in questions where the interest of the two parties come into real or apparent conflict. It is, indeed, self-evident that a system of Labour Exchanges dependent upon the voluntary support of both parties must be impartial in order to have any hope of success.

Method of Working.

The current working of the Exchanges may now be briefly described. Workpeople are as a rule registered by a clerk who takes down their answers to questions put in accordance with the form of application, but they may, if they prefer it (as is sometimes the case with the more skilled men and clerks) fill in a form themselves and hand it to the clerk. In the former case the answers are entered directly on to an index card, which then forms the workman's record in the Exchange; in the latter case the answers filled in by the workman have subsequently to be transferred to an index card. Workpeople are not under any obligation to answer all the questions on the form, and on the other hand they may volunteer additional information. Workpeople residing within three miles of an Exchange are required to register in person; others may make application by post. Applicants under 17 years of age who in other respects also are registered under special conditions have a different form, the forms for men, women, boys and girls all having distinctive colours. On registration each applicant is given a Registration Card. This card he must, so long as he wishes to remain on the register, bring with him every week to the Exchange to be stamped, while if he obtains work through his own efforts he is required to return the card at once to the Exchange through the post with a statement to this effect. When the Registration Card is given out it is marked with the day of the week, and the workman is asked to come again on the same day each following week. The

card is addressed on the back to the Labour Exchange, and is franked for free transmission through the post. Application for workpeople are as a rule received by telephone, though naturally in some cases employers write or send a messenger or come themselves. When an application has been received from an employer and a suitable workman found by the Exchange—either from among those in the waiting-room or by summoning one from his home—the workman is sent to the employer with an Identification Card, which the latter is requested to sign and return with a statement as to whether the man has been engaged or not. This card also is now franked for free transmission through the post.

The index cards of the workpeople who have registered or renewed their registration within the past week and have not since then obtained employment form the Live Register of the Exchange, and it is to these primarily that the Exchange looks for the filling of any vacancies that may be notified by employers, the cards being arranged by occupations. The cards of those who fail to renew their applications on the right day are left in an "Intermediate Register" until the end of the month, while there is a "Dead Register" of all those who have obtained employment or have not presented themselves at the Exchange for some weeks. Should one of these men on the "Dead Register" appear at the Exchange later, his old index card will be used again, but he will count as a "re-registration."

Work of the Exchanges.

It remains now only to give a brief account of what has actually been done by the Exchanges since their commencement. The Labour Exchanges Act, as already stated, was passed on September 20th, 1909, and the first officers were appointed under it a few days later. The next four months were very fully occupied in the preliminary work of collecting staff, obtaining premises, framing working rules, and undertaking such propaganda work as time permitted. On February 1st, 1910, the Board took over from the Central (Unemployed) Body for London the twenty Exchanges established by the latter body in 1906 under the Unemployed Workmen Act, and at the same time opened another sixty-three Exchanges in London and the provincial towns. Since that date, other Exchanges have been opened at intervals, the total number at work on May 1st, 1911, being about 200 out of a projected total of 350. The tables on the following pages give the general statistics as to the work of the Exchanges during the eleven months February to December, 1910, and during the first three months of 1911. The figures for 1911 are not comparable with those for 1910, owing to the institution in January, 1911, of a separate register, described as the Casual Register, for certain employments of a peculiarly casual nature, the figures for which are shown in a separate table. The following points may be noted:—

(1) The number of vacancies filled by the Exchanges has gone steadily upwards, indicating the natural growth of the activity of the Exchanges.

(2) The growing ability of the Labour Exchanges to adjust the supply of labour to the demand is shown by the steadily rising percentage which the number of vacancies filled forms of the number of vacancies notified. This percentage rose from 60 in February to 85 in December, 1910 (excluding the Post Office temporary Christmas staff). The places which Exchanges in the United Kingdom are unable to fill are mainly those for skilled women in various branches of the textile and clothing trades and in laundry work, and for men in the shipbuilding and coach-building trades. There appears to be as regards women a

discrepancy of quality between the demand for labour and the supply. A large number of skilled women are wanted at the Exchanges and cannot be found there. On the other hand, a very large number of middle-aged women, often widows, are registered at the Exchanges for work as charwomen and in other unskilled or low-skilled occupations.

(3) The number of "workpeople's applications on the register" at any time may be taken as representing separate individuals.

(4) The accompanying Table II. indicates the principal occupations dealt with by the Exchanges.

TABLE II.

Vacancies filled in the Three Months ended 31st March, 1911, analysed by Groups of Trades.

MEN.

		Per Cent.
Metals, machines, implements, and conveyances	13,193 ...	20.8
Building	11,985 ...	18.9
General Labourers	11,593 ...	18.3
Conveyance of men, goods, and messages	5,680 ...	8.9
	42,451 ...	66.9
Other occupations	21,054 ...	33.1
Total	63,505 ...	100.0

WOMEN.

Domestic (outdoor)	7,918 ...	34.0
Textiles	4,351 ...	18.7
Food, tobacco, drink, and lodging	2,916 ...	12.5
Dress	2,465 ...	10.6
	17,650 ...	75.8
Other occupations	5,640 ...	24.2
Total	23,290 ...	100.0

As a general statement it may be laid down quite definitely that the work of the Exchange, particularly on the side of men, has come to concern itself principally with skilled vacancies and skilled workmen, because these are the workmen whom employers are least able to obtain rapidly for themselves. The Exchanges, indeed, are undoubtedly very often in a position to obtain for employers better men than the latter could obtain direct for themselves, particularly where any special qualifications are required. Moreover, the managers of the Exchanges, without taking up references regularly, acquire necessarily in the course of their work a very detailed knowledge of the capacities of the different workmen applying. No definite information capable of statistical analysis is obtained or could be obtained as to the duration of all the employments to which men are sent, but of the 112,549 vacancies filled during the first three months of 1911, 11,464, or only 10.2 per cent. were temporary, in the sense of being known to be for less than a week's employment.

The organisation of casual employment through the Labour Exchanges can

only be a matter of later development. A special Exchange has, however, been opened at 31, Dickenson Street, Manchester, to deal with the cloth porters casually employed in the neighbouring warehouses. A considerable number of employers agreed to take all their men through this Exchange, and furnished the Exchange with lists of the men familiar with their work so that these men may be sent in preference to others. About 250 cloth porters are now registered at the Exchange, of whom over 160 on an average are sent out to work each day. Arrangements have been made for getting the men to the work with practically no delay. Men who had previously worked for only one employer have been sent to as many as four different places in a week. Considerably over 300 employers have used the Exchange from time to time.

Another special Exchange has been established in Liverpool for the porters employed in the cotton warehouses. In this case also the employers furnished the Exchange with the names of their selected men, who are registered under the name of the firm by whom they are employed.

Several Exchanges also dealt with fruit-pickers in the summer of 1910. A temporary office, in connection with the Dundee Exchange, was opened at Blairgowrie early in July, and when the local applicants were not sufficiently numerous, pickers were obtained from Glasgow, and other towns, their fares being advanced by the Exchanges. The money so advanced was collected from the workers by instalments, and no bad debts were incurred. Over 4,000 fruit-pickers were found employment in Scotland alone.

(5) Regular communication between the different Exchanges for the purpose of obtaining suitable persons to fill vacancies for which there are no qualified local applicants forms an essential part of the national system.

During 1910 there were over 24,000 cases in which applicants were placed in the districts of Exchanges other than those at which they registered. These figures, however, do not include all the cases in which workmen have been enabled by the Exchanges to find work at a considerable distance from their homes, since they only include men who, after being registered at one Exchange, have been sent to a place notified to another Exchange. As a considerable number of smaller towns are still without Exchanges at all, it often happens that men will be sent direct from the Exchange at which they are registered to an employer in some town ten or twenty or more miles distant. These men appear at present as having been placed in the district of their own Exchange.

(6) The work of sending men to vacancies at a distance is much facilitated by the power, already mentioned, of advancing railway fares. This power is given by Clause V. of the General Regulations. The advance can only be made when the workman is travelling to employment of which he is already assured, and which has been found for him through a Labour Exchange. It cannot be made for distances of less than five miles and cannot exceed the actual fare of the workman himself to the place of employment. It cannot be made when the manager of the Exchange has reason to believe that the employment is due to a trade dispute, or that the wages are lower than those current in the trade or district.

The advance may be made either on the employer's account or the workman's, and is made in nearly all cases, not in cash, but by the provision of a voucher entitling the latter to a railway ticket. As a rule the loan is ultimately repaid by the workman, the employer agreeing to deduct the amount by instalments from the weekly wages and to forward it to the Exchange. Occasionally, however, the employer offers to pay the fare himself in order to make certain of

geting the workman to come. In all cases the full fare has to be paid either by the employer or by the workman, as it has not been possible to make any arrangements for workmen sent to the Labour Exchanges to travel, as they do on most of the German railways, at reduced rates.

During the first nine months (up to the end of September, 1910) advances of fares were made in nearly 4,000 cases, the total sum advanced being over £1,000, nearly all of which has been, or in all probability will be, recovered. Of course, a small number of bad debts are inevitable in this connection, but speaking generally the provision for advancing fares has been found to confer very great advantages with relatively little risk of loss to the Exchequer.

(7) The number of vacancies filled by the Exchanges in six of the largest towns of the country from February to December 30th, 1910, are as follows:—

1.	London	84,441
2.	Glasgow	27,189
3.	Manchester	16,809
4.	Edinburgh	12,395
5.	Birmingham	8,681
6.	Nottingham	6,834

TABLE III.

Work of Labour Exchanges, February to December, 1910.

1910.	Working Days.	Vacancies Notified.					Vacancies Filled.					Workpeople's Applications remaining on Register at end of Period.				
		Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.	Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.	Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.
February ...	24	12,156	2,427	5,090	1,520	21,193	8,180	1,715	2,053	680	12,628	94,234	6,769	9,366	2,055	112,424
March ...	25	18,439	3,597	5,771	1,897	29,704	13,864	2,397	3,065	1,069	20,395	74,199	5,375	9,264	1,789	90,627
April ...	24	20,123	3,945	5,852	1,791	31,711	15,957	2,973	3,726	1,202	23,858	64,673	4,944	9,907	1,999	81,523
May	22	19,352	3,552	6,101	1,783	30,788	15,887	2,695	4,168	1,275	24,025	58,986	4,438	9,993	1,985	75,402
June	30	32,561	5,810	10,269	2,777	51,417	27,558	4,454	7,570	2,068	41,650	55,507	4,787	10,847	2,463	73,604
July	24	25,788	3,920	7,886	2,152	39,746	22,554	3,149	6,352	1,758	33,813	54,508	4,986	10,697	2,655	72,846
August ...	23	24,013	4,197	6,508	2,183	37,891	21,015	3,456	5,032	1,782	31,285	59,386	5,803	11,653	2,987	79,829
September	30	33,280	6,473	10,915	3,270	53,938	28,614	5,184	8,764	2,752	45,314	63,630	5,779	12,855	3,213	85,477
October ...	24	27,179	5,514	8,308	3,034	44,035	23,529	4,295	6,684	2,502	37,010	73,491	5,758	14,169	3,296	96,714
November	24	27,004	5,473	8,886	2,920	44,283	23,622	4,374	7,308	2,412	37,716	78,795	5,329	13,024	3,125	100,273
December	28	56,480	5,064	10,001	2,692	74,237	52,510	4,008	8,042	2,087	66,647	50,756	4,126	7,709	2,172	64,763
TOTAL ...	278	297,275	49,972	85,677	26,019	458,943	253,290	38,702	62,764	19,557	374,313	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE IV.

Work of Labour Exchanges, January to March, 1911.

(1) General Register* (exclusive of certain specified casual employments).

Month.	Working Days.	Vacancies Notified by Employers.					Vacancies Filled by the Exchanges.					Workpeople's Applications remaining on Register at end of Period.				
		Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.	Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.	Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.
January ...	23	20,390	5,775	8,644	3,315	38,124	16,552	4,406	6,531	2,723	30,212	70,709	6,839	13,190	4,182	94,920
February ...	24	23,595	6,422	9,697	3,734	43,438	18,838	4,932	7,163	2,835	33,768	65,632	5,847	12,427	3,697	87,603
March ...	30	34,939	9,468	12,872	5,115	62,394	28,115	7,018	9,596	3,840	48,569	57,632	5,339	13,089	3,832	79,892
TOTAL ...	77	78,914	21,665	31,213	12,164	143,956	63,505	16,356	23,290	9,398	112,549	—	—	—	—	—

(2) Casual Register (including certain specified occupations of an essentially casual nature).

Month.	Applicants given Work.	Number of Jobs.	Estimated Number of Days on which work was given.	Estimated Average Number of Days on which Work was given per Applicant given Work.
January :—				
Men . . .	1,716	9,522	14,711	8.6
Women . .	472	1,144	1,358	2.9
February :—				
Men . . .	1,490	9,411	13,620	9.1
Women . .	376	963	1,220	3.2
March :				
Men . . .	1,820	11,845	14,584	8.0
Women . .	423	1,001	1,517	3·6

Conclusion.

The Labour Exchange system that has been described above is clearly too new to be the subject of any final judgment. As all those who have made the attempt must be aware, the bringing of Labour Exchanges into general use in any country is necessarily a slow process, involving as it does the breaking down of many established customs, the combating of much indifference and the clearing away of many misunderstandings. So far, however, as the Exchanges in the United Kingdom have gone, it may fairly be said that they have been on the whole well received, and are rapidly settling down into part of the industrial machinery of the country.

The principal difficulties which have been experienced have been largely due to the general misapprehension in the minds of both employers and workpeople as to the scope and objects of Labour Exchanges. The Majority and Minority Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws both insisted upon the necessity for Labour Exchanges as an essential preliminary to any scheme for dealing with unemployment. It was clearly pointed out that Labour Exchanges cannot in themselves be any effectual remedy for unemployment, but much criticism has been made under the mistaken impression that the function of a Labour Exchange was to find or create employment. This, of course, it does not pretend to do, and could not do. The Labour Exchange is a market for labour, where that commodity is bought and sold at the prices prevailing in the market, as in the case of other commodities. It has been found difficult adequately to convey this aspect of the functions of Labour Exchanges to employers and workmen, and also to induce them to divest their minds of the idea of relief of distress in connection with Labour Exchanges, but to regard them like other markets as a business organisation. Employers have been found

* The figures appearing in this table are not comparable with the figures given in Table III. in view of the fact that certain casual occupations included in the return for 1910 are not included in the general register for 1911, but are shown separately in the special returns relating to the casual register.

to be under the impression that merely the flotsam and jetsam of the industrial world were to be found at Labour Exchanges, and that the use of these institutions was an act of charity rather than a business proposition. Workmen have suffered from the same confusion of thought, and have taken time to realise that a Labour Exchange was an office to be used by the general public in the same way as a post office.

Both classes have been apt to regard the innovation with suspicion as likely to injure their respective interests, and it is only gradually as the methods and working of the system have become known that distrust is being removed, and the use of the system has developed. Employers have realised that their freedom of selection is in no way interfered with, that the sole qualification taken into account in submitting men for vacancies notified by them is the applicant's industrial efficiency, and that by a national system the whole available supply of labour is made generally available. Workpeople have on their side realised that a far wider range of openings is available for individuals, that they can obtain information as to possible openings without tramping to another district to find out for themselves, and that the system by which fares can be advanced as a loan is of material benefit on a business and not a charitable basis. The fact that no questions of an inquisitorial character are put to workmen when recording their desire for employment has also helped to remove prejudice.

Evidence of the development of the work apart from the statistical returns is found in the readiness of considerable numbers of employers to adopt the Exchanges as their regular method of obtaining all their labour and to place upon their factory gates notices stating that applicants for employment should apply to the Labour Exchange. So many employers, indeed, have expressed their willingness to exhibit such notices that a special plate has been prepared, bearing on it the words "Applicants for employment in these works should apply to the Labour Exchange at . . . ," and many hundreds of these notices are in use. They are likely, indeed, to offer to prove as advantageous to the employer as to the Exchange. At present a good workman coming to an employer's gates at a time when his services are not required passes on, and is lost to sight, and cannot be found again later if required. If, however, the workman on coming to the employer's gates is directed to the Exchange, he gets registered, and a permanent record of him is made there, so that he may be sent to the employer if required at any subsequent time.

To conclude, then, the Labour Exchange system in the United Kingdom is only just beginning, but its beginning is at least very hopeful. Its establishment has been beset by special difficulties, but has also been aided by certain special advantages. There were great difficulties in starting all at one moment with a new and entirely untrained staff. On the other hand, there were special advantages in starting with a considerable amount of public attention at the outset, and also at the beginning of a strong trade revival. There was also one other advantage which deserves special mention here, namely, the example of successful Labour Exchanges abroad and the many practical lessons that were derived from observation of their working. It is to be hoped that the British Exchanges will in their turn form a valuable example for other countries, and mark an important step forward in the common attack of all nations upon their common disease of unemployment.

Work of the Labour Exchanges in Relation to Women's Employment.

By Miss L. Clapham.

(Organising Officer for Women's Employment in the Board of Trade Labour Exchanges.)

I propose, within the limits of this paper, to confine myself to three aspects of the work of the Labour Exchanges in regard to women's employment and to deal—

(1) With the facilities which the Labour Exchanges already provide to employers of women's labour and to women workers of all classes;

(2) With certain general considerations with regard to the employment of women which the experience of the past year has emphasised;

(3) With the potentiality of the Labour Exchanges, as a means of making the employment of women less haphazard, and therefore as an instrument of more than immediate advantage both to employers and workpeople.

(1) The importance and special character of the field of women's employment was realised from the first by those responsible for the organisation of the Labour Exchange system. The recognition of this fact is shown in the large number of women included among the Labour Exchanges staff and the special arrangements as regards staff, premises, and registration, by which the Labour Exchanges have endeavoured to meet the special needs of women workers.

The staff of the Central Office includes an Organising Officer for Women's Employment, and in each of the eleven divisions into which the country is divided there is at least one woman officer of somewhat senior rank, who is entrusted with the general supervision, under the Divisional Officer, of the women's work in that division. Provision has been made for ten assistant managers of Exchanges, thirty senior clerks in charge of the women's sections of the Exchanges dealing most largely with women's work, and nearly 200 other clerks.

In the individual Exchange a careful division is made between the women's and the men's departments. Women applicants enter by a separate entrance; they are dealt with in separate rooms by a female staff, and their cards are included in a separate register. In the more important Exchanges special arrangements are made for dealing with the more skilled, apart from the less skilled, women workers; and a similar arrangement is made with regard to girls under 17, who, in other ways also, are dealt with specially. Vacancies for women workers notified by employers are also recorded separately from the vacancies notified for men, so that each Labour Exchange of any size may be said to contain a specialised department and a specialised staff for dealing with women's work.

The machinery in use for the notification of vacancies and the registration of applicants is dealt with in another paper, but I may make a few remarks in passing on the facts which underlie the statement of numerical results included in the appendix.

Special difficulties no doubt exist in bringing Labour Exchanges to the notice of women workers and in persuading them of the advantages which they afford.

It is a matter of common knowledge that women workers are less organised than men, and it is accordingly harder to bring any new idea into general notice among them. It is difficult, for example, to make it widely known that women are dealt with by women at an Exchange, and are throughout kept separate from men applicants. It is even more difficult to convince women than it is to bring men to realise that the Exchanges are concerned with every type of skilled labour and are in no way directly connected with the relief of distress. Yet the figures which appear at the end of the paper show that a large majority of the vacancies for women filled by the Exchanges were vacancies for skilled workers. To take an example: the occupations included under the heading "Textile" and "Dress" are entirely skilled occupations; while skilled laundryworkers are included in the general heading of "Domestic (Indoor)."

In spite of these and other difficulties not peculiar to the women's department, real progress has been made by the Labour Exchanges among women workers within the last year. In some districts of the country associations of trades and large individual employers of female labour have agreed to take their labour only through the medium of the Labour Exchanges, and to refuse applicants who apply at the gates. In many cases employers have testified to the fact that the Labour Exchanges have supplied them with labour which they were not able to provide for themselves or to obtain through other channels. In some large towns much work has already been done towards regularising charwomen's labour. At the wish of the employers and the women themselves, references have been taken up, and a note has been made of those applicants who were industrially best fitted for the work. They have then been sent to different houses on special days of the week and the most efficient women have thus been placed in full employment, in lieu of working merely a few days a week each. This work has resulted in an increased demand for respectable and efficient charwomen. As instances of the work of the Labour Exchanges in adjusting the supply of labour to the demand, it may be mentioned that London factory girls out of work have been sent under very good conditions to a flax factory in Dorsetshire, while milliners in provincial towns have been found openings at Luton, the great centre of the straw hat trade. It is, of course, recognised that all such cases require exceptional care and consideration.

Finally, it becomes increasingly clear that the personal element must enter largely into the work of the Labour Exchanges. In a large number of cases women have profited by the advice given them by the clerk who has taken down their registration. Such a clerk in very many instances has become an expert in women's trades and the various openings in them; and a friendly talk with an applicant often leads to her changing her mind, and taking up work that has a better future that any she had thought of for herself. Frequently she goes off to be interviewed by an employer, with the green card as an introduction, when her courage would have failed her had she to make her own way unaided. A forewoman, very capable in her own particular trade, in which she is unable to get work because conditions have altered, finds its very hard to get into another line of business by her own efforts; but an employer, who has already used the Exchanges, and has confidence in the selective powers of the staff, will often interview and finally engage such an applicant when she comes from the Exchange.

(2) As to the general considerations which have been suggested by the experience of the past year, we are still too near to the work to attempt to appraise its full significance. I am moved to confine myself, in the brief compass at my

disposal, to certain aspects of unemployment as it occurs among women by the wide attention which this subject has lately received. I must not, however, be taken to suggest that these are the only inferences to be drawn from the year's results; or that the work of the Labour Exchanges has done more than place in a clear light certain conclusions which have for some time been apparent to students of social phenomena.

The experience of the last fifteen months seems to emphasise particularly the following causes of preventible unemployment and waste of industrial capacity among women:—

(*a*) Lack of thorough training in skilled trades.

(*b*) The seasonal nature of many trades.

(*c*) The necessity which so often exists for a girl to earn the highest possible initial wage immediately after leaving school.

(*d*) The unpopularity of certain skilled trades, owing to the lowness of the initial wage offered, even when the absolute necessity of earning a high wage is not present. In the higher branches of these trades there are good openings and a large demand for skilled workers.

(*e*) Lack of organisation of supply and demand, or in the distribution of the workers.

(*a*) The lack of trained workers in skilled trades has made itself very evident during the first year of the working of Labour Exchanges. For instance, all over the country applications are being received from employers for first-class laundry hands, machinists, and dressmakers. Again and again in the laundry trade we are told that, whenever a good finery ironer, examiner, or forewoman in any branch of the trade presents herself, the employer is only too ready to interview her and engage her on the spot. Exactly the same thing applies to good dressmaking hands. Employers cannot get a large enough supply of them, apart from the seasonal rush. In the slack time they get a large number of applicants for any post that is advertised, but the majority of these are young women who have not learnt their trade properly and are not qualified in any one branch of it. The modern tendency is to pass on in quest of higher wages from one situation to another. Workers remain for a single season only in one place, and consequently get no sound basis of instruction. As long as the worker is quite young this lack of training does not make itself felt so much. She is content to do a few weeks work, and regards being "turned off" for slack seasons as inevitable. Whereas, if the worker were better trained, she would have a far greater chance of continuous work. There is a constant demand on the part of employers for really well-trained hands, and every opportunity for continuous employment when they are found. It is the incompetent worker who is forced to become a season hand. There is no question that, as regards women, anticipation of marriage is largely responsible for the large supply of half-trained workers. Girls look forward to marrying and being able to give up their trade before many years are over, and thus they quickly assume the attitude of mind that it is not worth while to take much trouble to learn their trade thoroughly. The very fact of their being out of work often drives them into making the most improvident and thriftless marriages.

The shortage in the supply of machinists of every description is so well known that it seems hardly necessary to mention it. All the year round, in one or another branch of this trade, hands are wanted. The difficulty here lies in the fact that a larger output can be obtained from a machine when it is worked by a girl who has specialised in its manipulation. The tendency, therefore, is to

produce workers so specialised that they are useless for more than one branch of their trade, and so any dovetailing of seasonal parts of the work becomes impracticable.

(*b*) A large number of women's trades are very seasonal. The rate of pay even at busy times on piecework is often not high enough to enable the worker to put by any sum sufficient for her to live on when work is not to be had. In the millinery trade, for example, the large majority of workers must look forward to at least three months in each year during which time they will be able to earn nothing. Machining, dressmaking, printing, are all trades that have very slack seasons, and so, of course, have the majority of industries which are carried on in factories.

(*c*) A potent factor in the production of the unskilled hand is the necessity for a girl to enter a trade that offers the highest initial wage. The trade that enables the girl to bring home 5s. or 6s. on Saturday is preferred to the one that only offers 2s. 6d., and demands longer hours of work in addition. The result of this is that at the end of one or two years her labour is practically of no more value than that of a worker fresh from school. She passes on to some other factory labour of an unskilled type, and descends to the region of a "washer up" or "vegetable cook" in a small eating house, and thus quickly helps to swell the number of unskilled workers. This is of course only a branch of the whole question of "blind alley" occupations.

(*d*) The dearth of workers in certain skilled trades is largely due to the fact that the initial wages offered are small. In many cases the worker has to give her time for the first month, and in others 3s. 6d. is the limit of the wage offered. As a result a large number of the more respectable type of girl seem to prefer to take up clerical work of some kind. They are attracted to office work by the idea that it is more ladylike, and by the ease with which they can be trained in a superficial way in typewriting and shorthand at the numerous technical schools and institutions that now exist for this purpose. Girls thus trained can quickly earn 8s. a week, rising to 15s., at which point the larger number of them remain, as their lack of general education precludes their rising beyond it. Consequently there exist large numbers of half-trained clerical workers, hundreds of whom apply for a single situation, while in other trades there is a constant dearth of workers. Laundry work is another trade where there is a great shortage of workers. It has been looked down on for many years past by a large number of the working classes; and perhaps, under the old conditions, this is not surprising. Mothers hesitate before they consent to allow their girls to go in for it, saying that they do not want them to mix with such a rough type of worker; that the hours are too long, and the conditions generally bad. As a matter of fact, this trade has very greatly improved in general conditions of late years, partly owing to factory regulations, and partly also to improved machinery. There are countless openings at present in the more skilled branches of this trade all over the country, and the pay is good. The work is comparatively non-seasonal, and the conditions in all the larger modern steam laundries are quite satisfactory. It is probable that the tendency to long hours which exists in this trade discourages girls, who are not otherwise particularly attracted to it, from taking it up.

(*e*) At present a considerable amount of unemployment amongst women is the result of the demand being in one part of the country and the raw material in another. Women have hitherto had but little chance of getting reliable information as to the conditions obtaining in their trade in other parts of the country. They have not moved because they had no means of finding out what

chances of work awaited them elsewhere; and this has in too many cases led to their staying unemployed where they were, when as a matter of fact work could probably have been found for them in other districts. The experience of the last year has shown that this is a real and genuine source of unemployment.

(3) The potentialities of the Labour Exchanges with regard to women's work lie to a great extent implicit in the facts to which allusion has already been made.

When sufficient time has elapsed to collect reliable statistics concerning under-employment and unsatisfied demand in the majority of women's trades, the data will be available to enable arrangements to be made for the supply of facilities for training in different trades, and a great step forward will have been made. The large number of openings for skilled workers will then have a better chance of being satisfactorily filled by workers who have been thoroughly disciplined and grounded in their trade. The excellent results of the very limited number of Trade Schools which have already been established are most encouraging. Laundry work is being taught at the Borough Polytechnic to girls who have gained L.C.C. Scholarships, and the training is quite admirable. The L.C.C. have also one Trade School where machining is thoroughly taught, and the successes gained by the students who have passed on show what valuable work is being done there. Work such as this is an essential correlative to that of the Labour Exchanges.

The dovetailing of seasonal trades is a more direct function of the Exchange. The ordinary woman worker is very ignorant as to the conditions obtaining in any trade other than her own, and, as a rule, when the busy time in her own trade is over, she resigns herself to patient waiting for the next boom. She is only just beginning to realise that Labour Exchanges can help her in this direction, by telling her of the pressing needs of other trades, and by giving her a card of introduction to an employer in urgent need of hands. Already a good many women employed in the ready-made tailoring trade, which is busy in the autumn and spring, have been induced to take up the ironing branch of laundry work in the summer; and a large number of fur sewers, whose own trade is active in the autumn and winter, have, in the spring, joined the ranks of the rougher tailoring workers.

The best guarantee that the Labour Exchanges are destined to play a real part in the future organisation of women's industry lies in the fact that they have already made a vigorous and steady growth. Apart from accidental and seasonal variations, the number of persons placed in employment through their instrumentality has steadily increased at a rate exceeding the corresponding increase in the number of Exchanges opened. Those who have been engaged in the work of the Labour Exchanges system from day to day realise that this increase has not been accompanied by a deterioration in the class of employment offered, but has been coincident with a genuine improvement in the type of vacancies notified by employers.

TABLE I.

Work of the Women's Department of Labour Exchanges during the eleven months ended 30th December, 1910.

Month.	Working Days.	Applications Received.	Vacancies Notified.	Vacancies Filled.	Vacancies Filled. Per cent. of Vacancies Notified.	Applications remaining on Register at end of each period.
February ...	24	18,961	5,090	2,053	40	9,366
March	25	17,246	5,771	3,065	53	9,264
April	24	17,542	5,852	3,726	64	9,907
May	22	16,171	6,101	4,168	68	9,993
June	30	26,477	10,269	7,570	73	10,847
July	24	22,148	7,886	6,352	81	10,697
August... ...	23	21,580	6,598	5,032	76	11,653
September ...	30	31,596	10,915	8,764	80	12,855
October ...	24	26,777	8,308	6,684	80	14,169
November ...	24	26,128	8,886	7,308	82	13,024
December ...	28	22,094	10,001	8,042	80	7,709
	278	246,720	85,677	62,764	—	—

TABLE II.

Vacancies notified in the eleven months ended 30th December, 1910, analysed by groups of trades.

Month.	Working Days.	Domestic (Outdoor).	Food, Tobacco, Drink, and Lodging.	Textiles.	Dress.	Paper, Prints, Books, and Stationery.	Commercial.	Metals, Machines Implements, and Conveyances.	Other.	Total.
February	24	991	390	773	1,373	138	199	163	1,063	5,090
March ...	25	1,688	407	703	1,411	204	218	113	1,027	5,771
April ...	24	2,000	575	484	1,230	249	276	150	888	5,852
May ...	22	2,379	820	510	861	183	183	127	1,038	6,101
June ...	30	3,238	1,566	919	1,098	397	303	156	2,952	10,269
July ...	24	2,218	1,227	599	648	264	249	101	2,580	7,886
August ...	23	2,403	848	553	625	189	251	128	1,601	6,598
September	30	3,644	1,313	1,165	1,105	371	361	196	2,760	10,915
October ...	24	3,103	893	1,062	969	318	321	171	1,471	8,308
November	24	3,266	937	1,513	802	493	296	198	1,381	8,886
December	28	4,170	1,015	1,624	740	445	317	130	1,560	10,001
Total...	278	29,100	9,991	9,905	10,862	3,251	2,974	1,633	17,961	85,677

TABLE III.

Vacancies filled in the eleven months ended 30th December, 1910, analysed by groups of trades.

Month.	Working Days.	Domestic (Outdoor).	Food, Tobacco, Drink, and Lodging.	Textiles.	Dress.	Paper, Prints, Books and Stationery.	Commercial.	Metals, Machines Implements, and Conveyances.	Other.	TOTAL.
February	24	718	213	178	220	84	83	80	477	2,053
March ...	25	1,271	272	289	369	131	119	60	554	3,065
April ...	24	1,546	379	376	448	143	229	94	511	3,726
May ...	22	1,928	557	317	413	137	100	88	628	4,168
June ...	30	2,583	1,110	719	560	255	218	92	2,033	7,570
July ...	24	1,799	928	432	401	200	149	66	2,377	6,352
August ...	23	1,959	624	437	392	120	172	56	1,272	5,032
September	30	3,141	960	965	767	278	259	121	2,273	8,764
October ...	24	2,687	734	895	590	221	228	141	1,188	6,684
November	24	2,848	729	1,211	577	390	244	142	1,167	7,308
December	28	3,529	775	1,266	509	371	228	82	1,282	8,042
TOTAL...	278	24,009	7,281	7,085	5,246	2,330	2,029	1,022	13,762	62,764

TABLE IV.

Work of the Women's Department of Labour Exchanges during the first three months of 1911.

(1) GENERAL REGISTER* (Exclusive of charwomen given casual employment).

Month.	Working Days.	Applications Received.	Vacancies Notified.	Vacancies Filled.	Applications remaining on the Register at the end of each period.
January	23	27,758	8,644	6,531	13,190
February	24	26,058	9,697	7,163	12,427
March	30	32,753	12,872	9,596	13,089
TOTAL ...	77	86,569	31,213	23,290	—

(2) CASUAL REGISTER.

(These figures relate almost entirely to charwomen placed in casual employment.)

Month.	Applicants Given Work.	Number of Jobs.	Estimated number of days on which work was given.	Estimated average number of days on which work was given per applicant given work.
January	472	1,144	1,358	2.9
February	376	963	1,220	3.2
March	423	1,001	1,517	3.6

The figures given in this table are not comparable with those for 1910 owing to the institution on January 2nd, 1911, of a separate register for charwomen placed in casual employment.

TABLE V.

Vacancies notified in the three months ended March 31st, 1911, analysed by groups of trades.

General Register * (exclusive of casual employment for charwomen).

Month.	Working Days.	Domestic (Outdoor).	Food, Tobacco, Drink, and Lodging.	Textiles.	Dress.	Paper, Prints, Books, and Stationery.	Commercial.	Metals, Machines Implements, and Conveyances.	Other.	Total.
January ...	23	2,859	1,119	1,611	964	323	332	190	1,246	8,644
February	24	3,146	1,146	1,766	1,276	351	302	283	1,427	9,697
March ...	30	4,240	1,621	2,000	1,843	375	375	325	2,093	12,872
Total...	77	10,245	3,886	5,377	4,083	1,049	1,009	798	4,766	31,213

* See note to Table IV.

TABLE VI.

Vacancies filled in the three months ended 31st March, 1911, analysed by groups of trades.

General Register * (exclusive of casual employment given to charwomen).

Month.	Working Days.	Domestic (Outdoor).	Food, Tobacco, Drink, and Lodging.	Textiles.	Dress.	Paper, Prints, Books, and Stationery.	Commercial.	Metals, Machines Implements, and Conveyances.	Other.	Total.
January ...	23	2,162	847	1,281	624	256	233	141	987	6,531
February	24	2,393	875	1,409	798	239	208	221	1,020	7,163
March ...	30	3,363	1,194	1,661	1,043	241	264	243	1,587	9,596
Total...	77	7,918	2,916	4,351	2,465	736	705	605	3,594	23,290

* See note to Table IV.

The Advantage of the Labour Exchange to the Large Employer.

By Arnold S. Rowntree, M.P.

I have been asked, as a director of a company employing a considerable amount of labour, to write a few lines stating the advantages to the employer of the regular use of the Labour Exchanges for obtaining the labour he requires.

Since the opening of the Exchange in York, our firm have made it a rule to obtain all employees through that source, and what I write now represents the result of the experience gained from that plan. I have also had an opportunity of comparing notes with a few other large Yorkshire firms who use the Exchange, and have incorporated their views and criticisms in this paper.

It will be recalled that it was never claimed that the Exchanges would materially increase the volume of employment; what was hoped was that they would form one of the side lines of attack on the terrible problem of unemployment. The old paraphernalia for dealing with the problem had largely broken down. The problem affected both skilled and unskilled labour, although doubtless the great mass of the unskilled workers formed the heart of the problem. It was urged that the Exchanges would properly organise the labour market, and with proper organisation—

(1) Wastage, caused by needless waiting for labour, would be reduced.
(2) The hawking of labour from place to place would become unnecessary.
(3) Decasualisation would be encouraged.
(4) The unfit would be eliminated.
(5) Vagrancy would receive its death-blow.

The cumulative result, viewed from the employer's standpoint, would be that the employer would be able to rely on a better quality of labour, and would be able to secure it more quickly.

Initial Suspicions.

It was only to be expected that a great innovation of this character would be viewed at the outset with suspicion.

Many employers found it hard to believe that the Exchanges were, as claimed by the Government, "a piece of business organisation," and even yet there is a feeling prevalent that the class of labour to be secured through them is of the type usually associated with relief committees.

On the side of the workman, too, there were suspicions. The better class of workmen looked askance at the Exchange, as if it were only intended for the relief of mendicancy. Trade Unionists, too, were doubtful of the effects, and there can be no doubt that the difficulties of an Exchange are increased in the case of a firm, for instance, that pays below the Trade Union rate of wage, or pays a low figure for unskilled labour.

Even a brief experience of the working of the system is, however, serving to remove some of these fears, and when it is understood that the duty of the Exchange is to place the best available unemployed man into direct communication with the employer who is seeking labour, and in doing so to hold itself absolutely aloof from any discussion of labour conditions, it is confidently believed that the initial prejudices will die out.

Initial Weaknesses.

Not only initial suspicions, but initial weaknesses were to be expected. The officials are at present handicapped through lack of local knowledge. It will take them some time to learn the character of the applicants, which in many instances is already well known to local people. Moreover, so elaborately is labour classified in some trades, and so multifarious are its processes, that until the officials have made themselves thoroughly conversant with the conditions under which labour is carried on, they will continue to be liable to send the wrong man for the job. Indeed, nothing less than an encyclopædic knowledge of the conditions of labour seems to be required in an ideal official.

Advantages.

My object now, however, is to view the matter primarily from the employer's point of view. Certain advantages to the employer have already made themselves obvious.

The clearing of the factory gates.—Every large employer is conversant with the sad spectacle of a crowd of men waiting around his factory gates, or with the equally sad experience of the individual worker waiting on his doorstep. The yard of a big factory is sometimes half full of men hanging about to see what turns up. The advantage of the stopping of this practice is clear. The problem of the unemployed is such a difficult one that no one employer can possibly take it upon his own shoulders, and, moreover, there was always a proportion of loafers amongst the crowd whose presence tended to contaminate the others. It is an advantage to the employer to refer applicants to one centre where the problem they present can be dealt with scientifically, and incidentally the new method saves the time both of the foreman at the works, and of the unemployed workman, who need only go to one centre instead of to many.

The difficulties inherent in the engaging of men by heads of departments.—Many problems, difficult to explain, that have troubled employers in this connection, have been minimised by the establishment of the Exchanges. There are fewer side currents at work, and favouritism is made more difficult. The foreman's time, formerly much encroached upon by having to interview applicants, is now saved. Foremen and managers alike are often placed in difficult positions, and the engagement of all men through the Exchange minimises these difficulties.

Advertising.—A third obvious advantage is that advertising expenses are now saved, as well as all the trouble of looking through piles of answers to advertisements. One manager informs me that, thanks to the Exchange, he has only had to advertise once during the last six months. Another employer says that recently he spent the whole of a three hours' railway journey from York to Peterborough, reading through a batch of answers to one advertisement. It is a great saving of time to have much of this tedious work of investigation and search for suitable hands done by competent officials. Other disadvantages incidental to the securing of labour through advertisements are minimised. An Exchange at a distant town is able to act as an agent for an employer in obtaining detailed first-hand information as to an applicant's qualifications. In the past the employer has had to rely on the ability of the applicant to state his qualifications in writing. But a man may be an excellent worker and yet unable to write a letter.

One manager estimates that 75 per cent. of the skilled labourers with whom he has had to do are unable to explain clearly in a letter what their qualifications may be. To have to wade through a hundred of such applications has been a tax upon him, and he has found it almost impossible to tell from the letters which are the best men.

The Mobility of Labour and the Saving of Wastage.

So far, I have been dealing with minor advantages. Let us now look at the more important ones. The testimony of the employers with whom I have compared notes is unanimous that the wastage incidental to the waiting for suitable labour has been reduced by the Exchanges. In the past, employers have often searched in vain for labour—perhaps highly specialised in character—whilst all the while men capable of performing it have been seeking it in districts where it was not wanted. I have come across many concrete instances of the value of the Exchanges in this direction. Labour is not a mere local commodity. It cannot be penned in to correspond with governmental or municipal areas. The Exchanges, by increasing the mobility of labour, have enlarged the employer's area of choice.

Employers now have the great advantage of being able to consult an up-to-date and live list of unemployed, which oversteps limiting geographical boundaries. Let me give a few instances of what is occurring. York has found builders for the Doncaster coalfields. Leeds has imported borers for horizontal boring machines (a class of labour which it is always difficult to obtain). Workmen in so highly specialised a trade as fine gun-sight work have recently been transferred from the South to the North of England. A firm of Selby shipbuilders were recently stopped for riveters; the Exchange rapidly secured them a gang from Birkenhead. At the present time the resources of Leeds with regard to masons are almost exhausted, but the Exchange can lay its hands at once on masons living in other parts of the country. The textile trade is just now working at high pressure. A case recently came to hand where a firm had to wait three weeks for men because they had no means of quickly spotting suitable ones. The Exchanges have been able to discover stray men up and down the country who had formerly been engaged in the trade and are glad to get back into it.

It is surely an immense advantage to the employer thus to be able to find labour quickly, and this advantage is specially valuable in small and isolated towns, where there is no large constituency to draw upon.

The Securing of a Better Type of Labour.

It has long been recognised that one of the essential preliminary steps towards the right handling of the problem must be the classification of the unemployed. The skilled must be separated from the unskilled; the competent from the incompetent; the industrious and honest from the wastrels; the sheep from the goats. This weeding process, however hard on the incompetents, is an inevitable evolutionary step. It may be claimed that the Exchanges are helping along this line of advance. Inquiries do not show that much progress has yet been made, but the future is hopeful. The instructions of the officials are that they are to submit to the employers absolutely the best applicants on their books; and in so far as these instructions can be carried out, the average quality of the labour offered to the employer should improve.

There has scarcely yet been time to carry the process of classification very far, but it may be helpful to briefly review the testimonies of the firms I have consulted as to the type of labour secured through the Exchange. Our own firm are perfectly satisfied, and consider the quality compares well with that formerly secured. A large building firm, who have only used the Exchange for about six weeks, state that all the men who have been sent them have remained. On the other hand, a West Riding firm of engineers say the type is distinctly worse. In another case the manager said that 50 per cent. of the men sent to him had settled down. This, he added, was probably a worse result than formerly; but the type was improving, and he considered that the advantage of quickly securing men outweighed the disadvantage in other directions. He also said that the Exchange had supplied him with a few men who were satisfactorily filling positions of trust, such as watchmen and timekeepers. Another firm, who gave the Exchange a test trial with a request for six sawyers and machinemen for a night shift, not only got the men quickly, but found them all satisfactory. This firm consider that the skilled labour which they have obtained from the Exchange compares favourably with that which they formerly secured for themselves.

Decasualisation.

If the quality of the labour market is to be raised, decasualisation must be rigorously pursued. Casual labour demoralises, and the Exchange must help to arrest it. I was interested to hear that only the other day at Leeds a gang of men who had just finished a job in a builder's yard were sent straight off to another yard, thus obviating a time of demoralising "waiting for a job." Such a line of treatment is beneficial alike to the efficient and steady workman and to the employer. It is immensely to the advantage of the honest worker that he should feel that he has the authorities on his side; and if he can be kept regularly employed instead of casually, the result will be to check deterioration and to raise the quality of the labour at the employer's command.

It is obvious that the future of the Labour Exchanges depends on their power to discriminate between the good men and the wastrels, and their ability to tackle the difficulties of decasualisation.

Boy Labour.

One of the aims of the Exchange is to guide boys as to the choice of work, and to save them, as far as possible, from "blind alley" occupations. In many towns Children's Care Committees are being set up. They consist of representatives from local Exchanges, and from the local Education Authorities, with representatives of employers and workmen; and they enlist the help of the parent, the schoolmaster, and the private visitor. Their aims are to watch the early careers of boys after they leave school; to send them out to situations for which they have special aptitude; to place the most promising children in the best positions, and to generally guide their future.

It is to be hoped that these Care Committees will form an integral part of the Labour Exchange scheme in the future. But whether there is a Care Committee or not to help, the Exchange should contribute something of value to the employer who requires boy or girl labour. Employers, for instance, can be saved a considerable amount of investigation by consulting the Exchange authorities for information about boys and girls seeking work: such information as age, school standard, parentage, situations occupied, capabilities, etc.

One of the employers consulted said that he is able now to get a better type of boy, as he finds that the Exchange knows more about the boys than he is easily able to ascertain.

Decasualisation is even more important here than in the case of adults. It is not unusual for a boy before reaching the age of 18 to have been employed at seven or eight different jobs. Employers cannot expect much from so unpromising an industrial foundation.

Conclusion.

From only a brief acquaintance with the working of these Exchanges, one point clearly emerges: that *as the decasualisation of labour proceeds the best men will obtain the work*, and it will be harder than ever for the aged, incompetent, and infirm to find a place in the industrial machine. This fact we must keep in mind, because the action of the State makes it still more incumbent upon the State to frankly face the problem of this helpless company, many of whom, after all, are in this condition through no fault of their own.

For these and other reasons I trust that those of us who are gathered here will do all in our power, not only to encourage the Board of Trade to use persistent and friendly pressure to induce employers of labour to use the Exchanges that have been set up, but that as individuals we shall appeal to all the employers of labour whom we know to help forward so promising a scheme.

I think I have said enough to show that there are solid commercial advantages to the employer who makes use of the agency, and that he will be wise to use this method of engaging labour. But we can, as well, appeal to his sense of patriotism to support a system which, as it becomes universal, will materially help us to solve the unemployment problem, and will, at the same time, *give us the necessary facts and data upon which we can build up a constructive and complete scheme of insurance, and adequately deal with those who are unable to work, and also with those who will not work.*

Discussion.

In opening the discussion, the President said that Mr. Rowntree had asked him to offer to the Section his regret that he was unable to be present to give a summary of his paper. The paper, however, had been printed and distributed, and no doubt it had been generally read. As an expression of opinion from a large employer of labour as to the value of Labour Exchanges, the paper was exceedingly valuable. They were also very much obliged to Mr. Rey and Miss Clapham for their excellent papers. Labour Exchanges were undoubtedly in their infancy, but they had done more work in the short time they had been in existence than he personally would have thought possible, considering the conservative tendency both of the British employer and the British workman. He would not detain the Section long with any views of his own on the subject. If he had any criticism to make from what he had seen of Labour Exchanges up to the present it was that they had a tendency to a rather unduly large amount of clerical work; they carried the system of card index far beyond what he thought was really practical. On the whole, however, they would be able to do, and would succeed in doing, a great deal in bringing the man who wanted work to the place where work was.

Mr. C. Albert Carter (Birmingham Distress Committee) said he wanted to say a few words as a reminder that they were at a conference on destitution. (Hear, hear.) He wanted to be clearly understood that he did not intend to make any reflection whatever on Labour Exchanges, because they were all quite confident that without them the Distress Committees could not do the work they hoped to do. He thought this was quite clear, but in reading through the papers, it had struck him that the Labour Exchanges were tending to eliminate the unfit and the unskilled—(Hear, hear)—and he would rather bear testimony to the fact that this state of things could hardly be prevented. They had tried it in Birmingham, and had had the same experience that Mr. Rey had told them of; a lot of hopeless, hapless individuals came along, and they gave them coloured cards, which they viewed with much interest, and which they covered with much dirt, and they made little use of them, and it was found that the Distress Committees were doing very little indeed to benefit either them or anyone else. The Birmingham Distress Committee had the advantage of a very able superintendent, whom he believed was now engaged in the work of the Labour Exchanges, and he, with his large experience, set to work to deal with the best men. The result was that the employers quickly gained confidence in him, the best men knew that the register was not a refuge for the destitute, there was nothing to be got out of it, and the whole character of the register rose at once, and their returns at the time they were handed over to the Labour Exchanges were so satisfactory that they were very reluctant to give them up. But it still left them to deal with the question of what was going to become of the more unskilled and the unfit—(Hear, hear)—and he wondered whether it would be possible for the Labour Exchanges, without in any way departing from their desire to get the skilled workmen into places, to do something with the people whom they could not at present help. He thought that was the problem that presented itself, and it was still a matter of uncertainty to many of them, and he gathered that it was because they were in that uncertainty that they were discussing the matter at that Conference. If their Chairman, or any of those who had read papers on the subject, or anyone present had any light to throw on that problem, he thought it would very much assist them in the discussion. He did not think he could say any more, because the papers that had been read showed clearly that their success in getting skilled workmen into places was one of the features upon which Labour Exchanges prided themselves, and very properly and very naturally so, and therefore he did not want to say a word to discourage them in that direction. The question that had to be dealt with now was that of getting work for a man who at present could not get work at the Labour Exchange; he would have to be dealt with in some other way, but in what way was the question.

Mr. H. H. Elvin (General Secretary, National Union of Clerks) said he sent up his card in order to say a few words on a paragraph in Miss Clapham's paper dealing with women clerks. She referred to the dearth of workers in certain skilled trades as being largely due to the fact that the official wages offered were small, and because of this, a large number of girls were lured to clerical work. She states: "They are attracted to office work by the idea that it is more ladylike, and by the ease with which they can be trained in a superficial way in typewriting and shorthand at the numerous technical schools and institutions that now exist for this purpose. Girls thus trained can quickly earn 8s. a week, rising to 15s., at which point the larger number of them remain, as their lack of general education precludes their rising beyond it." He was very pleased at the reference Miss Clapham made to trade schools, and strongly supported the idea that these trade schools should not simply exist in the evening but should be extended to the day time, because it was very evident that numbers of women clerks as well as male clerks were often employed for long hours besides low wages, and it certainly was not possible for them to become efficient workers when they had to study in the evening, after their body had become fatigued and their brain fagged. The point he wanted to lay particular stress upon, however was the very low rate of wage which is paid to these women clerks, and he wondered whether it was at all possible through the Labour Exchanges to bring a sufficient amount of pressure to bear upon employers for them to realise the great evil that they were doing to the social state by employing underpaid female labour. He did this more particularly because he found that the Labour Exchanges, in allowing girl clerks to go to situations at which these low salaries were paid, were really entering into a very serious competition with the situation bureau of the National Union of Clerks. That Union made a rule that no clerk, male or female,

over the age of 21, should go from their situation bureau unless they had an assurance from the employer beforehand that they received at least 35s. per week, and he was glad to say that there were large numbers of employers who, when they were satisfied that they could get good workmen, whether male or female, were willing even to pay the salary which he had referred to, and even considerably higher. This phase of the question should certainly be borne in mind by the Labour Exchanges. He himself had tried to make use of the Labour Exchanges as far as possible, when they had not been able to satisfy the demand for employment of their unemployed members. He had sent them along to the City Exchange for their names to be registered, in the hope that they would be able to secure employment, and what had he found? In case after case these clerks had been sent to employers, who had offered them miserable salaries and long hours, and when they found cases of this sort, the "powers that be" must not be surprised if trade unionists looked upon Labour Exchanges with a certain amount of suspicion, and regarded them as going to the aid of the sweating employer rather than to the employer who was willing to pay reasonable wages, and work his men under reasonable conditions. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He would also like Mr. Rey to answer this question, namely, when applications were received from employers, were inquiries made with regard to the conditions under which the workers would be engaged, and if not, why not? Further, why was it that all the notified vacancies had not been filled? He found that, as far as the women were concerned at any rate, only about 75 per cent. of the notified vacancies were filled, and he would be very much interested to know whether the answer would strengthen the suspicion which they had already developed from their experience of Labour Exchanges, that the reason why so many of these notified vacancies had not developed into actual permanent employ was due to low wages and long hours. Then again, some of them had already begun to inquire among themselves whether Labour Exchanges could, after all, be of much use to the worker when their own house was not clean. This was a conference for the prevention of destitution. The Labour Exchanges were going forward as a medium by which destitution to a certain extent might be prevented, but it was the fact that in their own houses sweating was going on. Low wages were paid to their own clerks; it was the fact that the women clerks were paid less than the men clerks, yet they had to work long hours, and except for the first three or four months when the Labour Exchanges first came into being, these clerks were not paid for any overtime that they did. Further than that, there was a clause in their agreement by which the staff bound themselves body and soul to the Government. Their hours started at 8 o'clock in the morning, and they finished nominally at 5 p.m. or 5.30 p.m., but they had to be prepared to work any time the Labour Exchange authorities might require them, without a single farthing extra for overtime. (Shame.) The Labour Exchange authorities must first see that their own house was clean, and then they would be able to go forward to prevent destitution in their own way.

Rev. JOSEPH HARE said that he only had one question to ask, namely, whether it was possible in the work of the Exchanges to prevent the idea that was in the minds of trade unionist members that Labour Exchanges were supplying cheap labour. In Middlesbrough they were constantly, at every meeting, having trade unionists coming to them and saying that they knew for a fact that men were being sent down to the works who received lower wages than the trade unions required. He thought it might be possible to alter this. Was it necessary to send three men down to a works for one vacancy, because that was what they seemed to be doing in Middlesbrough, and the consequence was that the first man was offered a lower wage, and refused it; the second man, knowing the first man was being offered a lower wage, if he had been out of work for some time, was tempted to take that lower wage. That was the evidence, although he had not gone into it exactly, and some of the masters whom he had spoken to denied it. He thought it was something that the Labour Exchanges might take up, and see if possible whether this idea of unfairness or playing into the hands of the masters might be removed from the minds of trade unionists.

Mr. ISAAC BURNS (Hemsworth Union) supported the views of the two previous speakers with regard to Labour Exchanges. He found that they always sent out weak skilled men to the mines, and that was the reason of the large number of accidents in mines. They had been told that these accidents were in consequence of the Eight Hours Act, but it was nothing of the kind; it was the introduction of the poorly skilled man through the Labour Exchange. He thought they were there that day,

however, not so much to criticise the Labour Exchanges, but to discuss the question of solving the problem of unemployment, and he thought, much as he respected their President, that in his remarks that morning he had not gone to the depths that he ought to have done in the matter of solving the problem of unemployment. One of the great causes of unemployment was the private ownership of the land and the mineral wealth of this country—(Hear, hear)—and one of the ways of solving it was to nationalise all the land. The present system of private ownership of land was driving the crofters from the land in Scotland, it was the cause of cattle driving in Ireland, and he did not know what they were having as a result of it in England. With regard to the mineral wealth, surely the only way to remedy the unemployed problem was to take the mineral wealth of the country and put it into the hands of the nation for the benefit of the whole nation.

At this point there were loud cries of "Order!" and some confusion at the back of the hall in consequence of the speaker's remarks. When this had subsided,

The PRESIDENT said that they would never be able to carry on the discussion in that way. They must stick to the discussion of the papers before them, and not launch out on to other subjects. They must confine the discussion to Labour Exchanges.

Mr. BURNS asked if there would be an opportunity later on of discussing the unemployed problem.

The PRESIDENT replied that the matter could be discussed if it arose on any of the papers.

Mr. A. A. WATTS (Poplar Board of Guardians) said that he had been looking through the papers, and did not see an opportunity of raising the whole question of the cause of unemployment. Surely that was a very important matter. (Hear, hear.) He certainly would like to say something on the question.

The PRESIDENT said he was very much afraid they could not change the programme at that moment or at that stage. He was not responsible for the system upon which the papers had been laid down. In reply to a further question from the same speaker as to whether it would be possible to accelerate the discussion on the papers on Labour Exchanges, and then devote an afternoon or morning to the general subject of unemployment, he promised to see whether that would be possible. He agreed that it would certainly be very valuable.

Alderman W. H. MORRIS (Swansea Town Council) said he wished to raise a similar point to that mentioned by the Rev. Joseph Hare. Mr. Rey's paper appeared very nice and very clear, but some of the circumstances which prevailed in the Labour Exchanges had not been spoken of by Mr. Rey. In Swansea there were certain industries, and there were upwards of 800 men quite capable of being engaged in those industries. They applied for work, and in each case they were refused employment simply because they asked the rate of the district, and what did they find? They found that the Exchange had sent men from London down to Swansea to work under the price which was paid in the district. Some, at any rate, of these men from London were most incapable of doing the work, and in a number of cases these men had to be passed on to the workhouse, as they were unable to carry on the work they were put to. They asked the Exchange to be more careful in handling the facilities they had if they wanted to gain the favour of the trade unionists. He was a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and on Saturday night at their branch meeting a request came along asking the branch if they would place their vacant book in the Exchange, and the unanimous views of the branch were "No, have nothing to do with it." It was the impression of the trade unionists that these Labour Exchanges are doing them no good, and up to date the opinion of the officials of the trade unions was that that was the right impression. They found that it was not the best men who got the work. He did not entirely blame the officials of the Labour Exchanges, but he blamed the people who wanted the men; that was to say, those who had gone to the Exchanges for men and were not prepared to take trade unionists into their employment. In this way it was found that the man who was perfectly honest and straight and wanted nothing but justice, had very little chance against a man that was quite *vice versa* to that. If the Labour Exchanges could be prevailed upon in this matter, it would be a material benefit to the workmen and employers in this country. He did not think that any good could emanate from these institutions unless these things were considered, and very carefully considered.

Mr. G. M. Hale (Govan Parish School Board) remarked that it seemed to be particularly unfortunate that afternoon that nobody had very much to say in favour of the Labour Exchange, except those who read the papers, and he was there simply to add his own opinion in support of what had been said by the previous speakers with regard to the usefulness of the Labour Exchanges, or rather the lack of usefulness of them. It seemed to him that the people who governed the Labour Exchanges, in making their analyses of the returns which were afforded them, were not doing credit to the workpeople in this country generally, and as a matter of fact were offering an actual libel to those people. It had been put to them in the returns of the Exchanges that they had been able to weed out the desirables—those who really wanted work—from those who did not want work; and in support of this contention the authorities of the Exchanges pointed to the fact that the number registered at the Exchanges had gone down. But their experience in Scotland with regard to the unemployed, before the Labour Exchanges came into operation, when the question was dealt with by the Distress Committees, was that they urged upon the people to come to the Labour Exchanges and register themselves as unemployed, in order that they might be able to impress upon the Government the absolute need for something more to be done in order to relieve this unemployment. But they found that these people were not prepared to register themselves. They asked what was the use of going to the Distress Committee and registering there month after month when they knew perfectly well that no work was going to be found, and that the Government was not going to provide any money nor provide any machinery for the execution of any work. The same remark applied to the Labour Exchanges. In addition to that they had seen in Glasgow that the Labour Exchanges had been prepared to supply blackleg labour to the owners of the Leadhill mines when the employees were out on strike against the mine owners, and they realised that it meant that Government institutions were being used in the interests of the masters against the workers. For this reason they claimed that the workers were justified in holding the opinions they did hold. The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman told them very many years ago that there were 12,000,000 people in this country always on the verge of hunger, and the development of the industrial field in the grip of the monopolist and trust had resulted in there being a greater number to-day than when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman spoke. And suppose they were able to transport the worker from one place and give him work in another part of the country, it did not alter the fact that there was not sufficient work to go round at the present time, juggle and shuffle with the workers as they liked. The Labour Exchanges were doing absolutely nothing to provide workers with work. The Government had done nothing to give them an eight hour day. That would spread the work out and give greater employment, and consequently reduce destitution, but nothing that was being done went to the real root of the question as to what was the cause of unemployment, and what was likely to be the remedy. What was going to give them employment? The Labour Exchange, after all, was doing absolutely nothing to give employment; it was spreading it, and it was varying it a little bit, but it had never produced one job more. He submitted that they wanted something more than the Labour Exchange had done. (A voice: "Question!") There was no question about it, that, for the general masses of the workers, the Labour Exchange had been of absolutely no avail to the country, and the country had not got any value in return for the money that had been expended on the Exchanges.

Mr. A. A. Watts asked for the Chairman's ruling upon a point of order. Had they met for the purpose of considering whether Labour Exchanges were of value or otherwise, or for the purpose of considering how to remedy the destitution which largely prevailed in this country? They had wasted a good deal of time in discussing the question of Labour Exchanges. Would the Chairman rule now that speakers confine themselves to suggesting remedies whereby the existence of destitution in this country could be remedied?

The President replied that they had met to discuss three papers on Labour Exchanges, and to discuss the position of Labour Exchanges in relation to the problem of unemployment, and not to open a general discussion upon the subject of unemployment.

Mr. Watts urged that it was a conference for the prevention of destitution, and it was admitted by the papers that the Labour Exchanges did not supply that want. He therefore submitted that the discussion on the question of Labour Exchanges was irregular.

The PRESIDENT ruled that there could be no point of order on that matter. The Unemployment Section had met to discuss Labour Exchanges. Everyone who had a programme knew that that was the subject to be discussed, and the only subject they could deal with that afternoon.

Mr. WATTS asked whether the Chairman would kindly tell them when they could discuss the subject of unemployment, which was dealt with by him that morning.

The PRESIDENT said that his subject was a Presidential address, and it was not the subject for discussion. It was quite out of order to discuss the Presidential address—(Hear, hear)—much interested as he would be to have it discussed himself. (Applause.)

Alderman CHAPPELL (Cardiff Town Council) said he was not going to follow the previous speakers in their challenge on behalf of Socialism, or speak against it. He was an official of a trade union, and had been for more years than some of the gentlemen who had been on the platform had been in a trade union at all—(Cries of "Order, order!")—but would like to treat the paper in the spirit in which it was given.

The PRESIDENT said it would add much to the harmony and value of their proceedings if all personal remarks could be eliminated. (Hear, hear.)

At this point there was some objection on the part of the audience to Alderman Chappell proceeding.

Alderman CHAPPELL said he was only giving his own opinions. He had listened to other people's opinions, and had not interrupted at all.

The PRESIDENT, in consequence of further disturbance, asked whether they were going to conduct an important conference or a bear-garden. He had appealed to the speakers to eliminate personal rmarks, and if the order of the Chair was not to be respected he could not ask anyone to speak. He had asked all speakers to keep to the subject, and he had no doubt his word would be obeyed. It was impossible to conduct a conference in any other way. (Applause.)

Alderman CHAPPELL said that trade unions for many years had been crying out honestly for something to be done for the unemployed. They had pleaded with municipalities and Governments, and yet very little help had they had. The Labour Exchanges had come in as a means of solving the unemployed problem—(hear, hear)—and they welcomed them as one of the many means of preventing a man going down. (Hear, hear, and applause.) As Chairman of a Distress Committee, he, like the last speaker, had asked men when they came to the Distress Committee, if they had been mechanics, where their trade union card was. Some of his colleagues had said that he had no right to ask that question—(hear, hear)—but he had asked them that question, and he had asked them for their Exchange card as evidence of their desire to get employment. They had not got it. Those who had been in the position of having to look after the unemployed before the Distress Act came into operation had the same men marching up year after year. They were not trade unionists. They were not able-bodied workmen. They were what they were. A certain percentage of them, through sickness, accident, or something like that, were physically unfit. Another percentage would be unfit through their own fault. They were men he had worked with side by side, and he knew what he was speaking of. The Labour Exchange could do no good for them, because they were not a marketable commodity. (Hear, hear.) Many of them were men who would not work. They got them in every city and Exchange, and no sort of Exchange could do anything to prevent such men falling. The Exchange did prevent him wearing his body out as well as his boots, in walking miles on an empty stomach to find work. That meant that he could get to the work fresh, instead of the employer thinking he was a loafer and quite unfit. That was his experience. Let them be sensible about it, and see whether the Exchange was doing anything for the workers or not. He was a trade unionist, and he recognised that it was a perfectly open and a perfectly legal thing for the Exchange to supply men who were paid lower than the trade union rates. It was allowed by the Board; it was in the regulations. But when there was a dispute at a works, a statement was sent to the Exchanges, and they must show that statement to every man applying for work. If, for instance, "A," at whose works there was a dispute, wanted fifteen, twenty, or a hundred men, to each one of those men the statement with regard to the dispute was shown. If the man could not read it, it was read to him. In Cardiff they had worked with the Exchange, and they hoped to go on working with it. They recognised that it was a great good for their fellow-men. The only thing he regretted about it was this.

He wished its use was compulsory, so that employers could not get a man without going to the Exchange.

Mr. W. Grisewood (Deputy-chairman, Liverpool Distress Committee) said he wished to say a word or two on behalf of the Labour Exchanges, but the previous speaker had almost taken out of his mouth what he proposed to say. He would like to give an illustration, however, to show the value and need of Labour Exchanges. He was interested in Liverpool in the relief of those in distress, included in them being those who were in distress from want of employment. In consequence, he came across numbers of men who, with their families, were really suffering because they were not able to find employment on the spot. He came across such a man about twelve or eighteen months ago, who had walked from Liverpool to Manchester in search of a job. While he was in Manchester, a firm in Liverpool, who knew him as a workman, sent word to his house that they had a job for him the following day, and the letter was opened in his absence by his wife, and was immediately sent on to him to Manchester. He got it in Manchester the following day, and immediately walked back to Liverpool. He was too late that day to go to the firm, as the works were closed, and he went the following morning, only to find that the job had been filled up. He (the speaker) met the man in Liverpool a day or two afterwards, and was told that he had a mate who had gone to Stockport to look after a job there, that this man had got a job, and that the work was extending, and that they were likely to put on other men. The man asked him if he would help his family while he went to Stockport in the prospect of a job. The Distress Committee agreed to do so, and when they asked the man how he proposed to get to Stockport, he said he proposed to walk. The man had walked to Manchester and walked back again, and now he was going to walk to Stockport! He told the man that the Distress Committee would help him to get to Stockport as there seemed a prospect of getting work there, but he must let the Committee know when he got there whether he got work or not. The man went to Stockport and wrote to them that there was no job just at the moment, but he hoped there would be in the course of a few days. In the course of a few days he wrote again, and said that the work was indefinitely postponed, that he could not live on his mate any longer, and that he was going to walk back to Liverpool. He put it to all humanitarians that that was not the state of things that ought to continue. That was the justification in principle for the Labour Echange. (Applause.) It should certainly be made totally unnecessary and impossible for a man to have to walk backwards and forwards like that looking out for a job. A former speaker connected with a Distress Committee had said that the Distress Committee had failed through their labour bureaux to find work, and therefore theLabour Exchanges, if he understood him rightly, were likely to do the same. But the Distress Committees did not altogether fail. The Liverpool Committee certainly did not fail. They were succesful in getting jobs for a number of men, but their means were strictly limited; they had a very narrow circle before the establishment of Labour Exchanges. But Labour Exchanges were required to supply what was missing, and they had actually become the missing link in the chain—(hear, hear)—because they had a means, not only of making known local openings, but of openings all over the country, and that, therefore, was the second justification for Labour Exchanges. It was not to be expected that Labour Exchanges, which introduced an entirely new system to some extent with regard to finding work for men, would not be met with some prejudice, and he thought they must bear that in their minds if the Labour Exchanges jealously guarded their interests in the matter. He did not blame the Labour Exchanges, and he could not credit that the Labour Exchanges had been used when there had been a trade dispute. It was stated in the paper that the Exchanges distinctly avoided interfering where there was a dispute. At all events, they had not willingly tried to reduce wages. It was mentioned in Mr. Rey's paper that the Labour Exchanges had been empowered by the Board to constitute Advisory Committees, and that these committees consisted of equal numbers of employers and men, and in his opinion that was the solution of the trade unions' difficulty on the matter of wages and trade disputes. They should go for the appointment of an Advisory Committee, and get properly represented on it.

Councillor James Stewart (Glasgow Corporation) said that, like most of the other speakers, he did not think he was going to do much good in suggesting a remedy for the faults of the Labour Exchanges, but one thing mentioned both by Mr. Rey and Miss Clapham was the fluidity and the mobility of labour. There were some

difficulties, both in regard to the fluidity and the mobility of labour. There was always a tendency in both of these things for them to be utilised by the unscrupulous employer of labour to reduce wages. In his own district they had a form of casual labour in connection with the fruit gardens, which their own Exchanges were used for to some extent previous to the establishment of the Labour Exchanges. These Exchanges supplied the wants in a kind of haphazard manner, with the result that the wages grew fairly high for all classes of employment. But now the Labour Exchanges seemed to attract the labour supply from all over the country, from Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and the chances were that for this class of labour the wages would tend to become lower. Then again, with regard to the mobility of labour, he would like to point out that the trade unions themselves had dealt with this question quite successfully to a great extent for many years. (Hear, hear.) Let them take the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners; and the same thing applied to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. These societies had national ramifications. Suppose there was a shortage of labour in London, and there was a surplus in Glasgow; the General Secretary at the head offices was immediately advised of the fact. He knew, of course, that there were unemployed in Glasgow in this particular industry, and he immediately acquainted them with the fact, and in this way it was easy for a man in one district to travel to the other, where the work was. Thus the Labour Exchanges were only carrying out work that was being successfully done by the trade unions of this country. They had had local Labour Exchanges in Glasgow for at least twelve or fourteen years prior to the establishment of national Labour Exchanges by the Government. The Corporation of Glasgow, at one time, owing to the great distress in the city, which was continually present—it was not a spasmodic business in Glasgow, it was an annual affair, less perhaps at some times than others, but always with them—set up Labour Exchanges which carried on the business, and its principal industry was supplying domestic servants and charwomen. That went on for a number of years, and then they had the Distress Committee. When Distress Committees were established, the Labour Exchange did some slight work in the matter of providing employment. Every person who applied to the Distress Committee had to be registered at this Labour Exchange, and through the Labour Exchange employment was provided, but he thought all present who were connected with Distress Committees, and had had the unfortunate experience of watching on a cold winter's morning at six o'clock the queues of people waiting there to register at the Labour Exchange, knew absolutely and full well that so far as Labour Exchanges were concerned they were not going to be a solution or anything like a solution of the unemployed problem. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He did not think he would occupy further time, but would just like to say this with regard to the statement made about the unemployed in Glasgow in regard to the Labour Exchange having supplied labour to the Leadhill mines. He knew that statement had been made, and wished to say something on the matter without knowing the absolute truth of what took place. The Glasgow Exchange at the time was in the charge of the gentleman who was now Superintendent for Scotland of the Board of Trade Labour Exchanges and he was quite sure, knowing him as he did fairly well from his training in the Glasgow Distress Committee, that he was not prepared to assist in any way any employer utilising the Exchange for the purpose of breaking a strike. On the occasion referred to he made inquiries of him—perhaps the wrong source in the matter, but they could take it for what it was worth—and he absolutely denied that the Exchange was used for any such purpose. His explanation—it was not an excuse—of the fact that men were sent was that the Exchange could not prevent agents for the employers accosting the men in the streets. So long as the men were there waiting about, coming to the Exchange, unscrupulous individuals would take advantage of their necessity.

Councillor W. J. Groves (Chairman, Portsmouth Distress Committee) said that most of what he had intended to say had been said by the last two speakers. But he could only add this, that he doubted very much whether, as men and women interested in the question of destitution, they had met the question of Labour Exchanges altogether in the spirit that they should have, when they had been clamouring for something to help them in their work. In regard to Portsmouth, they had had a Distress Committee going on ever since the Act establishing them was passed. They had come to the conclusion now that two-thirds at least of the people who came before them every year and registered were the same people, and

they had decided, in the coming winter, that everyone who went to the Distress Committee for employment should register first with the Labour Exchange. They had had the privilege of Mr. Rey coming down to Portsmouth, and he had convinced everybody that if they wanted to help to relieve destitution, and to prevent it, they must use every means at their disposal to leave the residual, the unemployable, alone, so that they could be dealt with by the Poor Law authorities, or by the legislation which was likely to take place in the near future, and then they would know just the number of unemployables there were in the country.

Mr. A. A. Watts (Poplar Board of Guardians) said the criticism that they had passed upon Labour Exchanges was mainly because it was not Labour Exchanges that were wanted to help destitution. Trade unions had Labour Exchanges, and had had them for a long while. The trade union he belonged to was his Labour Exchange, but that did not provide any work, and the Labour Exchanges of the Board of Trade had not provided any work. Those who were taking any interest in solving the problem of unemployment wanted something done that would provide more work for the unemployed. The Labour Exchanges admittedly did not do that, and moreover it had been proved conclusively that afternoon that the party he belonged to, the Socialist Party, had made it public that the Labour Exchanges on certain occasions had been "black-leg" agencies for the employers. The figures given in the papers made a case for the Exchanges on the ground that a certain amount of employment had been provided for the workpeople, but the workpeople would, in all probability, have got the situations, or nearly all of them, if there had been no Labour Exchanges. If everybody who got a job was going to get it through the Labour Exchanges, of course they could easily give the credit to the Exchanges, but he did not think it was a fair argument to say that the Labour Exchanges had themselves found situations. On the other hand, every person in the room who was taking an interest in the unemployed and the poor, he presumed, would all know quite well that numbers and numbers of men went week after week and month after month to register at the Labour Exchanges until they were practically heartbroken. They came to the Poplar Distress Committee and told them about it, and the Board asked them time after time if they had registered, and the reply was, Yes, they had done it many times, and did not think it was any good going any more. When Miss Clapham gave them the summary of her paper, he thought he had not heard before so many sins put upon the backs of the poor workpeople in a small speech such as she gave them. She said that young people were sent out into the world to earn comparatively high wages in unskilled trades, instead of being properly trained and taking a lower wage. That was quite true, but what had been the cause of it? There seemed to be an attempt to degrade the worker. Skilled artisans brought up their sons to be skilled workers, but the others did not. But how could a labourer, earning 18s. to 22s. a week, be expected to bring up his boys and girls to be skilled artisans? (Hear, hear.) Now he would speak to them exactly as a worker. What did he find? When he tried to apprentice his boys, he found it almost impossible to get firms to take apprentices, unless a heavy premium were paid, which the ordinary workman could not do—(hear, hear)—and consequently there was a difficulty with regard to getting their boys and girls apprenticed. Miss Clapham had spoken about girls wishing to earn 4s. a week instead of taking 2s. 6d. and learning a trade. There were many employers in the millinery and allied trades who carried on their business by means of unpaid apprentices. He could mention plenty of young women in that line, and after their six months' apprenticeship was up they were simply told to go and find another job, and another batch of apprentices came in. This was a very important matter, and he took it that they ought to try to do something or suggest something that would improve matters. People were apt to forget that we were constantly, by the modern development of industry, creating unemployed, and it would be better to try and stop the creation of the unemployed than to set up machinery afterwards to deal with it. That would be the right thing to do, but what was modern industry doing to-day? By the constant adaptation of machinery it was creating unemployed wholesale, and eliminating the skilled worker. They did not want a man to serve seven years at a trade, or a girl perhaps three years, when all they had got to do was to just attend the machines. He maintained that the Labour Exchanges had done nothing to reduce the number of unemployed, and he thought, if it could be possibly arranged, as he had already suggested, to have a discussion at one time during the conference on the general causes of unemployment where suggestions could be made, it would be

very much better. It seemed to him that they could discuss Labour Exchanges all the afternoon, and it would not do very much good unless they were going to try to tack on to the Labour Exchanges more than at present. He agreed with Miss Clapham that workers should be trained, and if they could place some of the responsibility for this on to the Labour Exchanges, perhaps some possible good might be done, but he did not anticipate for a moment that the conference would be able to do anything of that kind. It would be better to lay a finger on what was the cause of unemployment, and to suggest methods as to how unemployment could be ameliorated or obliterated. Then they might see some effective results from their meeting that day.

A Lady Member asked whether she was right or wrong in thinking that Labour Exchanges were established primarily to link the employer and the employee. If that were so, then it seemed to her that all this criticism of Labour Exchanges was very wide of the mark. (Applause.)

The President said he did not propose to answer the question, because it seemed to him that the discussion they had had that afternoon was largely connected with the question whether or not Labour Exchanges had been successful in the object for which they had been established. It was the intention to close the meeting at 4.30, and he would ask Mr. Rey and Miss Clapham to reply to the various criticisms at 4.15. He therefore asked future speakers to try and confine their remarks to five minutes.

Alderman Plummer (Chairman of the Manchester Distress Committee) thought he would be right in presuming to reply to the lady who had just spoken in saying that the audience would agree with him that a considerable portion of the discussion that afternoon had been irrelevant, and he proposed to try, if possible, to find what the Labour Exchanges really were intended to do. They heard a good deal about their faults, but it was rather unfair to assume that they were in fault for not doing what they were never set up to do. (Applause.) It was never intended that the Labour Exchanges should create situations. Not a single situation had been created by the Labour Exchanges, except those lucrative appointments in connection with the Exchanges which certain fortunate persons had got. (Cries of "Oh!") If they took that as a starting-point they would find that a great deal of the discussion had been unfair, and he would also go a point further and say that the Labour Exchanges, as Mr. Rey had pointed out to them, were never intended in the slightest degree to interfere with the rate of pay. (Hear, hear.) Whether under pressure of adverse circumstances certain individuals who had been sent to situations by the Labour Exchanges had been induced to take low wages was another question. It was a question for the trade unions and employers to settle. They could not blame the Labour Exchanges for pointing out that there were certain vacancies, and sending men to fill them. On the other hand, they were told that if there be a dispute between a trade union and employers, men were sent to that particular place only after having their attention called particularly to it. He therefore maintained that the responsibility rested with them if they chose to take a lower wage. The great thing that had struck him in looking through the statistics, and after the great experience that they had in Manchester with regard to unemployment, was that the Labour Exchanges were doing a very valuable piece of work in segregating the unemployable, and that was one of the incidental functions for which sooner or later they would be very greatly indebted to them. In the meantime, he had to admit that from the workers' point of view they had been a very great disappointment. They had found in Manchester that they had large numbers of people upon the register of the Distress Committee, who were a very unfortunate lot, and for whom it seemed difficult to find work. They all went with great expectations, and he might almost say enthusiasm, to the Labour Exchange when it was first opened, but a gradual process had taken place by which they had all disappeared from the books of the Labour Exchange, and he rather felt that they had not found situations, but were all in the same state of distress that they were before. The rise and fall in the statistics which was so remarkable a feature of the Board of Trade returns was brought into still greater prominence by the fact that so many of those who were originally registered on the Labour Exchanges or the Distress Committees were still in the same state of destitution that they were before. An important question arose out of this fact, and he wanted to draw the attention of the audience particularly to it, and that was the enormous amount of work that had yet to be done in the relief of destitution. One thing to which they would have to direct

attention was the question of labour-saving machinery. If they got machinery to do the work of five men they had displaced five men, and even socialistic experiments did not deal with this great question. There were so many minds and so many different opinions among them that their plan should be not to recriminate, but to evolve something from all their experience in Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, and elsewhere. He saw, from the Chairman, that his time was up, but the main thing he wanted to do was to direct attention to the great masses which had been referred to as being on the verge of starvation. They knew in many cases it was their own fault, but even those who had fallen through their own fault had to be cared for in some way or other, and they had to face a very great problem in connection with this matter.

Mrs. E. Morris (Camberwell Borough Council) said she had not intended to speak, but must do so because so very little had been said about women, and she thought they would all admit that the woman who was left with a family of children to provide for, or whose husband was in an asylum, or who was a deserted wife, was quite as well worthy of consideration as a man, and therefore she was there to say a word for the women. (Hear, hear.) She thought the prevention of destitution would be brought about if all boys and girls were apprenticed when they were young. That was the crux of the whole matter. They had been told by the Chairman that morning of the many people who were flooding the market, who were unskilled, and it was well known that had they been skilled they would have stood a very much better chance of getting employment. So far as the women were concerned, she could not understand why they could not teach these women something by which they could earn a living. The Central Unemployed Body permitted the teaching of tailoring, but did not allow the teaching of anything else. This seemed a very remarkable thing to her, because, as Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Work-room and Vice-chairman of the Distress Committee, she was confident that they should be able to teach these women something else. The only industry in which they thought they could get work, and where the supply was not greater than the demand, was ordinary laundry work; she did not mean machine laundry, but ordinary hand laundry. She believed all these women could get employment at this work, because they all knew how difficult it was to get hand laundry work done. She found that eight out of ten women said they could do needlework, but they were not fitted for the needlework which the Central Unemployed Body gave them to do. This state of affairs, she thought, might be remedied. Another matter upon which she disagreed was the duplication and complication of business machinery in Labour Exchanges and Distress Committees. The Distress Committees had to make very many inquiries, and they were frequently duplicated on the opposite side of the road by the Labour Exchange. She thought that the Labour Exchange might send their list of vacancies across the road to the Distress Committee. She had tried to get it done, but the Labour Exchange would not allow it. She did not know why they should not. They were both working for the good of the poor and the unemployed, and if they had a list of vacancies and sent them across to the Distress Committee, they possibly had the very people who could fill the positions. Finally she would like to ask Miss Clapham with regard to sending women to learn the straw industry in Luton at what age, and under what conditions, they went, because it was a very great thing if they could send the young unemployed girls and women to learn that trade, which was skilled work, and always in demand. She did not quite catch what Miss Clapham said about that, and would like the information.

Mr. G. E. Abbott (Chairman, Northampton Distress Committee) thought they must all have been struck by the note of disappointment which had run through the remarks of most of the speakers in regard to the work of Labour Exchanges, but he could not help thinking that this disappointment arose very largely from their having such wrong ideas as to the purpose of Labour Exchanges. It was their main function no doubt that they were to give accurate and close information as to the extent and nature of the problem, and then to bring together the work and the worker; their function never was to create work. He only trespassed upon the time of the conference because he was very much impressed by what Mr. Grisewood said about Liverpool. In the Distress Committee over which he had the honour to preside they made an experiment before the formation of Labour Exchanges which he found was a little educational. They heard that in another part of the country there was a shortage of labour of a considerable extent, and they transferred a

number of families, at considerable expense to the Committee considering that they were only relatively a small Committee with a town of under 100,000 inhabitants. They spent about £80 or £90 in transferring the workers and their families, and he was glad to say that the whole of the advances which they had made to those families were repaid to the last shilling, and further than that, the workers themselves found good and permanent work, and permanently improved themselves. That, he thought, was an illustration of what they might fairly hope to derive from the Labour Exchanges, namely, that they would bring the work and the worker closer together, but they would not do what they never set out to do, and that was to create work. If they could, both as employers and employed, remove from their minds the prejudice of trying to get out of the Exchanges that for which they were not capable, he thought they would really achieve something useful.

Mr. W. Wheatley (Huddersfield Union) said he was very pleased with the information given in both papers. He had perceived in the birth of the Labour Exchanges the creation of nothing but a human producing machine for the employers. Whenever a registered man went for a vacant situation, when he went to the mill, if his placing was not right, or his manipulation of the machine, or anything that he was given to do was not artistic and perfect, he was told to stand down, as another man could be obtained from the Labour Exchange. This process was going on, and undoubtedly in course of time the Labour Exchanges would develop into the very best human producing machine that could be found. So long as this system of commercialism stood in the way of the Labour Exchanges, nothing else would occur than this human sacrifice. The better organisation of labour would have to be solved sooner or later, and they should only use the Labour Exchanges as an organising machine to bring it about. For this purpose he would welcome the Labour Exchange, and regard it as a drill sergeant. He could see good coming out of it from this point of view, although at present they might not perceive all the possible blessings, but his economic view of the world and the things in the world told him that, as an organising machine, the Labour Exchanges were going to do good.

The President said that Mr. Rey had kindly undertaken to reply on behalf of Miss Clapham and himself, and as he wanted to close the meeting at 4.30 he would ask him now to deal with the various criticisms.

Mr. Rey said he anticipated, when he said he would read a paper, that there might possibly be some little criticism as to the methods of Labour Exchanges, and he was glad he had not been disappointed. The good wine of criticism had been poured upon the scheme, and, might he say, the better wine of approval had followed it, perhaps not in such strong measure. The Labour Exchange authorities welcomed criticism; at present they were still in their infancy, and were only too glad to be reminded of their mistakes and to hear criticism in order to improve the organisation, which they were not such fools as to imagine was perfect yet. He would like to go back a little to the origin of the Labour Exchanges. One would imagine that the criticisms—or at any rate some of them—that Labour Exchanges were not intended in the slightest degree to be a solution of the unemployed problem, had been forced upon a reluctant industrial world by somebody—he did not know whom—and because they were not achieving something that somebody imagined they would—again he did not know whom—they were to be condemned and executed. But he would like to point out that the Labour Exchanges were called for and approved by the trade unions assembled in congress. (A voice: No, no.) Yes, most emphatically they were, and, further, not once, but more than once. He would repeat that the regulations upon which Labour Exchanges were run were framed after consultation with representative bodies, the trade unionists and also the employers; that these regulations were submitted for their approval and were submitted for the approval of the House of Commons, and that no dissenting voice was raised against them. He thought that this showed, in the first place at all events, trade unionists wanted these Exchanges, and that, in the second place, they had a say as to the lines on which they should be run. After all, what was the Labour Exchange? What was it for? Nobody, except someone who was not benevolently disposed towards the Labour Exchange, could imagine it was intended to be a solution of the problem of unemployment. What it was intended for and suggested for and written about and spoken about as being, was the first of a series of steps to deal on a scientific basis with the problem, and it was only the first. Already other steps were in progress, and had been introduced into the Legislature, and this first step—this infant—was only

sixteen months old. As a result, it was natural that the working of it was by no means perfect, even on the lines on which it was intended to run. It was intended to be a market for labour where all could meet on perfectly equal terms. It was not intended to be a solution of the problem of the unemployed. It was not a regulator of wages and conditions. One of the points specifically laid down in the statutory regulations was that a manager of a Labour Exchange was not concerned with the rate of wages or conditions. It was not for him to do what trade unions had done hitherto. It was not for him to take the place of them and say what was and what was not the right rate to pay. He interfered in no way with the authority or freedom of the trade unions or employers. The Labour Exchange was an agent or machine for coming between the two; it was not to dictate what they should or should not do. They were bound to give to those using the Exchange the fullest information as to the vacancies, and they endeavoured to obtain the fullest information, but they could not enforce it. Nobody could force an employer to say anything he was not ready to say about the conditions, and no one could force a man registering at a Labour Exchange to answer questions; it was quite voluntary, and as such it could not be used as a lever or instrument for any other purpose.

With regard to some of the detailed points raised—he did not propose to deal with the question of Labour Exchange staffs—it had been suggested that the Exchanges, generally speaking, were the means of providing cheap labour for the employer. He had heard that suggestion before. He had seen it written, and he had asked the people who had made the criticism to give him real specific instances in order that the matter might be looked into to see what foundation there was for it, but he had not been able to obtain these specific instances. Labour Exchanges did not depress rates of wages; the inference from the criticism was that the effect was to do so. He was personally inclined to think the effect was just the opposite. To notify a demand in a Labour Exchange, and in the comparative publicity of a Labour Exchange, was far less likely to have that effect than sorting out men from amongst a group clamouring at the works' gate. The Exchange was far less likely to produce the effect, and as he had said, he had not been able to trace any cases bearing this out. Of course, he did not mean to say that every position filled through an Exchange had been filled at a trade union rate of wages. He did not say that for a moment, but he would like to point out that the proportion of organised labour was about two millions to nine millions; therefore it was hardly surprising that every vacancy filled was not filled at trade union rate.

A Speaker: What about Bradford? Did not they send out a circular?

Mr. Rey said he knew that letter by heart, and he would say perfectly frankly that that was one of the original mistakes made in the initial stages and in direct contradiction of orders issued and of the printed instructions. That was a statement of fact. (Hear, hear.)

With regard to unskilled labour being sent to mines and to accidents being caused through this, he was afraid he must disclaim any responsibility for this. They did not dictate what class of labour was employed at mines. If an employer wished to have unskilled labour it was not their business to ask him if he had got the right proportion of skilled to unskilled labour, and he personally had no knowledge of any case having been raised as to unskilled labour having been sent to mines in Yorkshire. If such a case had occurred, it was in direct contradiction to the rules and conditions, and he would be glad to hear about it or any other case. It was not their business, however, to direct what proportion should be skilled or unskilled.

He had been asked why vacancies which were notified to Exchanges were not all filled. There were various reasons for that. For instance, if they took the period after the big lock-out in the shipbuilding trade, there were hundreds and hundreds of vacancies on their books which they could not fill. There were other trades in which there seemed to be a permanent shortage of skilled men, but it was in the higher skilled and better paid and not in the lower grades. In the lower there was what they called the "live" register. It was in the higher skilled and better paid trades that they could not fill the vacancies. The conclusion which had been drawn from the fact of unfilled vacancies was the very opposite of that which should have been drawn.

Mr. H. H. Elvin (General Secretary, National Union of Clerks), on this point of the higher skilled workmen, asked whether in the case of clerks would the Labour Exchanges apply to the National Union of Clerks, as they could supply many of them?

Mr. Rey said he thought they would go to their "live" register rather than to any agency.

With regard to sending men from one district to another for wages less than standard, he pointed out that by the statutory regulations, which might not be familiar to all of them, that was absolutely prohibited. They were unable to advance fares to men going to a vacancy in another district if it was below the standard rate of wage in that district. Those statutory regulations had the force of law, and if it had been done—and it may have been—then it was wrong. In point of fact, they were not allowed to do it.

With regard to the point about vacant books being in Exchanges, one member had stated that his union had refused. No doubt. He did not suggest for one moment that all the unions in the country were tumbling over one another to bring their books to the Exchanges. But the Advisory Committees, which consisted of an equal number of representatives of employers and workmen, in every case had brought forward a proposal that the vacant books of the unions should be kept at the Exchanges, and one Committee had agreed to it being done, and it was done already. According to the statutory regulations they were obliged to refer that to the Advisory Committee. It had been referred to almost every Advisory Committee which had met—twelve out of fifteen—and in most cases they had agreed, and in a certain number of cases the books were actually being kept at the Exchanges.

A Voice: Does the Exchange accept that as registration?

No; the object was twofold. It was to avoid the necessity of the man having to go to two places, the one to sign a vacant book and another to register his name at an Exchange. By having a vacant book at the Exchange he was able to do the two at the same place. The second advantage was that some societies were not sufficiently well off to have their own places; they were kept at public-houses and other places where, of course, it was not very desirable for men to have to go to sign the vacant book, and therefore there was an advantage in having the book at the Exchange.

Then there was another point made with regard to the decline of the register. It had been suggested that he had attributed the fact of the decline of the register to the weeding out of the undesirables. He never intended to convey that. He did not know whether he did say so, but what he intended to point out was that a large number of people had fallen out of their own account and that the decline of the register was accompanied by a decline in the trade union percentage of unemployment and that it was due to an increase of employment. The question of trade unions having Labour Exchanges of their own and doing this work—he had pointed out in his paper that that was exactly what they did do; they were a great force in the matter of facilitating the mobility of labour, and certainly were working on these lines, but what he would like to point out was that, of course, they only dealt with a very small percentage of the workers of the country. The Labour Exchanges were extending their facilities to the trade unions and to those other trade unions who could not afford these facilities, and they were affording the facilities to all the workers of the country.

It was also suggested that by assisting this mobility of labour they were playing into the hands of unscrupulous employers. Well, he did not think so. He thought the safeguard he had mentioned, whereby they could not advance fares to men to go to another district unless at a trade union rate, would obviously prevent that, and he did not think that argument held good.

With regard to the position of Labour Exchanges in strikes, the procedure had been very aptly described by one of the speakers. They were absolutely impartial. All they did, if there was a dispute, was to provide a form on which the secretary of the trade union could notify the fact that there was a dispute, and they then notified the employer that they had received this notification, and they also informed any of the men of the facts which were before them. By the statutory regulations they were prohibited from notifying any vacancy without giving the full information, and it was perfectly open to the men to take it or leave it. They took no part in the disputes on one side or the other.

A Voice: Do you supply labour to an employer during a strike?

The Labour Exchanges supplied no labour at all to anybody at any time. If an employer notified a vacancy, and it had been told to them by the secretary of the trade union that there was a dispute at that firm, whenever anybody applied for this vacancy they told the men there was a dispute; if they wanted to go there they

could. (Voices: "Oh, that is the point.") He should like to point out that that was the procedure which had been followed in Germany, after very many years' trial of other systems. In Germany they had tried shutting down the Exchange; they tried paying no attention at all to whether there was a strike or not, and at the present moment the procedure in Germany, in all the principal Exchanges, was the procedure adopted here, in some cases at the request of the representatives of the workers themselves. (A Voice: "They do not register in Germany during a strike.") He begged to differ. He happened to have had the advantage of inspecting a good many of the German Exchanges personally, and he could assure them that that was the procedure, and if any of them cared to call upon him at his office he could show them the regulations governing the German Exchanges and prove it to them. This point was very carefully considered at length at the Trade Union Conference, and this regulation was agreed to by the representatives of all the trade unionists.

One speaker had objected to the rather elaborate inquiry made at the Labour Exchanges, but he wished to point out that no elaborate inquiry was made at all. The only questions asked a man were those relating to his industrial efficiency; no other question was asked at all. The question of what his personal and home circumstances were was not entered into at all, and even the questions relating to his industrial efficiency it was not obligatory for him to answer. He could simply say: "My name is John Smith. I want a job as so-and-so . . . . I am not going to tell you any more." It was true that it would hardly help them to get him a job, but it was perfectly open for him to do so.

He had no doubt that he had not altogether satisfied his critics; he had hardly hoped for that; but all he did hope was this: that this system, which was absolutely new, which was, of course, on trial, which was one of a series of big remedial steps and was in no sense intended to be final, would be judged on its merits and by what it was really intended to do and in conjunction with the other measures which it was proposed to bring in to deal with the question. It was hopeless to put too high an estimate on it, and still more hopeless to imagine that it would perform an operation which it was never intended to do, and if they would disabuse their minds of these misunderstandings, if they would go to the Exchanges and help them to be made a success with their criticism and advice and by using them and not by standing aside and merely repeating hearsay criticism, which had been done so often —(hear, hear)—and if they would talk to the members of the Advisory Trade Committees in the district and put real serious difficulties and criticism to them, then they would be helping and doing something to raise the level of the working and scope of usefulness of this first of a very important series of measures which would, he hoped, do so much towards the question of the prevention of destitution. (Loud applause.)

A Speaker said he wished to ask Mr. Rey whether, when an employer went to seek for workmen at the Exchange, they pointed out to him that there was a trade union's vacant book and whether he was allowed to see that vacant book; and also, whether there was a shadow of a chance of a man over 60 years of age obtaining employment.

Mr. Rey said that the vacant books were the property of the trade unions. They were confidential, and would not be shown. With regard to the man over 60 years of age, certainly. A good many over that age had been found employment through the Labour Exchanges. As a matter of fact, the actual instances were given, and they occurred, he believed, in each of the counties.

A Speaker asked how the Exchange placed before the employer the fact that there was a trade unionist vacant book there.

Mr. Rey said the Exchanges were not concerned with the fact of whether the men were trade unionists or not.

A Voice: Then what is the good of signing the book if the employer does not know it?

In answer to another question from a delegate at the back of the room, Mr. Rey declined to discuss the question of Labour Exchanges staffs.

The President said he would like to say one word. A point had been raised by several gentlemen during the course of the discussion that afternoon who seemed to have misapprehended entirely either the function, scope, or nature of the congress. It was a National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution split up into a number of sections. Obviously they in that Section could not cover the whole field of

destitution, otherwise one section would have to discuss all the subjects in all the sections.

VOICES: Destitution arising from unemployment.

The PRESIDENT, continuing, said that the Committee had asked certain gentlemen to read papers. These gentlemen had taken a great deal of trouble to do it, and they were there to discuss the papers that had been read to them. They were not there to start off reading papers of their own, that was to say, generally speaking, enlarge on their own views. Obviously, if that were to be done they would land themselves into chaos. It was quite probable and likely that a large number of views and opinions held as to the remedies for unemployment did not arise on the papers at all, and he could not take any responsibility for that. He had not selected the papers or the subjects, but they must try and keep within the frame of the papers. The land question was a very fascinating one, and he should like to devote a day to it. Somebody else might want to discuss whether Tariff Reform caused or diminished unemployment. A hundred things might occur to their fertile brains, and he did not wish to appear arbitrary in his position in the chair; but he was bound to keep them to the line that had been laid down for them; and it would greatly assist them if every member who was going to speak would kindly bear that in mind. (Hear, hear.)

A SPEAKER regretted that a paper had not been read in opposition to Labour Exchanges from the workmen's side, or rather not in opposition but expressing opinions from the workmen's side. Surely some able trade union secretary or other official could have given the workmen's point of view.

The PRESIDENT replied that they did their best to get more papers and failed to obtain them.

The meeting then closed.

Second Day, Wednesday, May 31st.

MORNING AND AFTERNOON SESSIONS.

(Joint Meetings with the Education Section.)

At the Morning Session the President of the Education Section, Professor M. E. Sadler, occupied the chair, and delivered his Presidential Address. The subject of discussion was THE PUBLIC ORGANISATION AND CONTROL OF JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*Juvenile Employment: The Edinburgh Method of Co-operation between the Education Authority and the Labour Exchange.*
By Mr. J. W. PECK, Clerk to the Edinburgh School Board.

2.—*The Working of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee.*
By the Hon. R. D. DENMAN, M.P.

3.—*The Limitation of Juvenile Labour.*
By Miss N. ADLER, London County Council Education Committee.

4.—*The Social Organisation of Adolescence.*
By Mrs. OGILVIE GORDON, Aberdeen School Board.

At the Afternoon Session the subject of discussion was THE WORK OF THE EDUCATION AUTHORITY IN RELATION TO THE PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Effect of Continuation and Evening Schools on the Industrial Classes.*
By Mr. J. I. WATTS, Managing Director of Messrs. Brunner, Mond & Co.

2.—*Continuation Schools: Their Organisation and Curriculum.*
By Mr. ARTHUR GREENWOOD, Head of Economics Department, Huddersfield Technical College.

3.—*Rural Continuation Schools as affecting the Prevention of Destitution.*
By Mr. CHARLES BATHURST, M.P.

4.—*The Industrial Training of Women Workers.*
By Miss F. H. DURHAM, Inspector of Women's Technical Classes, London County Council.

(The papers taken at the above Joint Sessions, together with the discussions which took place, are given in the Proceedings of the Education Section, on pages 215 and 273.)

Third Day, Thursday, June 1st.

MORNING SESSION.

(Joint meeting with the Public Health Section.)

The chair was occupied by the President of the Public Health Section, Sir T. Clifford Allbutt, K.C.B. The subject of discussion was THE PHYSICAL BAR TO EMPLOYMENT, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Work of the Certifying Factory Surgeon and its Relation to other branches of Preventive Medicine.*
By Dr. W. F. DEARDEN, Medical Officer of Health, Port of Manchester; and President of Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons.

2.—*The Requirements of the Public Services as to Physical Fitness.*
By Lieut.-Colonel C. H. MELVILLE, R.A.M.C., Professor of Hygiene, Royal Army Medical College.

3.—*Unemployment in Relation to Age and Accident.*
By Mr. C. J. HAMILTON.

4.—*Physical Unfitness as a Cause of Unemployment.*
By Dr. ALEXANDER SCOTT, Certifying Factory Surgeon, Glasgow.

Work of the Certifying Surgeon and its Relation to other Branches of Preventive Medicine.

By W. F. DEARDEN, M.R.C.S., D.P.H., J.P.
(Medical Officer of Health, Port of Manchester; Certifying Factory Surgeon; President of the Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons).

WHILST recognising that destitution is brought about by a multitude of agencies, I believe I am quite right in stating that man's best asset in fighting the battle of life is the possession of good health. It may, therefore, be laid down for everyone in employment, of whatever nature, that there exist two fundamental essentials from this point of view, viz., that the physical and mental powers be in a sufficient state of vigour to allow the individual to get through his allotted task without personal detriment, and that the employment itself be of such a nature as not to

exercise any injurious influence on the worker. It further follows as a necessary corollary that when these are not in their correct relationship of one to the other, this particular evil of destitution has to be faced. The study of these essential points and the difficulties in the way of ensuring them is the object of those certifying surgeons and others who are at the present time interesting themselves with the problems of what is now known as industrial hygiene. Since I took a share in organising the first conference of medical men on this subject at the Manchester meeting of the British Medical Association in 1902, I have been very much interested in bringing about a true understanding of the proper relationship it may be said to bear to the great science of preventive medicine. As this is also my first duty to-day, I would point out that it is common knowledge that public health is concerned with the study of conditions giving rise to disease, together with the devising and enforcement of measures against incidence and spread, and, further, that it aims at impressing upon the community at large the duty of each individual to do what is necessary for his own health and that of his neighbour. To secure a sound body, and, to a certain extent, a sound mind, is the ultimate aim of all hygienic principles, so that the proper understanding and amelioration of those conditions attached to associated labour which tend towards deterioration of physique and creation of disease must of necessity form a well defined and distinct part of the larger subject. The excessive morbidity and mortality from certain diseases which afflict workpeople engaged in particular industrial pursuits must point to the existence of some method of causation common to each industry concerned, whether this be directly or indirectly attributable to the trade process itself. The concentration of population in industrial centres, with the attendant overcrowding, poverty, and facilities for spread of infection, has had an influence on the death-rate of working class communities which points to a distinct relation between cause and effect. These are factors which are undoubtedly of deep concern to medical officers of health of working class communities. Another outside influence is alcoholism, which appears to pick out certain trades for the exercise of its deleterious effects. There are other general factors not directly concerned with particular process which have particular concern to the factory sanitarian. Insufficient air-space and bad ventilation have not only a distinct influence on the creation of lassitude in the worker through rendering the inspired air impure and lowering the available amount of oxygen, but it has been shown that they have a direct influence on the incidence and spread of disease. These conditions are usually associated with deficient lighting and accumulations of filthy matter, and the disease of all others which thrives so rapidly under such unfavourable conditions is phthisis, that creator of destitution which is so detrimental to the national assets. High and low temperatures and excessive moisture have their influence in conducing to what is commonly called "catching cold," but what often means something much more serious. The length of time devoted to daily labour forms, from the point of view of fatigue, an important consideration, and it is quite right to state that certain occupations demand shorter periods for work than others. Modern speeding up of machinery, which means an increased production in a given time, is undoubtedly a strain on the energies of the worker, and tends to early collapse, illustrations of this being provided in the textile trades, and the use of power sewing machines, metal stamping, etc. Further arduous occupations, such as rivetting in shipbuilding yards, create a severe strain on the muscular powers, and it is well known that work in compressed air should only be executed during short periods. In certain dangerous processes also short working shifts are highly

essential. Age is a very important general factor, and has probably received more consideration with respect to occupational influence than any other. The factory system is one to a great extent of juvenile labour, and as the future of the race is now regarded as of great national importance it becomes highly necessary to obviate any tendency to deterioration in physique or the sowing of seeds of disease as a consequence of conditions of employment. It is also recognised that another result of the factory system—the employment of female labour—is of similar interest in the same direction, one particular feature of course being employment during child-bearing and immediately afterwards. Further, it is well known that women and juveniles are particularly injured by laborious processes and in certain poisonous trades.

The direct influence of trade processes upon the production of disease is particularly marked in dusty occupations, and can be further illustrated by a reference to the dangerous trade processes scheduled in the Workmen's Compensation Act. As I cannot pretend to review all these, I must be content to establish my point by illustration, and I think I can best do this by referring to Dr. Tatham's table of "Comparative mortality from specified causes in certain dusty occupations" in Part 2 of the decennial supplement to the Report of the Registrar-General. As many are aware, Dr. Tatham, in compiling his occupational mortality statistics, followed the example of Dr. Farr in taking the period of life between 25 and 65 years as that in which "the influence of profession is most felt," confined himself to males, and took the agriculturist as a standard to work from. He shows that twenty-two industries have separately a mortality from tubercular phthisis and respiratory diseases which amounts to double that of agriculturists, and that in eight of these occupations the mortality is from three to four and a half times as heavy as in this standard class.

Another method in which industry affects public health is the production of a special liability to incapacity and death as the result of accident. In 1909 there were 39,966 accidents investigated by certifying surgeons, and of these 946 were fatal. The non-fatal accidents and many of the fatal ones reportable by the certifying surgeon are regarded as preventable, and the object of the investigation is to get at the exact causation, in order that inspectors may be properly guided in the devising of guards, fences, and other preventive measures.

There is thus no difficulty in showing that large communities are affected as the result of disease arising from occupational causation, and there should be no trouble in making it clear that the main system of treatment must be carried out on wholesale lines by removing the causation, and thus come within the range of preventive medicine.

A great deal of attention is given to the creation of a proper understanding of the problems of industrial hygiene in many parts of the Continent by the establishment of both University and popular lectureships and museums, and in Milan there is now a special hospital for occupational diseases. To still further help forward this particular study representative experts from different countries have formed a permanent international commission to which all interested individuals or societies are admitted as members. Under the auspices of this body two international congresses have already been held, and preparations are now being made for a third; prizes are offered for papers on original work, and a great deal of useful information is supplied to members by means of a periodical bulletin. In this country the only teaching body which has given practical recognition to the subject as a special branch of public health is the Manchester University, which inaugurates a course of lectures this summer.

My next duty is to show the part taken by the certifying surgeon in securing the health of those engaged in industrial occupations.

At the present time the United Kingdom is mapped out into about 2,000 districts, each provided with a certifying surgeon. In large manufacturing centres the surgeon devotes a great share of his time, and in some cases the whole, to this particular work, but in the majority of districts there is very little to be done. It is an advantage to the system, however, that, whether the demand for his services be great or small, there is everywhere a certifying surgeon readily available. Another feature is that supervision is exercised by one central authority, which not only tends to local independence but also to uniformity of method. The need for medical supervision was recognised in the first of our Factory Acts, passed in 1802, and has become more and more established as legislation has progressed. The examination of children and young persons was inaugurated in 1833, and was placed in the hands of specially appointed certifying surgeons in 1844, an additional duty originated at the same time being the investigation of factory accidents. The Factory Act of 1891 empowered the Secretary of State to make "special rules" to regulate dangerous trades or processes, and in these medical examinations are a pronounced feature. The Act of 1895 directed the certifying surgeon to investigate reportable cases of industrial poisoning and disease, and gave to the Home Secretary power to add any industrial disease to the list. The Act of 1901 gave the certifying surgeon power to qualify his certificates of fitness by conditions, and an order, which came into force in 1907, extended the certificate of fitness requirement to a large number of workshops.

For the purpose of his official duties the certifying surgeon has power to enter at all reasonable times any factory or workshop to inspect any process, to examine official registers and documents, and to take evidence from any person he finds therein; also, should he anticipate serious obstruction, he may call upon a constable to accompany him. He has likewise power to enter any premises to which a person suffering from the results of a factory accident or industrial poisoning has been removed.

Certificates of Fitness.

The examination of children and young persons for certificates of fitness for employment forms the principal work of the certifying surgeon, and it is from this duty that he receives his designation. Up to the age of 16 these examinations are obligatory for all factories, and for workshops where file cutting, carriage building, rope and twine making, brick and tile making, making of iron and steel cables, chains, anchors, grapnels, and cart gear, making of nails, screws, and rivets, baking bread, biscuits, or confectionery, fruit preserving, or making, altering, ornamenting, finishing, or repairing of wearing apparel by the aid of treadle sewing machines are carried on. The examination must be made within seven days (or thirteen days if the central point of the district be more than three miles from the works) of the first day of employment. Certificates are granted for half-time employment to applicants between 12 and 14 years of age, and for full-time employment to applicants between 13 and 16 years of age, and the examination must take place at the factory or workshop unless it can be shown that the total number of children and young persons employed on the premises is under 5. The obligation rests with the occupier to see that certificates are obtained within the requisite period, and where the examination takes place at the works he must advise the certifying surgeon, on engaging young people, so that this can be done. When the total number of children and young persons

employed is less than five the employer can send applicants to the surgeon's rooms. According to circumstances the surgeon may either grant the certificate unreservedly, may qualify it by conditions, or refuse it outright. In deciding as to the course he will adopt he takes into consideration the health and general physique of the boy or girl, the general sanitary conditions under which the work is carried on, and any special condition attached to a particular process at which it is sought to employ an applicant. It can therefore be seen to be absolutely essential that the surgeon, if he is to carry out his duties as they should be carried out, must not only possess his ordinary medical knowledge, but must have a working acquaintance with the various manufacturing processes in his district and the conditions under which they are carried on. To form his judgment of physical fitness he must take note of the weight, height, and general development; such defects as deformity, skin disease, pediculi, eye or ear affection, adenoids and enlarged tonsils, anæmia and chorea, readily attract attention, and any extensive heart or lung trouble shows sufficient signs to indicate the necessity for further examination. Many certifying surgeons make a rule to use the stethoscope in all cases. As far as general conditions are concerned the surgeon must take into account the lighting, temperature, air-space, and ventilation of the work-room, and refuse the certificate if these be not satisfactory, at the same time informing the district inspector, who can enforce rectification. In open-air employment, exposure to weather has also to be taken into account. With respect to special conditions, working among machinery involves an extra risk to those with defective eyesight or hearing; mental defect, chorea, or tendency to epilepsy, and the habit of wearing the hair long or tied up with huge bows (in girls) and loose sleeves (in boys) must receive attention. The carrying of heavy weights, the utilisation of poisonous materials, the exposure to dust or fumes, and the licking of labels in certain processes all call for the exercise of discrimination on the part of the surgeon. Note must also be taken of the fact that in some processes employment of children and young persons is prohibited. Children and young persons under 16 cannot be employed in the making or finishing of bricks or plain tiles, the making or finishing of salt, and the silvering of mirrors by mercury; children cannot be employed at lucifer-match dipping or dry grinding of metals; in white-lead works females are not to be employed in the white-beds, rollers, wash-becks, or stoves, or anywhere that would create exposure to lead dust; in earthenware and china works no person under 15 is allowed to work in what are specified as dangerous processes, or in making transfers for pottery; in bichromate works no young person or child may be employed in a chrome process; no female can be employed in a room where brass casting is carried on, in any room where bisulphide of carbon is used in the vulcanising of indiarubber, in the manipulation of dry compounds of lead, or in pasting in electrical accumulator works; in the manipulation of lead colour in paint and colour works the employment of children and young persons is forbidden. In the heading of yarn or as shunter in private lines or sidings attached to a factory or workshop no person under 16 can be employed.

I think I have made it clear that the "certificate" is not to be taken as a guarantee of perfect bodily health, but simply as an indication that the applicant is able to undertake the particular employment sought without personal detriment or any danger to other workers. In such cases as specific febrile disease, or incomplete convalescence from such, in advanced heart affection, severe anæmia, tubercular disease, pediculi, in contagious or severe skin disease, acute keratitis or otitis, the certificate is refused outright, as it is perfectly plain that following any

class of work would be either detrimental to the applicant or the other workers or would interfere with the requisite treatment. There are, however, many cases of physical defect occurring in every certifying surgeon's experience where work can be permitted not only without detriment but to the manifest advantage of the applicant, the surgeon making "treatment" a condition of employment, and the wages earned being a specific factor in obtaining such. Other cases occur where the particular occupation sought would be quite unsuited to the physical state of the youth applying, and where it would obviously be wrong to sanction an employment which would have to be given up later on. With these, suitable situations can usually be found either at the same works or at others in the neighbourhood. With undersize, deformity, debility, and certain degrees of anæmia and heart disease, physical strain is forbidden as a condition of employment; with partial blindness from squint, cataract, or corneal opacity, deafness, deaf mutism, chorea, history of epilepsy and mental defect, working among machinery is debarred; with refractive errors of vision, glasses are ordered; with rheumatism and catarrh damp processes are forbidden; with chest disease, dusty processes are not sanctioned.

Actual rejections for physical incapacity now amount in round figures to over 7,000 per annum, the examinations varying from 350,000 to 400,000. Conditional certificates being a recent requirement, surgeons have not yet arrived at a proper system of keeping records, but the returns are showing large increases each year. In 1906 particulars of 800 were recorded; in 1907, 1,550; in 1908, 2,468; and in 1909, 5,775. These figures are compiled from the annual reports of certifying surgeons, which are sent in to the Chief Inspector of Factories at the end of each year.

Investigation of Accidents.

Accidents occurring in factories, workshops, docks, wharves, quays, ships in harbour or canal (through unloading, loading, or coaling), warehouses, buildings under construction where mechanical power is used, buildings over thirty feet in height being constructed or repaired by means of scaffolding, or where more than twenty people (not domestic servants) are employed for wages, and on private railway sidings used in connection with such premises, causing loss of life, or due to machinery moved by mechanical power, molten metal, hot liquid, explosion, escape of gas or steam, electricity, and so disabling any person employed therein as to cause him to be absent throughout at least one whole day from his ordinary work, must be notified forthwith to the certifying surgeon by the occupier.

Apart from some fatal ones, the accidents notified come under the heading of preventable, though it will be noted that no provisions are made for reporting non-fatal accidents brought about by hand or treadle machines, escape of corrosive fluid, and falling bodies or falls from unprotected scaffolding or platforms.

The employer supplies the following particulars in his notice: The name of the employer, address of works, and nature of industry; information as to whether a factory, laundry, dock, etc.; date and hour of occurrence; causation of accident and how employed at the particular time; name, home address, and address of place to which the injured person has been removed; sex and age; hour at which work commenced on the day of accident; whether the injury is fatal, severe, or slight, with nature and extent; the dates on which the injured person has been prevented from working. The information supplied by the surgeon in his report

is given under the same headings, with the addition of the classification of the injury under a letter, the supplying particulars respecting guards and data bearing upon fatigue and the utilising a space for " further observations." The occupier's notice is much inclined to inaccuracy, mistakes being often made in connection with the simplest details. Describing the position, nature, and degree of an injury is, however, scarcely the function of an employer, and it cannot with justice be supposed that he can supply these particulars with any pretensions to correctness. The description of the causation of the accident supplied in the notice is also frequently vague and often not in accordance with the version given by the injured person. These deficiencies are, however, adequately compensated for in the certifying surgeon's report. Wrong details are checked and re-stated correctly, the situation, nature, and extent of the injury are properly described, and the cause of the accident is reliably set down.

The true estimation of the causation of an accident is of the very first importance, as on such depends the ability to arrange precautionary measures against future occurrences, so that it will be well for me to explain here the relative functions of the certifying surgeon and inspector. The surgeon is required by the Act to report on the nature and cause of the injury brought about by the accident, and as the creation of a surgical injury constitutes the reportable accident the cause of this is necessarily the cause of the accident. It therefore demands a surgical training to accurately understand and gauge the relation of cause and effect, and to arrive at this a personal investigation by the surgeon is required. This involves both a visit to the works and a visit to the injured person, with the collecting of evidence from both sources, before his opinion can be expressed. It is essential that he should make an examination of the structure and surroundings of the machine or other main factor concerned, and as this is done in every case he not only acquires an excellent understanding of dangerous processes which is most useful to his other function of certifying children and young persons, but the knowledge that these systematic investigations must take place produces a good moral effect upon employers. The accurate factor of causation being supplied by the surgeon the mechanical knowledge of the inspector is brought to bear upon the devising of such guards or other preventive measures as will prevent a repetition in the future. The functions of these two arms of the service are therefore quite distinct, and a proper understanding of their respective obligations by the representatives of both should conduce to harmonious working and a perhaps more rapid diminution in accident risk.

Under the heading " Escape of gas " certain cases of acute poisoning become reportable as accidents; sulphuretted hydrogen, nitrous oxide, arsenuretted hydrogen, and carbonic oxide poisoning being well-known examples. In such cases the surgeon's report is considered to be extremely valuable.

A very large number of accidents notified produce slight injuries only, and the question has been raised as to whether these are of sufficient seriousness to demand the surgeon's investigation. As, however, accidents of an exactly similar nature and causation may be the means of producing either a slight, severe, or fatal injury, the degree of this can really have nothing whatever to do with the necessity or otherwise of rendering a dangerous machine or process safe for the future. One has to look more to the capabilities of a particular accident in the direction of producing injury than to the actual injury inflicted, and these capabilities cannot, of course, be gauged without investigation.

The certifying surgeon does not in any way interfere with surgical treatment, and must get his information as to injury without disturbing dressings. There

is, however, not much difficulty in obtaining all necessary particulars. About forty thousand accidents are reported upon by certifying surgeons each year.

Investigation of Industrial Disease and Poisoning.

Any case of anthrax, or poisoning by lead, arsenic, phosphorus, or mercury, contracted in a factory or workshop is investigated by the certifying surgeon. If noticed by himself in his official capacity he proceeds with the investigation, and reports to the district inspector in due course; other cases are notified to him by the inspector, and others by the occupier. Any general practitioner attending a patient whom he believes to be suffering from any of these complaints must notify the chief inspector, and is entitled to a fee, hence the notifications coming *via* the district inspector. The surgeon visits both the works and the patient, and reports on the causation, nature of symptoms, whether regulations or special rules have been properly observed, his own views as to prevention, and whether his investigation confirms the diagnosis and causation at the factory or workshop. The Home Secretary has power at any time he may consider it desirable to add to the list of notifiable trade diseases and poisonings by published order.

The benefits arising from notification are shown by their gradual diminution in number. In 1898, 1,327 were reported upon by certifying surgeons, and, in 1909, only 625.

Periodical Medical Examinations in Certain Industries.

The Secretary of State has power to make regulations or special rules for the carrying on of certain dangerous trades in premises subject to the provisions of the Factory Acts, and a number of these require the periodical medical examination of employees. Special rules apply to specified works only, but regulations cover all works engaged in the particular industry requiring supervision. The former are now being gradually superseded by the latter. In some industries the examinations must be made by the certifying surgeon, viz., the manufacture and decoration of earthenware and china, the making of transfers for earthenware and china, lucifer match dipping where yellow phosphorus is employed, and in the vulcanising of indiarubber by means of bi-sulphide of carbon. With other processes the examinations may be made either by the certifying surgeon or by a medical man appointed by the employer and sanctioned by the chief inspector of factories. These are the manufacture of electric accumulators, paints and colours, nitro- and amido-derivatives of benzole, white lead, red and orange lead, and bi-chromate or chromate of potassium or sodium, the heading of yarn dyes by means of a lead compound, the enamelling of iron plates and metal hollow ware with use of lead or arsenic. The certifying surgeon may also, if desired by the employer, take up like duties with respect to other dangerous or risky trades where examinations are not required by order. The extent to which these industries are regulated can be adduced from the fact that at the end of 1909 there were 32,085 works under such provisions as compared with 19,688 in 1908, and that the medical examinations made in connection with these requirements now amount to over 200,000 annually.

Each code specifies the precise duties, but they may be generally summarised as follows:—

(1) The periodical attendance at the works at a day and time to be mutually arranged and the examination of all employees presented; the employer being expected to set aside a private room for this purpose.

(2) The entry in what is known as the health register of the results of each examination, favourable and unfavourable, and, where necessary, the formal suspension from work of any particular operative. This forms a very valuable record, a perusal of which will very readily show the fitness or otherwise of any operative for working at the particular process.

(3) Special examinations of individual employees, at other than the specified times, on application.

(4) Advising the employer, when required by the code, as to the use of certain protective appliances, such as overalls, respirators, etc.

(5) The re-examination of suspended workpeople before resuming work.

(6) The reporting to the district inspector of any breach of rules or regulations.

(7) The reporting to the district inspector of any cases of poisoning requiring notification.

(8) The forwarding of a report to the chief inspector, at the end of each year, containing the prescribed particulars respecting these examinations.

Recommendations.

Although I consider the system of supervision exercised by certifying surgeons to be a good one, I do not, however, claim that it is perfect, but believe it could be extended with advantage as well as improved. As previously mentioned, the exercise of central control provides a means for securing uniformity of methods and results, and as to the eminent desirability of such uniformity there can be no two opinions. So far as concerns certifying, a great deal has been done and is being done towards this end by the Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons, as is well illustrated by the following table of examinations and rejections by members of the association and by all certifying surgeons respectively, during a period of ten years.

ASSOCIATION FIGURES.

	Number of Reports.	Examinations.	Total Rejections.	Rejections for Medical Reasons
1900	58	90,997	1,625 (1.7%)	624 (0.6%)
1901	135	164,056	2,106 (1.3%)	842 (0.5%)
1902	199	188,179	2,850 (1.5%)	1,141 (0.6%)
1903	239	204,977	2,355 (1.1%)	1,159 (0.6%)
1904	263	191,431	2,823 (1.4%)	1,562 (0.8%)
1905	272	204,495	2,925 (1.4%)	1,861 (0.9%)
1906	276	233,597	3,189 (1.3%)	1,945 (0.9%)
1907	258	244,277	3,987 (1.6%)	2,053 (0.8%)
1908	245	194,375	5,378 (2.7%)	3,600 (1.9%)
1909	235	204,753	6,634 (3.3%)*	4,669 (2.3%)

HOME OFFICE FIGURES.

1900	2,022	406,594	4,121 (1.0%)	1,882 (0.4%)
1901	2,001	376,691	3,773 (0.9%)	1,920 (0.5%)
1902	1,986	381,067	4,316 (1.1%)	1,836 (0.4%)
1903	1,976	359,275	3,946 (1.0%)	2,258 (0.6%)
1904	—	333,190	3,596 (1.0%)	2,116 (0.6%)
1905	1,983	361,578	5,012 (1.3%)	2,996 (0.8%)
1906	1,985	390,869	5,454 (1.3%)	3,257 (0.8%)
1907	2,003	427,075	7,653 (1.8%)	4,407 (1.0%)
1908	2,024	370,809	10,199 (2.7%)	6,213 (1.7%)
1909	2,085	384,606	11,816 (3.3%)	7,738 (2.1%)

* These percentages are taken to total examinations, irrespective of rejections for non-medical reasons.

Taking the extremes in the association figures it is seen that in 1900, fifty-eight members, all of whom were probably representing important manufacturing districts, accounted for nearly half the number of examinations that 235 members made in 1909, but whereas the results of the former show only 624 rejections for medical reasons, those of the latter show 4,660 such rejections. As the Home Office figures include these the results from members of the association naturally influence them in a similar manner, though it must be borne in mind that since the improvement has taken place only about two-thirds of the members have sent in their abstracts to the association. Amongst the one-third unaccounted for there are undoubtedly certifying surgeons who do good work, but who, for reasons of their own, do not care to send in their figures, and it would therefore be correct to state that if these were provided the association's influence would be still more marked. The figures that we have, however, show the influence of the association in an extraordinary manner when we notice those of the last three years. Between 1907 and 1908 the increase of rejections for physical incapacity by members of the association was 1,507 out of a total increase for the whole country of 1,806, and between 1908 and 1909 the increase was 1,069 out of a total of 1,525. These good results have been obtained as the result of meetings, discussions, and the circulation among the members of periodical and special publications. These tables at the same time very clearly show the existence of a majority of certifying surgeons who are not gifted with a sufficient sense of *esprit de corps* to enable them to take their proper place in this improving agency, and consequently that there can be no complete uniformity without the instalment of something of more universal application. This not only applies to certifying, but to the reporting of accidents as well, and indicates to my mind the clear necessity for expert medical supervision. My suggestion is, therefore, that a superintending medical inspector should be attached to each superintending inspector's district, and that this official should have under his control the whole of the work of the certifying surgeons in his division. In order to arrive at the required uniformity it will be further essential that the superintending medical inspector should, from time to time, visit each certifying surgeon to examine into his methods and make any requisite suggestions.

As I believe in the great advantage of the examination for the certificate of fitness to lie in the direction of guiding each applicant to the particular employment suited to his or her physical state, I regard it as necessary and essential that the surgeon should have every opportunity afforded to learn the particulars of the employment sought. I am therefore quite certain that all examinations should take place at the factory or workshop, and that examinations at the surgeon's rooms should be abolished. I regard it as a further necessity that proper accommodation should be provided at all works for this purpose, and I would make it part of the duty of the superintending medical inspector to decide as to what this accommodation should consist of, and to enforce the carrying out of his requirements. As regards the age for examination I think this might be extended with advantage, so far as females are concerned, to 18 years.

Another point worthy of consideration is the desirability of instituting a system of re-examination. The only systematic re-examination at present takes place on transference from half-time to full-time employment, and as this is equivalent to a probation of twelve months, the surgeon has an opportunity of judging whether the employment is suitable. There are also re-examinations when other employments are sought, but these are of no advantage to a young person who wishes to stick in the situation first taken. For those young persons who are

gifted with consistency, it would appear to be advisable to have them brought again before the certifying surgeon after an interval of twelve months. This would entail very little trouble either to the employer, the certifying surgeon, or the young person, as the examinations would take place at one of the ordinary visits for certifying fresh applicants. If any change should prove to be desirable it would not be too late to learn a new trade after such a comparatively short period at an unsuitable process. I also think that the certifying surgeon should have power to qualify his certificate by ordering a re-examination at any period which in his discretion he might think advisable in certain cases where it appears to be doubtful about the young person being suitable for the work or the work for the young person; and where he considers treatment of any complaint or defect is requisite, during this probationary period, he should be able to order it.

As the employer has at the present time to pay the cost of examinations, it has been suggested that he would be more prompt in calling in the certifying surgeon if this were paid by the Government. It is immaterial, of course, to the certifying surgeon who pays, provided he loses nothing by any change of paymaster. If such a change were effected, it appears to me that it would be practically impossible to devise any satisfactory system of fixed salary, though I do not think there should be any difficulty in arranging a scale of payment according to number of examinations. If the Board of Trade scale for examination of seamen were adopted, the average annual cost for certifying would be £38,000. The amount to be paid to a certifying surgeon in any one year could be assessed by taking the average annual examinations during the three previous years, and as this would necessarily be corrected each year, the system would be quite fair.

I believe the opinion is held in certain influential quarters that there should be some means devised of co-ordinating the work of the factory surgeon and the school medical officer. There is no doubt the school health record would prove of value in deciding as to fitness for particular employment if produced to the former at the time of examination. In the smaller districts this could have been brought about in a very satisfactory manner if the local authorities had appointed certifying surgeons to make the school examinations. In larger districts this method would not be available, but in any case there should be no difficulty in devising a system of cypher code understood only by the two departments, whereby this very useful information could be provided.

As regards co-ordination with labour bureaux, I think it would be of advantage to the management of such if they were made aware of any restrictions imposed by the certifying surgeon with respect to the nature of employment, and it would be an advantage to a young person, refused in one class of employment, to obtain anything more suitable directed by the certifying surgeon through this agency.

Finally I am of opinion that as medical supervision must necessarily be the fundamental factor upon which all knowledge of occupational morbidity has to be built up, more scope should be given to the reporting of industrial poisonings and disease.

Requirements of the Public Services as to Physical Fitness.

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In approaching the above subject, that of Rejection for the Public Services by reason of unfitness, I have throughout kept in mind the main heading of the subject matter of this joint meeting, viz., the Physical bar to Employment, and also the object of the Conference, viz., the Prevention of Destitution. It is impossible to study adequately the bar to employment unless one knows the attractions offered by that employment. The amount of attraction offered enables the employer to raise his terms, and conversely if the employment be unattractive he must lower his conditions or else increase the emoluments. I have therefore considered somewhat at length the conditions of service in, and attractions offered by, the different branches of the Public Service. Again, since the object of the Conference is the Prevention of Destitution, I have directed my attention chiefly, if not entirely, to those Services which draw their recruits more particularly from those classes which are on the edge of unemployment.

The Physical Bar to Employment has a significance, when we are dealing with the Public Services, quite distinct from that which it possesses in respect of the private employer.

In the first place, since the recruiting officer is only the agent of the employer, and not, as in private enterprise, to all intents and purposes either the employer himself or some person in close touch with that employer, it follows that much less latitude can be allowed in the matter of standards. Certain definite rules have to be laid down which can only be varied by superior authority. Where the exercise of a certain discretion is permitted, as, for instance, when, in the case of the Army, a Recruiting Medical Officer is allowed to take a growing lad not up to the standard because there is a reasonable expectation that he will develope up to that degree, such discretion can in practice only be exercised sparingly. Mistaken judgment, not justified by results, if of frequent occurrence would certainly and justly lead to reprimand. A private employer is at perfect liberty to accept or reject any individual at his own discretion, since the consequences of any mis-judgment fall directly on his own shoulders, in the shape of diminished profit in return for the wages paid—a reprimand of a very serious and practical nature. Public employment further differs from private employment in that the working establishment is fixed in numbers, and that the rates of pay are constant. In addition, the engagement is one for a prolonged period of service, and is not terminable at pleasure, in the Army and Navy at least, by mutual notice. This rigidity affects the Physical Standard laid down very importantly in the following manner. Since the establishment must be maintained but not exceeded, and a certain fixed wage paid, it follows that any dearth of recruits can only be remedied by a lowering of the standard. If the service is unpopular, either by reason of the low wage, the arduous nature of the work, the poor prospects of ultimate success in life that it holds out, or for any other cause, the agents of the State cannot at their own discretion increase the wage or other attractions presented by the service, in the manner in which it is open to the private employer to do. The only resource open to them is to lower the standard, not for individuals, but generally, so as to tap a cheaper source of supply in the labour market. In practice this is constantly done in the Navy and Army. The Admiralty and the War

Office balance their standards against the supply of recruits, raising or lowering them to suit the fluctuations of demand and supply. The more popular the service, and the greater the attractions it is able to offer, whether of pay or of secondary considerations such as messing, free rations, pensions, etc., the higher the standard that the State can lay down as the minimum it will accept. Thus the Police, with the pay, prospects, etc., which they are able to hold out, can lay down a high standard (if a very small establishment has to be maintained by a rich community, *e.g.*, in the case of the City police, a very high standard indeed). The Navy, by reason of its great popularity, smaller establishment, and greater length of service, can fix a higher standard than the Army, which has to maintain a much larger establishment, on shorter service, and has to compete with the fact that it is, from a national point of view, less popular, because less essential to the national existence. Lastly, since in many of its departments physical activity is of comparatively little significance, and physical uniformity of none at all, the Post Office can afford practically to dispense with any standard except the absence of actual disease or disability. Thus when we come to consider the Physical Bar to Employment in its relationship to Prevention of Destitution, we see that the services which fix a high standard, and which might therefore be supposed to conduce most markedly to destitution, are only able to do so because they are popular, and therefore attract a class of man who would in any case be sure of employment of some kind. On the other hand, those which lay down a low standard do so either because (as in the case of the Post Office) such considerations are immaterial, being replaced by others of an educational nature, or else because they are permanently, or temporarily, comparatively unpopular, or unattractive, and are forced therefore to take physically, and at the same time socially, a lower stratum of the people. In regard, therefore, to their effect on unemployment, the most important services are these which, on account of the fact that a certain degree of physical activity is necessary, and a certain uniformity has to be maintained, must lay down a certain minimum standard, yet on account of their comparative unattractiveness have to depend for recruits on those men who are in the various fluctuations of the labour market always more or less on the verge of unemployment. The services concerned are the Army and the Navy, and for reasons already stated the Army to a much greater extent than the Navy. The number of recruits required annually has also an important bearing on the standard maintained. This number depends mainly on the strength of the establishment and the length of the engagement. Thus the Navy, with a strength of about 130,000, and a minimum engagement for the most numerous and important ratings of twelve years, holds a stronger position than the Army, whose strength is nearly a quarter of a million, with a maximum engagement of seven years with the colours. It must be remembered in this connection that by far the greatest proportion of bluejackets are enlisted as boys, at an age when physical standards can be made much more elastic. The only Navy ratings which can be compared with the Army in their effect on the adult labour market are Special Service Seamen, Stokers, Sick Berth Attendants, Stewards, etc., and Marines. It will be convenient, therefore, to review shortly the conditions of service and attractions offered by the Army and these Naval ratings just referred to.

The Navy takes recruits either for Continuous or Special Service. In the former case a man engages for twelve years' continuous service, and may at the completion of that period, "if of good character and specially recommended," be permitted to re-engage to complete twenty-two years' service, and thus qualify for pension. Service counts in the case of boys and youths enrolled before 18, from

the date on which they attain that age, or from the completion of six months' service. They are then rated as Ordinary Seamen at 8s. 9d. per week, plus free rations. The pay rises gradually as the rating advances to Able Seamen, 11s. 8d., Leading Seamen 12s. 10d. to 14s., with higher rates for Petty Officers. Extra pay is given to men earning special qualifications in torpedo, gunnery, and physical training. Pensions vary from £50 upwards to £150 for a Chief Gunner or Boatswain. Continuous Service Stokers are taken on at from 18 to 21 years of age, on the same length of engagement as Continuous Service Seamen, but at a somewhat higher rate of pay, viz., 11s. 8d. for a Second Class Stoker. The pay throughout is rather better than that given to a Continuous Service Seaman, and the pension is on the same scale. Special Service Seamen and Stokers engage for five years in the Fleet, followed by service in the Royal Fleet Reserve to complete twelve years from the date of entry. They will, however, only be enrolled in the Reserve "if in all respects fit and recommended for enrolment." Exceptionally, men who have engaged for Special Service may after not less than two years such service transfer to Continuous Service. The Special Service Ratings are paid at an inferior rate to the Continuous Service men. The numbers so enlisted are small, and their effect on unemployment cannot be great. There are a large number of Special Ratings in the Navy, such as Fitters and Turners, Armourers, Blacksmiths, Carpenter's Crew, which demand special qualifications. The numbers here again are small, and the pay so good, that the question of destitution as the result of physical unfitness is hardly likely to arise.

The Marines enlist men for the same periods as Continuous Service Seamen. The pay is slightly less. After twenty-one years a Gunner or Private receives a pension of from 4s. 8d. to 8s. 9d. a week; N.C.O.'s up to £1 1s. a week; Warrant Officers up to £82 per annum.

In the Army the Cavalry and Infantry of the Line, and Sappers, Royal Engineers (in part) enlist for seven years with the Colours. The Brigade of Guards, Royal Field Artillery (in part), Sappers in the Royal Engineers (in part), the Supply Branch Army Service Corps, and the Royal Army Medical Corps take men for three years Colour Service; Royal Horse Artillery and Army Ordnance Corps enlist for six years with the Colours; Drivers Royal Engineers two years; and the Household Cavalry eight years with the Colours. In all cases the man completes up to twelve years' total service in the Reserve. The ruling periods may be taken as seven years with the Colours and five with the Reserve, or three years with the Colours and nine with the Reserve.

The pay of the Private in the Infantry of the Line is 1s. per diem. In the Brigade of Guards 1s. 1d.; Royal Engineers 1s. 1½d.; Cavalry of the Line, Army Service, Army Ordnance, and Royal Army Medical Corps 1s. 2d.; Royal Field and Royal Garrison Artillery 1s. 2½d.; Drivers, Royal Horse Artillery, 1s. 3d.; Gunners, Royal Horse Artillery, 1s. 10d.; Household Cavalry 1s. 9d. In all cases free rations are given, and 3d. in addition for extra messing.

The original period of Colour Service can be extended to twelve years in special cases, and at the conclusion of that period the soldier is allowed to re-engage up to twenty-one years' total service.

In addition to free food, free quarters, bedding, fuel, and light are provided. Other inducements, such as libraries, recreation rooms, and gymnasia exist, and free education for any soldier who wishes to advance himself.

In the Royal Enginers, Army Service Corps, Army Ordnance Corps, and Royal Army Medical Corps, special Corps-pay is given amounting to about 2s. a week to men who have qualified for Corps-duties. Proficiency pay is given in other corps than the above to men who have enlisted for, or extended their service

to, more than three years with the Colours, and "who reach the necessary standard of proficiency." Proficiency pay is on two scales, viz., 1s. 9d. and 3s. 6d. a week, depending on the proficiency of the soldier.

The pay of the soldier increases with his rank. Thus a Corporal in the Infantry of the Line receives 1s. 8d., a Sergeant 2s. 4d., Colour-Sergeant 3s. 6d., and a Sergeant-Major 5s. a day, apart from messing allowance. It is unnecessary to give the details of other branches of the Service. The above rates are the minima for the ranks concerned.

Pensions can be earned after fourteen years' service if invalided, after eighteen years if prematurely discharged for the benefit of the public service, and after twenty-one years' service. The lowest rate for a Private with fourteen years' service is 8d. a day. The highest for a Sergeant with twenty-one years' service, and twelve years as a sergeant, is 2s. 9d. a day. The pensions of Warrant Officers vary from 3s. 6d. to 5s. a day.

After these preliminary considerations we now come to the actual discussion of the Physical Bar to Employment. This bar, of course, consists in the fact that the State demands of candidates for employment that they shall possess certain physical capabilities to enable them to perform their duties in the Service. These physical capabilities are comprised in the following list: Age, height, chest measurement, weight, eyesight, and freedom from certain definite diseases, and I propose to discuss these *seriatim*.

The Services to which I shall limit my consideration are the Police, the Navy, and the Army. The Post Office practically demands no physical test except the absence of active disease, relying more on other tests of an educational and moral character. Each of the three Services I have named imposes a different standard and taps a different social stratum; the Bar to Employment varies, therefore, in each.

The information available is unfortunately somewhat unequal. In the Army very complete statistics are furnished both in the Annual Report of the Army Medical Department, and in the General Annual Report of the British Army. The former of these gives the actual physical causes which operate towards rejection, the latter the different trades from which recruits are drawn and the different proportions rejected in each case. In the former are also given the various physical causes which lead to discharge at the end of the first three months of service. This is extremely useful as showing the men who, being on the boundary line between efficiency and inefficiency, eventually fail to stand the training of the earlier months of military life. The Navy publish no report of this nature, and it is not possible to say exactly what are the actual numbers of men rejected on account of unfitness or the causes of rejection. The Police, being a local force, it is not easy to get generalised information on the subject. By the kindness of the Chief Surgeon of the Metropolitan Police I have been able to get a considerable amount of information as regards that body. Several Chief Constables to whom I have written have also been most obliging in furnishing information as regards their local forces. I have obtained further a certain amount from the "Police and Constabulary Almanac," published by the *Manchester Courier*. The dearth of information is, I shall later show, of comparatively small importance in connection with the prevention of destitution.

As regards age, the Police limits vary, but very few authorities take men at a lower age than 21. The maximum age is, as a rule, 26 to 28. In the Navy the age limits are 18 to 21 (exceptionally 25) in the case of ordinary seamen and stokers; 17 to 23 in the case of the marines. Ratings demanding special

qualifications, *e.g.*, blacksmiths, coopers, carpenter's crew, etc., take men between 21 and 28. In the Army the age ranges between 18 and 25 in all but a few special cases; as, for instance, Engine Drivers, Royal Engineers, 18 to 30; Military Mechanists, 25 to 35; Telegraph Reserve, 19 to 30, and a few others.

The standards of height, chest measurement, and weight laid down for the Police vary somewhat in different counties and boroughs, but are everywhere very high. The following figures may be of interest: Out of seventy-one county districts, thirty insist on a height of 5 ft. 9 in., thirty-six one of 5 ft. 10 in., and five a standard above that figure. Out of 147 boroughs, fifty lay down a minimum of 5 ft. 9 in., eighty-six one of 5 ft. 10 in., and eleven are above that figure. In respect of chest measurement very few authorities accept anything below 36 in. Fifty-four boroughs and twenty-seven counties insist on that figure, eighteen counties and thirty-six boroughs take 37 in., nineteen counties and thirty boroughs 38 in. A few go even higher than this. Weight is laid down in a few cases only. It is obvious that the county and borough authorities could not insist on such high standards unless they were able to offer considerable attractions, and able therefore to insist at the same time on mental and moral qualifications of an order that removes this branch of the public service far above the social class affected by destitution or unemployment. It is, in fact, unnecessary, in my opinion, to consider the question of the Physical Bar to Unemployment any further in connection with the Police Force, since it does not in practice, as far as I can see, exist. The total number of constables employed in the country appears to be about 52,000, taking the figures shown in the "Police and Constabulary Almanac," but I have been unable to trace any official information on this subject. The pay is high and the service pensionable. I have failed to ascertain the annual rate of enlistment.

I have appended a table showing the standards of height, weight, and chest measurement that rule in the Army and Navy. Fuller details as regards the Army are to be obtained in the "Regulations for Recruiting, 1909" (price 6d.). These standards are of course subject to slight variation from time to time from causes that have been already explained. Thus during the year ending September 30th, 1910, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. were added to chest measurement for all recruits for the Royal Horse Artillery, and the standard in this respect for Gunners of the Royal Field Artillery was raised by 2 in. On the other hand, the minimum of height for Infantry of the Line was reduced to 5 ft. 3 in. in February, 1910, at which time also the chest measurement, which had been raised by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in the preceding August, was brought back to the normal standard. Similar variations occur also in the standards for Special Service Seamen and Stokers of the Royal Navy. These fluctuations are the result of fluctuations in recruiting, and these again depend to a great extent on the state of the labour market.

The figures given in the table are at first sight rather confusing, and I will endeavour to give some idea of their real meaning. Attempts have been made at various times to construct formulæ expressing the correlation of the different standards, viz., height, chest girth, and weight, which would indicate their relative value, and their significance in combination. Of these, one named after its originator, a medical officer of the French Army, Pignet's formula, seems on the whole the most satisfactory. He takes the height and subtracts from this the sum in the weight and the chest girth (in complete expiration). The weight is stated in kilogrammes and the other measurements in centimetres. As a result of this calculation he obtains a figure which he terms the co-efficient of robustness. The lower this figure the more robust the individual. Of course, any

such calculation has only a relative value, and can only be used to compare similar classes of men. Applying this formula, we see that as regards the Royal Navy, the co-efficient of the Special Service Seamen ranges from 15 to 20, that of Stokers from 8 to 17, while Sick Berth Attendants and other ratings possess figures between 12 and 22.

In the Army the Household Cavalry range from 30 to 36, Cavalry of the Line, Royal Artillery, and Drivers R.E. and A.S.C. from 16 to 33, the Brigade of Guards from 25 to 31, Infantry of the Line and Departmental Corps from 20 to 34, Royal Engineers from 18 to 32.

Pignet makes the following classification of co-efficients: Men with a co-efficient of less than 10 he classes as very strong, between 10 and 15 as strong, 15 to 20 as good, 20 to 25 fair, 25 to 30 weak, 30 to 35 very weak, and above 35 unserviceable.

Dr. Schwiening, of the German Army, who has gone into the subject somewhat thoroughly, shows that 75 per cent. of men with co-efficients below 30 are fit for military service, and that there is not much difference in this respect between men with co-efficients below 10, between 10 and 20, or between 20 and 30. Above 20, however, the cause of unfitness was in one-third of the total number general bodily weakness, whilst below 20 it was almost invariably some special bodily defect. This is rather important, since grades of general bodily weakness close to the margin of fitness may be remedied by good food and healthy surroundings, and it is at least possible that some of the 9 or 10 per cent. of the men with co-efficients between 20 and 30 whom he found unfit on account of general debility might have been made fit with care. This would be more specially the case, of course, in a voluntarily enlisted army where we have to take men at 18, who have in a large number of cases suffered somewhat from privation immediately prior to enlistment.

If we analyse the Naval and Military standards by Pignett's classification we see that all those in force in the former service are at least "good" with the exception of the minimum standard laid down for sick berth attendants and other ratings, where they trespass on the "fair" class. In the Army, on the other hand, the co-efficients are distinctly low. The Household Cavalry, for instance, are in the very weak class. This sounds absurd to people who are accustomed to see the magnificent figures at the Horse Guards, and it is explained by the fact that any hard and fast formula fails when applied to any but average figures. Exceptional height, which is the main positive factor in Pignet's formula, is also the most striking characteristic of these regiments. In addition it must be remembered that with a comparatively small *corps d'élite* such as the Household Cavalry (strength for 1909-10 only 1,260 warrant officers, N.C.O.'s, and men) there will always be a distinction between the standard laid down and that maintained. As a matter of fact, these troops show a better record of health than the Cavalry of the line, or the Brigade of Guards in the last year for which we have medical statistics (1909), and a better one also than the Infantry of the Line taking the quinquennium 1904-08. As already stated, the smallness of the numbers concerned renders them unsuitable for comparison. On the whole it must be said that the standards for the Army are distinctly lower than those for the Navy.

In this connection I should like to bring forward some figures furnished by Captain W. W. Browne, of my corps, referring to the standard of men actually enlisted, and their progress under training. The numbers dealt with are, unfortunately, small, but they point definitely to the fact that the present system

does undoubtedly benefit the recruit physically. In these figures, which refer to eighty-two men examined before and after their course of physical training, the results are as follows: Before training sixty-five out of the total possessed co-efficients between 20 and 35, twenty-three of these (or, say, one-third) being above 30. Only eleven men could be classed as strong, or good, whilst six were "very inferior." After from three to six months' training the great majority were under 30, only three showing a figure higher than this. On the other hand, thirty-three men could have been classed as good or strong, or three times as many as previously.

As regards eyesight, the Navy demands full normal vision for all men of the seaman class, armourer ratings, engine-room artificers, electricians, and boy artificers. For other artisan ratings and stokers three-fourths normal vision is accepted. For ratings not included in the above one-half normal vision is sufficient. The colour sense must be normal in all ratings except writers, cooks, and domestics. Defects of vision must only be due to errors of refraction.

In the Army for distant vision five-sixths of the normal for each eye without glasses is accepted, and for near vision (reading) one eye must be normal without glasses, and the other not less than one-sixth of the normal also without glasses.

In addition to the physical standards of height, chest measurement, weight, and eyesight, each service naturally excludes all recruits suffering from actual disease or deformity. Dealing with these causes of rejection, much less latitude can be allowed whether on the part of the State or the recruiting officer than in the case of physical measurements. An under-developed lad may, under training, with good food and healthy surroundings, develop into an excellent soldier. Actual organic disease is a very different matter. A man with heart disease cannot be enlisted, both on his own account and that of the State; a phthisical individual, not only on the above grounds, but also in the interests of his own comrades. The soldier and the sailor must start his career sound in wind and limb, and it is not worth the while of the State to train and educate a man who possesses some obvious physical defect which will almost certainly incapacitate him when exposed to the strain of the service, whether that strain be imposed by the training itself, by the vicissitudes of climate, or by the demands of war. In this connection I should like to point out the extreme importance both to the State and the individual in having this purely medical examination of the recruit carried out by an officer of the regular Naval or Military Medical Service. Speaking in the first person, and therefore for the Army alone, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that no medical man who has not served in the Army is fully qualified to estimate the physical fitness of a recruit. We in the Royal Army Medical Corps all know what the work of the service means; we have all (at least those of us with more than five years' service) experienced what climate means, and the majority what active service means. We know as no other men can know what the demands are that the service will inevitably make on a man's constitution, and the extra strain that it may inflict. There is no dereliction of duty more injurious to the nation or more unjust to the individual man than to pass as fit for the service a man who is unfit. Either it imposes on the State by allowing it to spend money on the training of a soldier who can never exercise the proper functions of a soldier, which consists in fighting, not in performing ceremonial movements on Laffan's Plain and the Horse Guards Parade, or else it puts a brave man in the terrible position of being rejected for active service when his comrades march off. I think every medical officer who has examined a regiment for active service will agree that there is no

more painful experience than having to tell a man that though he wears the uniform of a soldier he is in reality not a soldier, in the only sense in which that word has any real significance. There is another reason why the medical officer in the service is the proper person to select recruits for the service, and that is the fact that he is the person most likely to suffer by negligence in doing so. Unhealthy recruits means full hospitals, and on the most sordid of grounds that means more work. Whether we look at it from the point of view of the State, the recruit, or the medical officer, the examination of the recruit is best carried out by the medical officer on the active list of the service. This may perhaps be thought to be straying rather far from the question of unemployment, but in reality it is closely allied to it. The invalided soldier is a distinct burden on the labour market. Even if his disability has not been caused in and by the service, the fact that it has been aggravated, or possibly aggravated, by the service is of very serious import. The State should therefore safeguard itself in every possible way against the possibility of being placed in such an unpleasant position. An ancient author, Vegetius, speaking of this very matter of recruiting, speaks words as true now as in the days of the Empire: "Nec leve hoc officium puteter, aut quibuscunque mandandum."

The following are the diseases which the recruiting medical officer looks out for: as regards the nervous system—epilepsy, chorea, and convulsions; as regards the circulatory system—heart disease, aneurism, varicose veins, and varicocele. These last, especially varicocele, may be cured by operation, and not infrequently lads keen on joining the Army have the operation performed with the intention of enlisting. The tendency nowadays is to pay less attention to this disability than formerly was the case. With reference to the digestive system, the most important defect is bad or few teeth. During the South African War a considerable number of men became inefficient on account of being unable to chew the tough meat and hard biscuit that are inseparable from field service. At present the rule is to take the teeth and the general physique together. If a man is obviously well nourished it is clear that though his teeth may be comparatively few in number, they are sufficient for practical work. Hæmorrhoids (piles) and rupture are the next two causes of rejection to be looked for. The former is comparatively rare in young lads. Coming next to the respiratory system, consumption, or signs of pulmonary weakness likely to predispose to this disease, are the most important factors affecting recruiting. In the case of the soldier defects of the lower extremities play an important part, especially in the Infantry. Certain minor deformities—*e.g.*, hammer toe—can be cured by operation either before or after enlistment, and a good deal can be done by gymnastics in cases of deficient mobility.

Dealing with these diseases, or more often merely tendencies to disease, it is the duty of the medical officer to balance very carefully in the interests of the State, and to a less extent to the individual, the pros and cons of any doubtful case. To do so satisfactorily is a task that can be properly executed only by a man thoroughly conversant with the exigencies of the service, and strain that these place on the soldier.

We have now considered the standards which are laid down for the recruits of the two services, and the diseases or disabilities which disqualify men from entry. It remains to speak of the numbers examined and rejected, with the causes of rejection, and also the occupations from which the men appearing for enlistment are drawn. This last point has naturally an important bearing on unemployment. In the Royal Navy the total number appearing for examination

during 1909-10 is not ascertainable, but the number actually enlisted was 7,300, exclusive of boys (2,308) and youths under 18 (1,275). About 4,600 of these were stokers, and 1,020 marines. The figures for the year referred to are rather higher than those for previous years, but I am given to understand that the present figure is likely to remain applicable to future years, owing to general increase of establishment. The draft on the adult labour market, then, on account of the Navy may be taken to be somewhere between 7,000 and 7,500 for the immediate future at least. The percentage of rejections on medical grounds is very high, though no figure is given officially. In a paper read at the last meeting of the British Medical Association in August, 1910, Fleet-Surgeon Collingwood, R.N., gives the number of rejections at the Royal Naval Rendezvous, London, at a fraction over 50 per cent. in 1907-08, and at 51 per cent. in 1908-09. A considerable number of those medically fit were afterwards rejected on account of deficient education or bad character. About one-sixth of those rejected were rejected on account of bad teeth in both years. Defective vision accounted for one-quarter of the rejections in 1907--08, and about one-fifth in 1908-09. Defect in the lower extremity accounted for about one-fifth in each year, heart disease for one-seventh in the first, and one-tenth in the second of the two years reported on. Very few comparatively were refused on account of being under height proportions and causes of rejection, since about one-third of the total entry is made in London. There does not appear to be any record of the civil occupations of men enlisted.

In the case of the Army the information is very full. In the year 1909 the number of recruits inspected was 50,298, and of these 15,041 were rejected on inspection and 526 more after three months' service. The total number works out at 31 per cent., those rejected on inspection being 30 per cent. The figures for the decennium 1899-1908 are almost identical, viz., 31 per cent. rejected on inspection, and 1 per cent. after three months' service, or 32 per cent. in all. Coming now to the causes of rejection, we find that about one-quarter of the total number rejected failed on account of deficient height, chest measurement, or weight, the number being the same for the year 1909 and for the previous decennium. Defective teeth accounted for one-sixth of the total rejections in 1909, and about one-seventh in the decennium. The next most important cause is heart disease, accounting for between one-ninth and one-tenth in the first period and one-fifteenth in the second. Defective vision caused a fifteenth and a tenth of the rejections in the two periods respectively. Defects of the lower extremity, including flat-feet, account for one-fifteenth of the total rejections. The important part played by the standard measurements is remarkable when contrasted with the slight share this appears to have in the Navy. It is probably due to the fact that recruiting N.C.O.'s bring up undersized men in the hope of their being passed as growing lads or likely to develop. Defective chest measurement caused nearly four times as many rejections as deficient weight and deficient height together.

It may be interesting to note here shortly the class of lad actually taken into the service during 1909 and between 1899 and 1908. As regards height, 66 per cent. were between 5 ft. 4 in. and 5 ft. 8 in. in 1909. The great majority were between 5 ft. 4 in. and 5 ft. 7 in. The number of men above 5 ft. 8 in. was considerably greater than that below 5 ft. 4 in., the proportion being as ten to seven. In the decennium 1899-1908, 62 per cent. were between 5 ft. 4 in. and 5 ft. 8 in., the majority, as before, being between 5 ft. 4 in. and 5 ft. 7 in. Above 5 ft. 8 in. there were 17 per cent. as compared with 22 per cent. below

5 ft. 4 in. In the matter of chest measurement in 1909, 72 per cent. were between 32 in. and 35 in., the numbers being about equal below and above these limits.

In the decennium 1899-1908, 67 per cent. were between 32 in. and 35 in. The number below 32 in. being to that above 35 in. as nineteen to thirteen. In 1909 the number between 34 in. and 35 in. was slightly higher than in the previous period. Rather more than half the men had an expansion of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 in.

As regards weight, in 1909, 88 per cent. were between 110 and 150 lbs., the numbers above and below these limits being about equal. The same applies to the decennium. In each case the men between 120 and 140 lbs. formed about one-half of the whole.

The average recruit in 1909 was 5 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, 130 lbs. in weight, and 33.6 in. round the chest. The average recruit for the decennium immediately previous was half an inch shorter, 2 lbs. lighter, and 0.2 in. less round the chest. The Pignet figure, according to the formula already referred to, is 23.15 for 1909 and 23.3 for the longer period—that is to say, the physique of the average recruit is fair, and not far short of good. His most marked defect is one that has been repeatedly alluded to in the Army Medical Department Reports, and as it has a very direct bearing on the question of destitution I give in full a quotation from the last report referring to this point: "A large majority of the recruits were growing lads, and a large number were out of work when enlisted. Probably the proportion of the latter was well over 90 per cent.; as a consequence, many were in poor condition from want of food. A want of maturity has always been the main defect of our recruits, and in the year under review there are unfortunately no grounds for showing that this defect has been diminished to any appreciable extent. However, considering the age and physical standards required for enlistment, the quality of the recruit was on the or chest measurement. This is probably due to the fact that recruiting agents do not bring men before the "doctor" who are not likely to measure. Fleet-Surgeon Collingwood's paper may be taken as giving a fair idea of the general whole satisfactory, and with few exceptions should develop into a good stamp of soldier, but it should not be forgotten that many of the lads will be incapable of doing the work of a seasoned soldier for at least two or three years."

This condition of affairs is practically the corollary of maintaining a short service Army on a voluntary basis, especially when a large proportion of that Army is always on foreign service. We must take the best men young, because otherwise they get settled in life, and no man can be expected to give up a permanent job for a seven years' engagement with the Colours. Since we must take men who are out of employment it is better to catch them young, feed them well, and train them early, than to wait till another year or so of starvation has began to sap their constitutions. Nations with universal national service can afford to wait till 20 or 21 before enlisting their soldiers; with a voluntary system that is impossible, and even if it were possible the other principle possesses many advantages. The proviso of the Director-General of the Army Medical Department that such men cannot be expected to do the work of a trained soldier for two or three years must, of course, be kept in mind. It is impossible for a boy to do the work of a man. But given those two or three years of steady work, in healthy surroundings, and with plenty of food, the resulting man is a much better product than if he had stuck to casual civilian employment until he had reached the usual Continental military age of 20 or 21.

The total draft on the labour market in 1909-10 was 26,434, a very low figure

as compared with previous years. In the preceding five years, counting backwards, it was, in round numbers, 34,000, 37,800, 35,500, 37,000, and 35,800. The future demand will probably be above the present, but is never, except in case of serious war, likely to go above 30,000.

It will be seen at once that the Army comes more closely into connection with the question of destitution and unemployment than the Navy, on account of its large recruiting call.

In the General Annual Report of the Army will be found a table giving the trades and occupations of the men inspected and the men who failed to qualify. In the Report for the year ending September 30th, 1910, the total number of men inspected is given at 45,085, of whom 13,735, or over 30 per cent., were rejected. These are again classified under the heads of Unskilled Labour, Skilled Labour, Occupations classified separately (*e.g.*, Costermongers, Boatmen, Porters, Domestic Servants, etc.), Professional Occupations, and Boys under 17.

I append a statement (Appendix II.) giving the total numbers inspected and rejected, with the percentage of these last, and also the more important trades or occupations of which each class is composed. It will be seen that nearly one-half the total number of recruits came from the ranks of unskilled labour, the remainder practically from skilled labour and occupations classed separately, in equal numbers. The professional class are a negligible quantity, and the boys under 17 do not come into consideration. Taking the three chief classes we see that unskilled labour and occupations classed separately give rejection ratios of 31.41 per cent. and 32.32 per cent., or above the general average, whilst skilled labour was below the average in this respect. It is quite possible that the trifling difference that exists is due to the fact that in the case of specially skilled artificers a minor degree of disability is often overlooked in view of the man's special qualifications. Unskilled labour is divided into outdoor, indoor, and general casuals, this last class being again subdivided into town and country. Out of the total number of 21,000 (in round numbers) that come under the heading of Unskilled Labour, the greatest number is included under the heading General Casuals (Town). These numbered 9,500, and show a rejection ratio of 35 per cent., very decidedly above the average. Next to this class in numbers comes unskilled outdoor labour, roughly 7,700, with 27 per cent. rejections, a low figure. Two-thirds of the men in this class were agricultural labourers, with only 25 per cent. rejected. The heaviest toll was taken of the coal-heavers and engineers, of whom 47 per cent. and 38 per cent. were rejected respectively. The total numbers of these are, however, small. Indoor unskilled labour accounts for 2,135 intending recruits with 32 per cent. of rejection. Amongst these, metal workers gave both the largest total number of men coming up for examination and the largest ratio of rejections, viz., 900 and 34 per cent. General casuals, (country), give 1,700 inspections, with 30 per cent. of rejections. Generally speaking, outdoor unskilled labour is better than indoor, and country better than town. Among skilled labourers coalminers furnished 1,676 intending recruits, with a percentage of reduction equivalent to 26 per cent., almost as low as that for unskilled agricultural labourers. No other class of skilled labour supplied an important number of recruits, bakers, butchers, and various factory and metal factory workers being all on a par. The last two trades show a ratio of rejection distinctly but not greatly above the normal. Amongst the occupations classed separately carmen and carters give the greatest number of men examined, with a ratio of rejections equivalent to 33 per cent., above both the general average, and also the average of the class. Porters, heavy and light, show high ratios,

and tradesman's assistants (outdoor), show an equal and excessive rejection ratio.

This completes my survey of the causes of rejection for the public services on account of physical unfitness. It has been a somewhat lengthy matter because it seemed to me useless to discuss the causes of rejection without showing the relationship borne by those causes to unemployment and destitution, the subjects with which this Conference is engaged. As it is, I feel as if I had on the whole merely flung a mass of facts at the head of the Conference, with insufficient analysis of their real significance and bearing. I can only hope that in the discussion we shall be able to arrive at some appreciation of the real meaning of the facts brought forward.

Before closing, however, there is one deduction which I should like to warn my hearers against, and that is the deterioration of the race. It has been said times without number that the fact that we have to accept recruits for the Army of a height and chest measurement far below that which at one time we were able to insist on is proof of the deterioration of the race. Whether the race is deteriorating or not is a question on which I feel quite unable to pronounce. I hold my own opinions on the subject. In any case a low standard for recruits proves merely that the inducements the Army or the Navy are able to offer are of such a nature that we can only get a certain stamp of man. It does not prove that better men are not to be got if we are willing to pay for them. Nor does it prove that the man we are actually getting in the ranks is not well worth the price we pay for him. To compare the present Army with that of the pre-Crimean days is to compare with a long service Army of 90,000 men, one more than twice the size raised on a short service system, and it is also to ignore all the advances in wages and the standard of comfort that have taken place in the life of the working classes in the past sixty years. As I say, the race may be deteriorating or it may not; the figures of Army and Navy recruiting reports can in no way be used in proof or denial of either proposition.

APPENDIX I.

Physical Standards—Navy.

RATINGS.	CHEST.	HEIGHT.	WEIGHT—ALL RATINGS. AGE. HEIGHT. LBS.	REMARKS.
Boys, 16¾-18 ...	32½-33½	5ft. 2in.-5ft. 3in.	15½-16, under 5ft. 3in., 102 over 5ft. 3in., 109	The scale of weights is laid down in "Regulations for the Medical Examination of Recruits for the Royal Navy and Royal Marines," 1906, Appendix II. It is intended that this scale shall be used by Medical Officers only as a guide and not as an absolute standard. Also below the weight laid down as the minimum for a certain height and age a Special Medical Examination should be made.
Youths, 16¾-18 ...	33½-34½	5ft. 3in.-5ft. 4in.	16-17, under 5ft. 6in., 107 over 5ft. 6in., 117	
Special Service Seamen, 18-21 ...	34½-36	5ft. 3½in.-5ft. 5½in.	17-18, under 5ft. 6in., 110 „ 5ft. 8in., 120 over 5ft. 8in., 130	
Over 21 ...	36	5ft. 5½in.		
Stokers, 18-21 ...	35-36½	5ft. 3in.	18-19, under 5ft. 6in., 115 „ 5ft. 8in., 120 over 5ft. 8in., 125	
Over 21 ...	36½	5ft. 3in.		
Sickberth Attendants, 18-22 ...	34-35	5ft. 4in.	19-20, under 5ft. 6in., 120 „ 5ft. 8in., 130 over 5ft. 8in., 135	
Stewards and Cooks, 16-18 ...	32½	5ft.	20-21, under 5ft. 6in., 125 „ 5ft. 8in., 130 over 5ft. 8in., 135	
Over 18 ...	33½	5ft. 3in.	21-22, under 5ft. 6in., 125 „ 5ft. 8in., 135 over 5ft. 8in., 135	
Other ratings, 18-23	34-35½	5ft. 3in.-5ft. 4in.	22 & over, under 5ft. 6in., 130 „ 5ft. 8in., 135 over 5ft. 8in., 140	

Physical Standards—Army.

Branch of Service.	Chest Measurement.	Height.	Weight.	Remarks.
Cavalry.				
Household, 18-25 ...	35in.-37in. (18 yrs. and under 6ft.) 36in.-38in. (22 yrs. and under 6ft.)	5ft. 11in.-6ft. 1in.	Range from 118 lbs. (18 yrs., under 6ft.) 133 lbs. (22 yrs., over 6ft.)	
Line, 18-25		Under 20, 5ft. 4in.-5ft. 7in. Over 20, 5ft. 6in.-5ft. 8in.		Maximum under 20, 147 lbs. Maximum over 20, 154 lbs.
Royal Artillery. (Gunners).				
Royal Horse Artillery, 18-25		5ft. 7in.-5ft. 10in.		
Royal Field Artillery, 18-25	(*a*) 32½in.-34½in.	5ft. 7in.-5ft. 10in.	(*a*) 115 lbs.	
Royal Garrison Artillery, 18-25 ...		5ft. 8in. and upwards.		
(Drivers).				
Royal Horse Artillery, 18-25	(*b*) 34in.-36½in.	5ft. 5in.-5ft. 7in.	(*b* 130 lbs.	Drivers Royal Field Artillery under 20 years require 1in. additional chest measurement.
Royal Field Artillery, 18-25		5ft. 5in.-5ft. 7in.		
Artificers, 18-25 ...	(*a*) 31½in.-33½in. (*b*) 34in.-36½in.	5ft. 4in. and upwards.		Includes Smiths, Wheelwrights, Harness Makers, Saddlers, Tailors.
Royal Engineers.				
Sappers, 18-25 ...				
Engine Drivers, 18-30	(*a*) 32½in.-34½in.	5ft. 7in. and upwards.	(*a*) 112 lbs.	
Military Mechanics, 25-35				
Bricklayers ...				
Shoemakers ... 18-25	(*b*) 35in.-37½in.	5ft. 5in. and upwards.	(*b*) 133 lbs.	
Tailors ...				
Telegraph Reserve, 19-30				
Drivers, 18-25 ...	As for Cavalry of the Line.	5ft. 5in.-5ft. 7in.	As for Cavalry of the Line.	
Sappers for Field Troops, 18-25 ...	(*a*) 32½in.-34½in. (*b*) 35in.-37½in.		(*a*) 112 lbs. (*b*) 133 lbs.	
Infantry.				
Guards, 18-25 ...	32½in.-35½in. (18 yrs. & 5ft. 7in.) 35½in.-38in. (22 yrs. and 6 ft.)	Under 20 yrs., 5ft. 7in. Over 20 yrs., 5ft. 8in.		5ft. 9in. Grenadier, Coldstream and Scots Guards.
Line, 18-25		5ft. 4in. and upwards.	(*a*) 112 lbs. (*b*) 133 lbs.	
Army Service Corps...	(*a*) 31½in.-33½in.			
Drivers		5ft. 3in.-5ft. 6in.	As for Cavalry of the Line.	
Other Classes ...				
Royal Army Medical Corps	(*b*) 34in.-36½in.	5ft. 3in. and upwards.	(*a*) 112 lbs. (*b*) 133 lbs.	
Army Ordnance Corps				

Note. The letters (*a*) and (*b*) placed opposite chest and weight standards signify that these are the minimum allowed for (*a*) 18 years and under 5ft. 5in. height, and (*b*) 22 years and over and above 6ft. height. The papers denoting chest measurement give range of movement. When two heights are given the 2nd is a maximum, not to be exceeded.

APPENDIX II.

SHOWING ARMY PROPORTIONS OF RECRUITING AND REJECTIONS FROM DIFFERENT TRADES.

Total—
Inspected ... 45,085
Rejected ... *13,735* ... *30.46 per cent.*

UNSKILLED LABOUR—
Inspected ... 20,925
Rejected ... *6,573* ... *31.41 per cent.*

SKILLED LABOUR—
Inspected ... 10,030
Rejected ... *2,991* ... *29.82 per cent.*

SEPARATE OCCUPATIONS—
Inspected ... 11,711
Rejected ... *3,755* ... *32.32 per cent.*

PROFESSIONAL, STUDENTS, ETC.—
Inspected ... 386
Rejected ... *79* ... *20.46 per cent.*

BOYS UNDER 17—
Inspected ... 2,033
Rejected ... *307* ... *15.10 per cent.*

Above average: Unskilled Labour; Separate Occupations.
Under average: Skilled Labour; Professional; Boys under 17.

UNSKILLED LABOUR: Inspected, 20,925; *Rejected, 6,573=31.41 per cent.*

OUTDOOR—
Inspected ... 7,744
Rejected ... *2,142* ... *27.6 per cent.*
Agricultural Labourers form 5,000 of these; of these *25 per cent. rejected.*
Builders' Labourers form 800 of these; of these *30 per cent. rejected.*
Largest percentage of rejections in Coal-heavers (not Miners) and Engineers, which give *48 per cent.* and *38 per cent.*, out of 250 and 550.

INDOOR (FACTORY)—
Inspected ... 2,135
Rejected ... ... *32 per cent.*
Metal workers (900 rejected) ... *34 per cent.*
General (250 rejected) ... *29 per cent.*

GENERAL CASUALS (TOWN)—
Inspected ... 9,500
Rejected ... ... *35 per cent.*

GENERAL CASUALS (COUNTY)—
Inspected ... 1,700
Rejected ... ... *30 per cent.*

Below average: Outdoor and General Casuals (County).
Above average: Indoor and General Casuals (Town).

SKILLED LABOUR: Inspected, 10,030; *Rejected, 2,991=29.82 per cent.*

CARPENTERS—
Inspected ... 754
Rejected ... *227* ... *30 per cent.*

PAINTERS—
Inspected ... 527
Rejected ... *160* ... *30 per cent.*

BAKERS—
Inspected ... 711
Rejected ... *219* ... *30 per cent.*

BUTCHERS—
Inspected ... 819
Rejected ... *251* ... *30 per cent.*

SHOEMAKERS—
Inspected ... 521
Rejected ... *189* ... *30 per cent.*

COAL MINERS—
Inspected ... 1,676
Rejected ... *433* ... *26 per cent.*

VARIOUS FACTORY—
Inspected ... 656
Rejected ... *206* ... *31.54 per cent.*

METAL FACTORY—
Inspected ... 745
Rejected ... *238* ... *32 per cent.*

Above average: All except Coal Miners. Remainder no average.
Various Factory and Metal Factory above local and general average.

OCCUPATIONS CLASSED SEPARATELY: Inspected, 11,711; *Rejected, 3,785=32 per cent.*

CARMEN AND CARTERS—
Inspected ... 2,488
Rejected ... ... *33 per cent.*

GENERAL PORTERS (HEAVY)—
Inspected ... 600
Rejected ... ... *35 per cent.*

GENERAL PORTERS (LIGHT)—
Inspected ... 1,328
Rejected ... ... *37 per cent.*

DOMESTIC SERVANTS (INDOOR)—
Inspected ... 882
Rejected ... ... *31 per cent.*

DOMESTIC SERVANTS (OUTDOOR)—
Inspected ... 1,276
Rejected ... ... *26 per cent.*

TRADESMAN'S ASSISTANTS (INDOOR)—
Inspected ... 1,575
Rejected ... ... *32 per cent.*

TRADESMAN'S ASSISTANTS (OUTDOOR)—
Inspected ... 608
Rejected ... ... *37 per cent.*

CLERKS—
Inspected ... 1,638
Rejected ... ... *30 per cent.*

Above average: Carters, Heavy Porters, Light Porters, Tradesman's Assistants (Outdoor).
Under average: Domestic Servants (Indoor and Outdoor).
Under general average: Domestic Servants (Outdoor).

PROFESSIONAL: Inspected, 386; *Rejected, 79=20.46 per cent.*

MUSICIANS—
Inspected ... 225
Rejected ... *44* ... *22 per cent.*

Unemployment in Relation to Age and Accident.

By C. J. Hamilton, M.A.

It is frequently said that in modern industry the lot of the older or weaker worker is becoming increasingly insecure. As one writer has remarked, "Assistance by way of protection for the strong reacts to the destruction of the weak."

In view of the widespread nature of this impression it may be well to examine such evidence as is available bearing upon the points at issue. Three more or less distinct problems may be distinguished:—

(1) Are men finding the normal length of their working life shorter, independently of any marked specific infirmity?

(2) Are the relatively feeble workers, whether on account of age or other causes, finding it more difficult to obtain employment?

(3) Is there any special and increasing disability attaching to those suffering from specific physical defect, irrespective of industrial capacity?

(1) As the normal length of life is increasing it is possible that there has been no equivalent extension in the length of the working life and that, therefore, there remains a longer average period in the life of the workman during which he is dependent on savings, or upon other people's support. It is of some importance to discover whether the greater length of life now enjoyed by the working classes is accompanied by an equivalent extension in economic earning power or whether it places an additional burden upon those on the active list of the industrial army.

From the standpoint of the community as a whole there is no doubt that the change in the age distribution of the people has added to the productive capacity of the country.

Comparison between Age Distribution of Males—Census 1881 *and* 1901.

Age under 5 years	...	Decline from 67,669 to 57,037 per million
Age 5 to 10 years	...	Decrease from 60,389 to 53,462 per million
Age 25 to 35 years	...	Increase from 70,128 to 76,425 per million

There has, in fact, been an increase in the proportion of males at all ages between 20 and 55 years, while, on the other hand, there has been virtually no change in the proportion of males between the ages of 55 to 85. Since economic earning power is greatest between 20 and 55, it follows that unless sickness has very greatly increased between those ages, the average wage of the community should have considerably increased. The rise in the standard of life of the country may be partly explained by the smaller proportion in the population of children of non-productive ages; because there has consequently been less expense and wear and tear among the mothers in bringing up their families; and because there has been virtually no increase in the proportion of old men in the industrial population. A comparison between the proportions of old men and old women is interesting as showing the increased strain of modern industry on men. Between the ages 65 to 85 there has been an actual decline in the proportion of men to total population, while there has been an increase in the proportion of women. Fewer people of both sexes live to be over 85 than formerly.

It should also be remembered that this country, which until lately has been more favourably situated than any of its great European competitors in respect of the proportion of its men in the prime of economic power, is likely to lose

its advantage to some extent in the future, since the marked decline in the birth-rate has only occurred since 1875. In the next quarter-century the proportion of old men to those in the prime of life is likely to increase, both absolutely and relatively, compared to those, for example, in France. Our burden on account of old age pensions and superannuation benefit will increase. In the ten years that have elapsed since the Census of 1901 this effect is already making itself felt.

A transition from the standpoint of the community as a whole to that of the individual suggests that, while there are more men than formerly living at the ages of maximum earning power, nevertheless, if it be true that the experience of sickness at all ages has increased and also that older men find increased difficulty in retaining or obtaining employment, the economic risks of life may be greater than formerly. Provision for sickness and unemployment may be a heavier burden upon each working man than it was. Even if the aggregate earning power throughout life has increased there is greater need for meeting these risks by insurance and thrift. Failure to make such provision will be reflected in the statistics of public dependence.

The recent history of friendly societies, trade unions, and the Poor Law supports this conclusion. "Not only is sickness per member (of friendly societies) at each age period of life heavier than was formerly the case, but a greater proportion of members than formerly now survive into old age, the period of life at which sickness is at its maximum intensity."*

A comment of some interest is here suggested. It has been pointed out that the proportion of people over 55 years in the whole country has shown little change. At the same time the friendly societies find an increasing proportion of their members living to old age. If this is not due to the transition of these societies from youth, when young men preponderate, to normal adult conditions, then it would seem to follow that the proportion of non-friendly society members, for example, of unskilled labourers, living to old age has actually declined.

The experience of the trade unions in respect of superannuation and sick benefit has also shown a marked increase in recent years, with the exception that since the Workman's Compensation Act, 1906, the sick and accident benefit paid per member has fallen. Between 1898 and 1907 superannuation benefit increased from 2s. 11d. per member to 4s. 6d. per member of the 100 principal unions. Sickness benefit increased from 4s. 10½d. to 5s. 11d.

The statistics of pauperism show that there has been an increase in recent years of male pauperism, both absolutely and relatively to population, while relatively to population other forms of pauperism have declined.

Male Paupers.

Mean number cycle 1871-72 to 1879-80, compared with—

(i.) Cycle 1896-97 to 1905-06 shows increase of 18 per cent.

(ii.) „ 1906-08 „ 35 „

The Report of the Poor Law Commission points out that the increase of male pauperism occurred chiefly during the cycle beginning in 1896, a date approximately coinciding with the Local Government Act, 1894, to which is attributed a change in the administrative policy of Guardians, and with the Workman's Compensation Act, 1896. It may be further noted that the increase of 1906-08 over the previous cycle roughly coincides with the passage of the last Compensation Act in 1906.

* Report of Poor Law Commission, vol. xvi., p. 8.

Comparing the years 1891 and 1901 the increase of male pauperism was most marked between the ages of 45 and upwards, while comparing 1901 and 1906 the most noticeable feature is the increase at the earlier age periods, 15 to 20 and 20 to 35.

But it is often asserted, not only that there is greater need for provision against sickness, and, on account of increased longevity, against economic disability in old age, but that the normal working age is itself being curtailed, absolutely as well as relatively. The familiar phrase "too old at forty" expresses the popular opinion. Are men finding the normal length of their working life shorter, independently of the presence of marked specific infirmity?

The chief causes to which this effect is attributed are—

(i.) The speeding up of machinery;

(ii.) The invariability in modern wage rates;

(iii.) The greater risk to the employers of engaging elderly men since the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Acts.

It is, of course, evident that employers, when given the choice between a man in the prime of life and one tending to become slow and less efficient, will choose the more efficient man when the rates of pay are the same. The same preference will be shown whether the wage is paid at time rate or piece rate, although less strongly in the latter case, since the longer the time taken to perform a job, when working with machinery, the higher will be the "oncost" charges. The premium system of wage payment is based on this fact. Mr. Sidney Webb, in his evidence before the Poor Law Commission, argues that "the employer's desire for a young man instead of an old man does not have any effect upon the total volume of employment. It may be that the employer takes a young man instead of an old man, but that only means that an old man is out of employment instead of a young man." This argument does not seem to meet all the facts. If the preference for young men is increasing for any reason there will be selection to the disadvantage of the older men. The demand for labour is not a fixed quantity, but is relative to the price paid for it and the product of the labourer. The elderly men who are displaced will be engaged only if the wage paid is covered by the value of their product. In trades where the standard rate admits of no variation making allowance for the lower earning power of older men, this condition may not be fulfilled, except at times of high prices and great trade activity. The result will be that either the more arduous trades will be surrounded by an increasing fringe of men whose earning power is reduced not by receiving lower wage rates but by obtaining less employment, or such men will migrate to other branches of industry where the level of efficiency is lower or the rate of wage more elastic. This will be the more difficult according as mobility is hindered either by specialisation of labour or by disinclination to have one's normal surroundings in industry.

Some elasticity is no doubt afforded by the permission for less efficient members to accept less than standard rates granted by the trade unions and by the existence in most trades of some non-union shops where lower wages are paid.

The extent of the former outlet is doubtful. As Mr. Richard Bell remarked in evidence before the Departmental Committee on Workmen's Compensation, "Unions do not interfere when old men get lower wages for some light job, or just knocking about a shop keeping things clean, but if working at ordinary work in the ordinary way it would be admitting a very dangerous principle" (p. 38). Mr. Barnes, in evidence before the Poor Law Commission, said, "We do not require a man to shift from one town to another after 50 years of age, and putting it

generally we do not require him to get the standard rate after 55 years." (Q. 82806.) The fact that the mortality of occupied males employed as general labourers increased between 1890-2 and 1900-2 in the ratio of 100 to 140, suggests that men are increasingly migrating into unskilled occupation of this sort when, from age or infirmity, they have lost their place in other branches of industry. (Public Health and Social Conditions. Chart 15.) The extent to which this preference for younger men exists and the ages at which its operation becomes effective is difficult to test by statistical evidence.

Mr. Cyril Jackson, after a thorough examination of the statistics collected by the Central Unemployed Body, came to the conclusion that they were of little value for this purpose. "A common feature in all these returns is the very large percentage between 20 and 40 years of age. It does not follow that more men in proportion are unemployed at the age of about 30. It must not be overlooked that younger men have usually parents in work to whom they can turn for assistance. After 35 or 45 one or more of the children would generally have become wage-earners, and the parents, though out of work, might be able to continue their search for work for some time without applying for assistance." Moreover, preference was given to those with a large family of young children. It may be noted that in the years 1906-07 and 1907-08 the proportion of applicants aged 55 to 74 was largely in excess of the proportion of occupied males in that age period, but that in 1908-09 the proportion had fallen so as to conform almost exactly with the ordinary figures for occupied males. This may be partly explained by assuming that the Compensation Act, 1906, caused a sudden disturbance which has since subsided.

That the pace of modern industry is in certain trades making it increasingly difficult for the older men to keep employment in those trades is attested by a number of witnesses before the Poor Law Commission. A witness, referring to tin-plate manufacture, said: "Men are not able to work up to a very old age, especially since they have had better machinery." Mr. Fox, general secretary of the British Labour Amalgamation, says: "It is becoming more frequent that spinners getting into years are very often driven into the unskilled labour market." Mr. G. N. Barnes says that in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers there are 5,300 men superannuated, "not because they are not fit to work but because they cannot keep up the pace."

The evidence, so far, rather goes to show that it is not on account of age as such that men are dismissed, but that as age advances they are less able to do very hard work and tend to become slow and inefficient. Generally modern industry is demanding a higher level of efficiency, and men who from any cause cannot reach that level are displaced. As Sir Benjamin Browne put it in his evidence, "Whenever we raise the wages of the lowest class there will be a certain number of men left outside whose labour will become unsaleable." It does not mean that they remain unemployed, but they find it necessary to seek a new industrial stratum. The tendency of standardising wages and of large scale industry is to divide working men into strata horizontally rather than vertically in relation to age. Instead of entering a groove in youth and ascending in that groove throughout life, it is necessary to change the groove at various points according as different age periods bring changes in capacity and earning power. Mobility is increasingly important as a condition of adjustment. "Too old at forty" is a gross exaggeration as applied to any industry. The analysis of the unemployment in the engineering trade, as shown by the vacant books of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, proves that between 35 and 45 is

the prime of industrial life. But between 45 and 65 the amount of time lost through unemployment is from 50 to 100 per cent. more than for those under 45. In many skilled trades—*e.g.*, building—the older men are often preferred because they are steadier and more reliable. But, unfortunately, a workman has no means of proving his capacity except by trial. If applying for a new job when over 50 the presumption is against him. So long as a man is in a sphere where his capacity is known to foremen and employers there is nothing to prove that age, apart from definitely declining powers, is an increasing handicap in obtaining employment. For sound and steady men the normal length of industrial life is probably extending, even within the limits of a single branch of labour. But, particularly in heavy machine industries, men are being tested more thoroughly. Incapacity to maintain the normal standard of output, whether due to advancing age or any other cause, is disclosed, and this leads to dismissal from the industrial group in question.

It remains to ask whether the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, has had any marked influence in preventing either elderly men or men with definite physical infirmity from getting work.

No doubt the Act caused certain immediate changes, partly due to mistaken apprehension among employers. It is said that there was a very general dismissal of charwomen by poor people because they were afraid of liability for compensation. Seamen, on being brought within the sphere of the Act, were very generally required to pass a medical examination before engagement, leading to the rejection of "hundreds of men in the Bristol Channel ports." One large firm, accustomed to find light work for elderly men "as a kind of pension," decided to dismiss them and give them a small pension straight out. The main facts bearing upon the general effect of the Act are—

(i.) That old men are more liable to prolonged disablement when meeting with an accident;

(ii.) That in some trades only are they more liable to accident, but that for the most part they are less so.

The former point is generally admitted. On the latter point testimony is conflicting. Sir George Livesey appealed to the experience of the South Metropolitan Gas Works to prove that men are not more liable to accidents as they get older. Taking the experience over the eight years prior to 1906, relating to 2,284 accidents, it appeared that, correcting for the proportion of men employed at each age group, the frequency of accidents was :—

Age 20-30	5.2 %
„ 30-40	4.7 %
„ 40-50	4.8 %
„ 50-60	3.7 %
„ 60-	1.8 %

(App. vol. viii. App. xcvi.)

The evidence of Mr. Lemon for the Midland Employers Mutual Insurance Ltd., before the Departmental Committee on Accidents, bears valuable testimony in the same direction. An analysis of over 2,000 accidents occurring in 1909 gave the following results :—

If accidents were proportional to age there would be one accident at ages 50 to 60 for three and a half at ages 20 to 30.

In fact there was one accident at ages 50 to 60 for five at ages 20 to 30.

If accidents were proportional to age there would be one accident at ages 40 to 50 for $1\frac{7}{13}$ at ages 20 to 30.

In fact there was one accident at ages 40 to 50 for $2\frac{3}{11}$ at ages 20 to 30.

If these figures are representative, elderly men are not so liable to accident as younger men. When hurt, however, they are more likely to be permanently disabled, and this on the whole increases the differential advantage of the younger man in the eyes of employers in the more strenuous trades. It should be remembered that, while the Act of 1906 only increases the cost in the case of partial disablement by some 25 per cent., it increases the cost in case of permanent disablement by 300 per cent.

It is said that the employer will pay no attention to the age of his workpeople since he is insured against risk and that the insurance companies do not ask as to the age of employees in effecting the insurance. This is not conclusive. The Railway Passenger Assurance Company, for example, asks whether there are any employees over 60 years of age. Further, the premium charged to each employer varies with the experience of the liability incurred in respect of each firm. A bad experience is likely to lead to an increased premium. Hence the employer is interested in dismissing men whom he regards as specially liable to accident.

It is, however, in respect of men who are known to suffer from some definite infirmity, such as hernia, liability to fits, or who have suffered the loss of an eye, or foot, that the greatest difficulty arises.

The insurance company generally asks for definite particulars of any employees suffering " from any defect in limbs, sight, hearing, or otherwise." If any such be found they are either excluded from insurance or a very heavy premium is charged. The employer is therefore unwilling to engage such a man, even though at the time his earning power is unaffected by his defect. In the shipbuilding trade for example, men are specially liable to lose the sight of an eye. Men having lost one eye can often work as well as before. But if they should lose the second eye they would be compensated for permanent disablement.

Mr. Cummings, late secretary of the Boiler Makers' Society, says " the absolute refusal on the part of some insurance companies to accept any risk under any conditions whatever of men who have been maimed with the loss of a leg, arm, or eye, is a serious matter, because we have many hundred one-eyed men. It has caused a discharge in hundreds of cases of one-eyed men."

It would seem, then, that the Workmen's Compensation Act has not prejudiced elderly men on account of their greater liability to accident, since generally they are less liable than young men. Their advantage in this respect is, however, more than offset by their greater liability to permanent disablement when hurt. This will affect older men most severely in the more strenuous branches of industry. The Act is most marked in its effect on those who suffer from specific weakness or injury, irrespective of age, and there is much evidence to show that the position of such men is often one of considerable hardship that calls for some modification of the present mode of dealing with them.

The main conclusions of this paper are:—

(1) That while the average length of life is increasing there is, broadly speaking, a greater risk, during any one man's life, of sickness and in later life of unemployment.

(2) That as a condition of reducing unemployment in modern industry there is required (*a*) elasticity of wage rate so as to conform to variations in

earning power; (*b*) greater mobility as between the different branches of industry during adult life.

(3) That while the Workmen's Compensation Acts have been of the greatest value to the working classes, they are defective in not sufficiently covering the case of men suffering from special disability, and that the power of such men to get work is often seriously affected. I do not agree with the suggestion that such men should be allowed to contract out of the Act.

Physical Unfitness as a Cause of Unemployment.

By Alexander Scott, M.D., etc.
(Certifying Factory Surgeon; Medical Referee for Industrial Diseases).

To consider it in all its bearings, our subject is a large and complex one, for, whether physical unfitness is caused by disease or accident, or whether it is due to arrest of development or hereditary transmission, it more or less affects the social well-being of the wage-earner and his dependents. Happily, we are not called upon to discuss the economic aspects of the question, but to consider how far physical unfitness contributes to destitution, and how far it may be ameliorated or prevented.

My experience has been of a varied description, and not the least interesting and valuable part of it has been gained from my position as Certifying Surgeon under the Factory and Workshops Act. Children and young persons are prohibited from working in a factory until they have attained a certain age, which is verified by the production of an extract of birth. During the year 1910 I examined 3,286 young persons of both sexes, and of these I rejected 257. Many devices are employed by needy and unscrupulous parents to overcome the age difficulty, and hence a great proportion of my rejections were due to non-production of a legitimate certificate. Rejection, of course, means that the candidate is totally unfit for work in a factory or workshop. In many instances it is a serious matter to reject a young person inasmuch as you may thereby deprive him of regular food, such as it is, and thus render him still more unfit to eke out life. It is much more satisfactory to grant, if possible, a modified certificate, by which the candidate is allowed to work under certain conditions; and then it is interesting to mark the improvement that frequently takes place, not only in health but in manly dash. In regard to the causes of rejection, or of granting a conditional certificate, the largest number was due to anæmia and debility. They totalled sixty-seven, the majority being naturally females. But the anæmic condition was frequently found among males, and in these cases it was uniformly combined with imperfect growth. Fully a year ago I reported to the Chief Inspector that many males were rendered comparatively unfit through smoking cigarettes. The recent Act regarding the sale of cigarettes may have amended this condition of matters, but it has by no means cured it. Last year no fewer than thirty-five boys came under my observation with the symptoms of this weakness well marked—the withered look, the dusky paleness

of face, and the stunted growth. In the report referred to I gave the following statistics: In a large establishment on one day I examined thirteen boys, all of whom confessed to the habit. Five of them smoked fifteen cigarettes per day; one admitted that he smoked eighty per week; another that he had smoked fourteen on the previous Saturday; while one said he was satisfied with one "whiff" daily.

Now, this habit, while it may indeed eventually ruin the health of the boys, does not, at the time of medical examination, render them unfit for work, and therefore cannot be considered a reason for rejection. Unfortunately, conditional certificates are inadmissible, inasmuch as we are dealing with health, not with conduct. Moreover, there are other symptoms which more intimately affect the employer. In a large bakery an otherwise healthy lad was presented to me suffering from chronic pharyngitis, with injection and thickening of the mucous membrane. He admitted that he smoked cigarettes, and I warned him seriously against the habit. But in less than two months he had to leave his trade, the reason assigned being "stoppage in the nose and throat." Another, but less frequent, symptom is a quivering or involuntary trembling of the hands. In an engineering shop a lad of 16, while working at a turning lathe, received a severe injury to his right hand The machine was efficiently guarded, and the cause of the accident was indefinite. But on visiting the boy I found these involuntary tremors were well marked. He was an inveterate smoker, and his mother seemed to treat the matter as of no consequence. Poor as she seemed to be, she confessed that she allowed him 8d. a week for cigarettes.

After anæmia and imperfect growth the largest number of rejections were due to disease of the eyes and imperfect sight. These totalled fifty-seven, and did not include many who used spectacles. Here also the females are in a majority, not so much from diseases as from errors of vision. In no cases are conditional certificates so desirable as in this connection, because they simply exclude the candidate from certain duties until the defects are remedied, and the restriction can only be withdrawn after re-examination. How much physical pain this qualification has prevented may readily be imagined. Yet, curiously enough, there is an aversion to the wearing of spectacles by working people which is not easily understood. A lady Inspector, on visiting a factory, noticed a girl sewing with apparent eye-strain, and ordered re-examination. The girl had used glasses for years, but after being allowed to work, had discontinued them until compelled to conform to the order. Often I have wished for such powers of compulsion in dealing with adults, especially those employed as "grinders" and "dressers" in iron foundries. In a large works in my district the employers, in order to prevent injuries to the eyes, provided preservers, or "goggles," as the workers called them, and these I had submitted to an eye specialist, who stated that they were most suitable, and that they would neither lessen nor injure the power of vision. At first the men were pleased, but the novelty soon passed off, and one after another laid them aside until, on the date of a subsequent visit, I noticed only one pair, and even it was tilted high on the forehead of a man at a "buffing" wheel. I have two pairs of worn spectacles, and the indentations on the glass prove only too clearly the number of accidents they have prevented. Nevertheless, impaired vision, or failure of eyesight through age, is a very frequent cause of unemployment. In the large engineering and boiler-making industries in my district on the Clyde where thousands of men are employed, there are very few indeed who use spectacles. The reason the men themselves give for this disinclination to assume spectacles is that when these are required there is a

danger of their services being dispensed with, and workmen have told me that if they use spectacles at all they have to do so by stealth. Yet one man proved to me the exceptional need there frequently is for glasses in such industries by declaring that without their use he could not attain to anything like the required accuracy of measurement. In one of the best shops, in which 700 engineers and boiler-makers are employed, I found ten men who used spectacles, and the foreman there explained that, so far from objecting to their use, he was actually more anxious than the men that spectacles should be used when required, and had frequently ordered certain men to use them. And well he might, for while we were discussing the matter I was watching a workman using a micrometer gauge, which was set at 325 millimetres, and which by a mistake of one point in the adjustment would have effected the measurement by 1,000th part of a millimetre, or exactly the 25,000th part of an inch, which would have upset the whole calculation.

During the last twenty-five years the number of deformed children has gradually decreased, owing no doubt to our improved sanitation. But at the present time, in the ward in my district with the highest rate of mortality in Glasgow, there is a very narrow street, consisting mostly of one-roomed houses, in which, I do not doubt, there are more ricketty children than in any other part of the city. In the late dry weather one's pity would have been stirred by the sight of so many ricketty children standing—or rather squatting, for few could walk—on the sunny side of the street, apparently happy, although exposed to the unkind cold of a March wind. Now, what becomes of them I cannot understand, for the really deformed young person is very rarely presented to me for examination. I used to think that they became seamstresses or tailors, or were employed in some such sedentary occupation, but since these trades have practically all been included in the Factory and Workshops Act I have not seen one. In this connection a most interesting point arises regarding the physique of those who are town bred as compared with those reared in the country. With few exceptions the latter in the race for life have an enormous advantage. Many years ago a business was established in the east end of Glasgow and prospered so greatly that it had to remove into the country, a distance of ten miles, for extension. At present upwards of 11,000 persons are employed there, who are drawn partly from the city and partly from the surrounding rural districts. They are not all skilled workmen, but are designated machinists, and manufacture certain component parts of the staple commodity. The dividing line between the country and the town bred is well marked. The workers from the town travel by the workmen's trains, and I have frequently observed at the various stations that they are generally anæmic or of poor physique, whereas those who belong to the country are generally well developed, healthy, and muscular. Yet this physical difference does not affect the wages earned in favour of the one more than the other. The work is not laborious, and, paid on the piecework principle, equally good wages are earned by the comparatively weak as by the strong.

Further proof of this superior physical condition was afforded in my examination of young persons, for almost without exception those who were specially well developed were connected with country life, such as the sons and daughters of agricultural labourers and coalminers. In comparing the number of rejections and modified certificates granted in the various occupations I found that in the engineering and boiler-making shops to which I have referred there are practically none, those presented being strong and healthy, probably because

they belonged to the less crowded and more sanitary districts of the city. No doubt they are attracted by a desire to join a trade in which are found the best type of artizans in the country, but, besides this, there is a selective agency which guides them to an occupation for which they are physically and educationally fitted. The consequence is that just as an occupation declines in repute or popularity, stamina and productive power in the worker become less apparent. On the opposite scale I find the worst specimens in brick and bottle works, and this is a depressing fact, because here the workers are drawn from the poorer districts. Not 5 per cent. of those who begin work in these trades remain for any length of time, and fewer still ever dream of becoming apprentices. The work is not more laborious in the one case than in the other, but the discomfort in the one and the oppressive heat in the other make them unpopular and do not tend to the betterment of the worker.

A striking example was brought to my notice the other day. The work consisted of making driving-belts, and I found that no lad was expected to remain at these trades after 17 years of age, the reason being that he was then too old for the work of a boy and unfit for the work of a tradesman, inasmuch as he lacked the technical training necessary to determine the strength, flexibility, and other constants of the material, and to understand the calculations for ascertaining the results of the various stresses applied in workshop practice. The employer explained to me that in a few cases some naturally handy boys might be retained, but their weekly wage would never average more than 20s. per week, and this arose from defective education, and uneducated lads could not well be trained to turn out the completed article to conform to specification. They were thus cast out as casual labourers, perhaps to earn a precarious livelihood on the streets —in short, rendered quite unfit for the work of life. To sum up, energy and ability are misplaced and misdirected, and, however sad and depressing may be the reflection, these unfortunates are allowed to drift or swim.

In another paper* I have suggested that our educational authorities should supervise and direct the training of every youth until his seventeenth year, making attendance at Continuation Classes for two nights in the week compulsory, and I would add that another night might be added for drill. I use this word drill in the very widest acceptation—military, ambulance, gymnastics, baths —under proper supervision. I am no pronounced advocate for militarism, but so far as this training contributes to the health and fitness of our young working men, I speak with the utmost confidence of its results. Two days ago I had occasion to examine a coalminer, and on asking his age I was astonished at his youthful appearance, for he could easily have passed for ten years younger On inquiry I learned that he attributed his good health and fitness to the fact that he had for some years spent a week in camp, where, as he said, he breathed the fresh air of the Ayrshire coast. Moreover, in making my monthly examination of men who are engaged in dangerous trades, such as potteries and oil-works, in which the workers are exposed to metallic poisoning—and in fact in many other industries in which I had the opportunity of observing men who had spent the statutary period in Territorial camp—I came to the conclusion that no holiday could possibly be so beneficial as that to which I have referred. If we but consider the condition of the homes of many, as well as the factories, workshops, and coalmines in which so much of the worker's life is spent, it cannot be denied that this holiday, which demands regular habits, must contribute to the

* "The Training of Youth: Supervision of Lads from their fourteenth till their seventeenth year." Transactions of Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow. 1907.

maintenance of good health, as well as an enforced absence from all sources of temptation.

With regard to the occurrence of accidents, I have always noticed that they are more frequent before holidays than at any other time, no doubt due to the workmen's anxiety to increase his wages to the fullest extent. But even leaving this out of account, the hurry and fast driving, along with the increased use of mechanical contrivances, must be a contributing factor to accidents and neurasthenic conditions, and so to unfitness for employment. In no occupation have the baneful effects of hurry and rush to produce a certain amount of work in a given time been more apparent than in coalmining since the passing of the Eight Hours Act, especially in its effects upon men over middle life. I speak simply as a medical practitioner, with a fairly extensive experience in industrial diseases, and in doing so I hope there will not be imputed to me anything of a political bias. To the young and healthy it is somewhat rare that any voluntary effort, however great, can produce any serious heart disturbance, and therefore the restricted time is generally quite sufficient for the young and strong to accomplish the task. With those past middle life the case is very different, for no man over 50 years of age should incautiously subject the heart to strain. My attention was first drawn to this point by the number of miners who suffered from valvular disease of the heart. Frequently there appears in the newspapers a report similar to the following, which appeared lately: "This afternoon the death took place with startling suddenness of a workman named J. M., at B. Colliery. While deceased was working he was seen to fall forward on a hutch as if in a faint, but on the arrival of the doctor it was found that life was extinct." I have learned from miners themselves that they have frequently observed their fellow-workers become cyanosed and bleeding from the nose as a result of working at such high pressure. This symptom arose from passive congestion, and would have been avoided had the workman been allowed a little more time to complete his task. I think, therefore, that on these lines the Eight Hours Bill is unscientific and unsympathetic, and can only result in rendering unfit the otherwise healthy, and in thus forming an important cause of unemployment. Thirty years ago a miner was not only too old at 40, but became a total wreck owing to miner's phthisis. By the Mines Regulation Act the ventilation is now so improved that in many instances the air in mines is purer than that in the crowded city. Shorter hours is the cry in many trades in the present day, but these must be so regulated that the workmen's health shall not suffer. During the eight hours' day in certain seams the miner has to work so constantly that there is not even time for food, and, as one of them explained to me, it was more comfortable if they abstained, as in some instances the thickness of the seam ranged from less than twenty inches to three feet, and consequently digestion was rendered uncomfortable and difficult. Is it not a pity that with such improved conditions of ventilation men over a certain age are deterred from working?

Such are in my experience the salient causes of unemployment which lead up to destitution. But there are others which affect a class who never seem to be able to keep above the water-line. Their miserable homes are continually haunted by poverty and starvation, and whether this condition may be due to the rate of wages or to the state of the labour market, to inefficiency, indolence, or moral excesses, the problem is depressing and very difficult to solve. Even the Workmen's Compensation Act is responsible to a certain extent for contributing to this evil by indirectly prolonging the period of disablement during

slight sickness or accident, and by prohibiting the worker from receiving other than casual labour. Numerous examples crowd upon my memory at this present moment, but I give you my latest case. A carter in the course of his employment was crushed between two horses. He thought nothing of it, and finished his day's work. Next day he felt stiff and sore, and was ordered to take rest for a week. At the end of that time the question of compensation was discussed by a lawyer, but, of course, none could be obtained for another week. Eighteen days thereafter I examined him and could not discover either disease or signs of injury, although he complained of severe pains over chest and back. During that time he had been confined to his miserable home in a sunk flat, surrounded by an ill-nourished family, which was being relieved in their straitened circumstances by the parochial authorities. As a famous judge described a similar case: "It was not the influence of the accident which essentially caused the trouble, but the brooding of the plaintiff over the presence of its results and his endeavours to make them the reason for indemnity which would pay him." To my mind there was no doubt that this man was becoming more and more incapacitated. He was on the down-grade, and sooner or later he would be engulfed in the abyss of destitution. The case quoted fully illustrates my contention.

Following up this subject of destitution as a result of unemployment, I inquired of our Inspector of Poor, than whom there is no one more experienced or more sympathetic, regarding imprudent classes during unfitness for employment. He gave me a list of typical cases of admissions to parochial hospitals, which had recently been disposed of by his committee, to which I should like to draw your attention. They numbered twenty-three, two of which resulted from accidents that had been removed from the Royal Infirmary. The one had six dependents, and had been in constant employment for twelve years earning 26s. 6d. per week. The other had seven dependents, and his weekly wage was 19s. Of the other ailments, the largest numbers were of pneumonia, bronchitis, rheumatism, and heart affections. The ages of the applicants ranged from 17 to 57, with an average of 36 years; the dependents from one to seven, with an average of 4.5. One, suffering from heart disease and bronchitis, had been ill for seventy-eight days before admission, but with this exception, the idle days ranged from one to thirty-five, or an average of seven; while the wages earned when working amounted from nil to 32s. 6d., the average being 23s. 1d.

Now, in studying these figures, the first question that arises is this: Is the need greater or the destitution more acute in the present day than in days gone by? Whether yea or nay, it is a sad reflection that, notwithstanding the good work of friendly and other societies for the relief of distress, the numbers applying for relief from the Parish Authorities are largely on the increase. From the totals from which I have already quoted I find that in 1888 the numbers were 1,034 males and 1,379 females, making a total of 2,413. In 1898 the males numbered 1,245, the females 1,248, the total being 2,493. In 1908, males 2,592, females 1,770; total 4,362. Last year, males numbered 2,688, and females 1,624; total 4,312. An interesting deduction from these tables is that in 1888 females were 345 in excess of males; in 1898 only three in excess; in 1909 they were 822 less; while for the last two years they numbered 1,064 fewer than the males. Not only so, but, taking into account the increase in the population in twenty-two years, the males have increased by 1,654, and the females by only 354.

Let me once more emphasise the fact that these figures apply only to those who are disabled by sickness in some form. Not so many years ago the fear of

the poorhouse deterred many a one from seeking relief, and I can remember many instances in which honest and deserving poor shrank from it as if it were the prison or an open grave, and this feeling was most apparent among the aged. Whether this change has been contributed to by the better equipment of these hospitals, or whether a too generous treatment of this class has the effect of encouraging such applications, the tendency is, in many instances, to lower the spirit of thrift and independence.

It must be admitted, however, that all these men were physically unfit for work, and consequently destitute. In some instances, though willing, they were quite unable to make provision for the days of storm and stress; in others they were quite indifferent. But the conditions, I think, too plainly demonstrate the clamant need for invalidity insurance.

Many details in my paper may seem trite and commonplace. My apology is that they have been drawn from my own experience. Not all the defects which I have pointed out can be removed by legislation alone, for, whether physical unfitness arises from inefficiency, ignorance, indolence, or moral excesses, we must begin by educating and reforming the individual.

Discussion.

Dr. Glen Park (Certifying Factory Surgeon, Bolton) said he wished to make some remarks with regard to the work of the district he was in, particularly with respect to incipient phthisis in young workers. That consumption was a great cause of destitution was well known in all industrial centres, and at the sittings of the Public Health Section the constant and repeated complaint was that they did not get these cases notified early enough to do good. When cases of phthisis were brought before them they were generally well advanced, and the treatment did not do the good which it was expected to do. They had cases in sanatoria which were sent home after two or three months improved, but the cases they believed to be permanently cured broke down again. During the last six months he had been taking careful observations, and out of about 1,400 examinations of children he had had to reject sixty-five from working in the cotton factories owing to their showing signs of incipient phthisis. That was a very serious matter when they thought of it, if those cases were allowed to go on for year after year until they developed the more serious symptoms and the mischief became well established. But in not one of these cases did the children complain of being ill. The fathers and mothers of these children did not know they were ill or had anything the matter with them. Only one or two out of the sixty-five even complained or admitted that they had a slight cough. Expectoration was practically absent, but everyone had slight commencing signs in the apex of one lung or the other—mostly in the right lung; and every one had a temperature varying from 99.6 up to 100 degrees. Fah. To correct himself and to make sure that he was not deceiving himself he particularly asked the parents of these children to come to him in his consultation hours, and he carefully examined the children again, and in individual cases he had made several examinations. In several cases a temperature and these slight physical signs were present. His greatest difficulty was that which was mentioned the previous day in the Public Health Section, that the general practitioner very often made light of these cases. In numerous cases parents had come to him about their children being rejected from working in the factory, where the temperature varied from 90 to 100 degrees and where the amount of carbonic acid gas in the spinning room was found to be much above that which was found in the open. The parents told

him that their own medical man said there was nothing the matter with the children. In every case where he could get them under the examination of the medical officer who looked after the sanatorium in his district they had been taken into the sanatorium as suitable cases to be treated for consumption. He said that if they were going to catch and deal successfully with consumption in the workers they must get them early, and they must impress upon the parents the necessity of dealing with cases in the very early stages. When he was a student at the Glasgow University he remembered Professor Gemwell referring to this, and he would never forget what he said. He said: "Gentlemen, these early signs and slight symptoms to many medical men mean nothing—a prolonged expiratory murmur is nothing to them. To me they are just like the cloud Elijah saw, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but betoken the sign of the coming rain." He had tabulated the cases he had inquired into and found they varied from 12 years of age to 14. Some of these cases had been examined at school, and said to be all right. At the sitting of the Section the previous day the point was emphasised that the general medical practitioner must make himself well acquainted and better acquainted with the early signs of consumption. Now that the Government was dealing with the question of sickness and unemployment they would have less hesitation in rejecting cases because, as Dr. Scott had said, they were sometimes very diffident in rejecting cases where they knew so much depended on the weekly wage of the earner. Thanks to the Government that difficulty would at least be minimised, and there would be a much better chance of taking these early incipient cases in hand and staying the progress of the disease in its early manifestations. To get these cases, however, they must go beyond their present method, and in addition to the preliminary examination have systematic, periodical inspection of the young workers, not so much with the view of rejecting cases as with advising and protecting their health.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought he ought to say on behalf of the general practitioner that he had been so long accustomed to have contract practice and see patients in large numbers that it was impossible for him to devote that attention unless he was more adequately paid for the work he did. He did not think it was deficiency of knowledge but deficiency of time.

Mr. J. STEWART (Glasgow Distress Committee) said he had been somewhat struck during the conference with what seemed to him to be a getting away from the idea altogether. In all the papers that he had listened to they seemed to have dealt more with the cure than the actual prevention, but prevention to him was much more important than merely dealing with the results. If they were to have prevention their discussion would have to take a wider range than it had taken that day. The city to which he belonged, which was generally referred to in outbursts of municipal patriotism as the Second City of the Empire, in his opinion had little to congratulate itself on with regard to the matter which they were considering that day. To prevent the disease which caused destitution it had, in his opinion, done remarkably little. In Glasgow they had rickets to an abnormal extent, and they had consumption amongst the working classes to an extent which was a discredit to their health administration. He knew the convenor of the Health Committee of the City of Glasgow was present, and he knew he would be quite prepared to deal with that point. In regard to their housing conditions, in 1901 they had over 32,000 one-roomed houses in the city of Glasgow, and over 104,000 people living in them, there being more than three persons to each compartment. They had over 70,000 three-roomed houses, and in them all the conveniences of life had to be performed. They had a population of over 450,000 people in those houses in 1901, and since then, according to their medical officer's return in the year 1909, the housing conditions, so far as the accommodation was concerned—he was not speaking about the sanitation—had grown worse. It was amongst this class of house that all these troubles which caused destitution arose. He had taken five of the industrial wards and five of the well-to-do wards, and these wards his friends from Glasgow would recognise. From consumption and other forms of tuberculosis in the 5 poor wards in the year 1909, which was their latest report, they had 483 deaths from these diseases. In five good wards, which were residential wards, including Kelvin Side and Pollokshields, where the people had decent living-rooms, there were only eighty-five deaths from consumption and other tuberculous diseases. Thus they had 483 deaths against 85. They had, in the five industrial wards, a population of 154,000 living on 1,100 acres, and in the well-to-do wards a population of 114,000 living on 3,000 acres. Pollokshields had over 1,400 acres with 19,000 residents. These were the

causes of consumption. It was their working classes which suffered from the disease. Unfortunately their representatives on their public bodies did not live under these conditions. The majority of them never had lived under such conditions and knew absolutely nothing about them. As to rickets, they had an investigation about 1907 with regard to 1,357 children up to 11 years of age who were taken into hospital. About 36 per cent. of these children were ricketty, and it was the one-roomed house which had the highest percentage, the two-roomed house the next highest percentage, until they got to the children coming from the three and four-roomed houses, and there rickets were almost unknown. Unless that conference was going to deal with those conditions—the housing conditions which made for bad health, and thereby increased poverty and filled their public institutions—then they were only wasting money by erecting and maintaining institutions. Unless that conference meant that something was going to be done to alter the housing conditions then all their efforts would be of no value.

Mr. F. G. Mackereth (National Temperance League) said he was sorry to intervene. He did not want to be considered a bore, but the word alcohol had not yet been mentioned, and he had come to mention it. It was a most amazing thing that they could take there a subject like public health and unemployment and have four papers read and not hear a word about alcohol or venereal disease.

The Chairman pointed out that the subject before them was the physical bar to employment.

Mr. Mackereth said this was as much a physical bar as the cigarette smoking which was allowed. At Northampton a doctor found that 10 per cent. of the accidents happened to intoxicated persons. If they took the figures for venereal diseases they would find an average number of 16,000 cases treated in the hospitals, for the average number of soldiers constantly sick suffering from such diseases were 1,657, or 26 per cent. of the total number who were sick. With these figures before him they would see that venereal disease was a very important matter which was creating destitution.

Mr. W. Barber (Bradford Trades Council) said he had come to speak more especially with reference to certifying surgeons. He did so because he came from a district where they had in operation that pernicious system, the half-time system. They were faced there with a problem with regard to which he thought an alteration in their certifying surgeons' system would have a very beneficial effect. They were all equally concerned with the question of the prevention of destitution, and it was only a question of the point of view. They would all agree also that if they were to deal with destitution they must begin at the root, and the root of it was the children. He wished to say that there were hundreds of children in Bradford being passed into their factories through the present system of certifying surgeons who never ought to go into those factories. He considered the system of factory surgeons was very unsatisfactory, and he had knowledge of it. He was not complaining of the factory surgeons as such, but believed that owing to the system under which they were employed they were not able to do the work in as thorough a manner as it should be done. Unfortunately at the present time these certifying surgeons were in the pay of employers, which, in his view, was one of the great evils of the system. He considered that these surgeons ought to be directly under the control of the Government, and that the school medical officer should be the certifying doctor of all children passing into juvenile labour, because the school doctor had the finest opportunity of keeping a record of every child in the schools. He could make periodical examinations and carry out all the wishes of the medical fraternity in building up a strong nation, and after all, that was what they were all anxious for. He also wished to suggest to the conference that they should consider the question of having medical referees for all districts in Great Britain to act in connection with the Workmen's Compensation Act, who were appointed directly under the control of the Government, and if possible they ought also to allow a man suffering from diseases of occupation to be able to claim compensation through a certificate of the ordinary practitioner. As one who had had some little experience of this work he knew a number of cases where, because the factory surgeon had been in the employ of the employer, men had been denied their compensation, and that, in his opinion, had caused untold misery and destitution to families in his district, which was, of course, only a small part of the country. He was convinced that the system which obtained right through Great Britain was bad, and it was time they had an alteration, because the work was growing. Industries were more and more using dangerous

dyes and dangerous machinery of all kinds, which made it impossible for the workman to keep his end up. Some reference had been made that morning to the age of the workmen, and he would like to give one or two cases which had come under his notice with regard to compensation. The principal cases were those of boys of 15, 16, and 17 years of age who had been put in charge of machines and had been injured for life. Some he knew had had fingers cut off, and for all intents and purposes their lives were spoilt. Further than that, the fact that they were getting low wages debarred them under the Workmen's Compensation Act from getting their right and just dues. After all was said and done, there were many questions which affected destitution, and what they ought to set themselves to do was to re-organise the whole system. He had heard it mentioned that there were a large number of old men debarred from obtaining employment owing to the Workmen's Compensation Act, and he was quite satisfied to believe that was the fact. He had a number of cases where they were debarred in consequence of having once received compensation and had got beyond the age of 45, and they had never been employed in the industry again. He contended that if a man had met with an accident while following his employment and the employer had been receiving a profit on his labour all the time, he should be made to keep him. There should be some system by which a man was not allowed to starve.

A DELEGATE rose to protest against the remarks of the speaker with regard to factory doctors, but

The CHAIRMAN said every person who spoke would probably make some statement open to dispute, and he thought the audience would agree that if they began to cross-examine the speakers they would never have done.

The DELEGATE said there had been a very distinct accusation made against factory surgeons, which, in his humble judgment, ought not to be allowed to go unanswered.

The CHAIRMAN : I think you are right in making that simple protest.

Councillor J. H. PALIN (Bradford) said the papers were excellent inasmuch as while so far they might not have provoked such a discussion as would tend to help them in preventing destitution, yet he thought the authors had provided the straw from which they could make the bricks when they got home. The authors had supplied them with the information they could place before their various health and education committees and so on, and no doubt would constitute very materially towards the prevention of destitution in the long run. It was rather unfortunate they had so many papers to discuss in such a short time, and he sincerely trusted both for the sake of the factory surgeon and everyone else they would have a number of local conferences where papers could be read and discussed. He suggested, for instance, that they might have a conference in the West Riding of Yorkshire. He was certain they could do something towards preventing destitution by discussing what the factory surgeon could do, and possibly a discussion between the factory surgeons and the operatives might lead to better relations between them. Unfortunately whilst there were some excellent factory inspectors (and he was sure they were all indebted to Dr. Dearden for the splendid paper he gave), yet they must not blink the fact that there had been a good many children passed who ought not to have been. Probably this was due to the miserable pay the doctors received for looking to the children. If they could only come together in conference he would have little difficulty in convincing the factory surgeons of the fact. He was greatly indebted to Dr. Dearden for his remarks about the speeding up of industry because there was no doubt that men and women in the textile trades were having to do a good deal more work, and, despite factory inspection, in a considerably worse atmosphere than before, and if the factory surgeon would only assist them a little more a very little pressure upon the Government would cause some limitation of the hours of these unhealthy and strenuous occupations. It seemed to him that there was such a strong vested interest that it was almost impossible to expect a very sweeping reform, but they might secure some co-ordination between the work of the certifying surgeon, the school doctor, and the medical officer of health. There was no doubt that where the medical officer of health was the certifying surgeon it was a very great advantage to the district. What they frequently saw was a child excused from school by the private practitioner as unfit to attend, but so soon as the boy arrived at the age that he could go to work half-time in the factory the very same doctor would certify him as being fit for work. They had a case before them a short time ago where the school doctor excluded a child from school suffering from a weak heart, but immediately that child arrived at the age to go to work a doctor

passed the child into a factory. They had to take the unprecedented course of calling the factory inspector's attention to it, and the boy was excluded from the factory. Such a thing, of course, brought the school doctor in collision with the certifying surgeon, which was unpleasant for both. With regard to the question of trade unionists and the maximum wage, there was a good deal in Mr. Hamilton's paper which he thought misleading. The trade unionists never had placed any bar in the way of old men seeking work, but naturally the trade unionist was bound, for his own protection, to lay down a minimum rate of wages, and if the old men's wages was to be made the minimum naturally that would become the wage for the whole of the trade. He heard a great deal of sympathy expressed when things were said about the trade unions and the old men, but employers were not compelled to pay the minimum rate of wages laid down for trade unionists. They could always amend exceptional ability, but unfortunately they rarely saw their way to do it. "Too old at 40" was undoubtedly a very serious matter, and much more serious than Mr. Hamilton seemed to realise. It was not that the man was too old at 40, but they found that the railway company or the Glasgow Corporation in its tramway department, if a man had ambition and wanted to raise the standard of comfort of his family and get another job, which turned out to be of a temporary character, said that he should never come back to them again. The Glasgow Corporation was quite as bad. They laid down an age limit at which a man should enter their service, and if a man left their service he was not allowed to re-enter it. They were afraid if they raised the age above 40 they would not be able to get the amount of service out of the man at the time he was best able to render it, and thus they found that men who had spent some of their best days as soldiers and sailors in the service of the country were absolutely barred by the railway companies and the Glasgow Corporation Tramway Department from coming back to civil life and receiving what he thought was their due from their country.

Dr. Fremantle (M.O.H., Hertfordshire) thought it would be useful at this stage, after the remarks of Mr. Palin, to say something on the advisability of getting a union between the certifying factory surgeon and the school medical officer with regard to the physical bar to employment. He thought they recognised in that room that there should be a very direct connection between the two, but the difficulty was that the whole factory system with regard to its sanitation was taken entirely out of the hands of the sanitary authorities and was directly under the Home Office. The local sanitary authorities had no duties with regard to the sanitation of factories except those limited to safety in the case of fire and the provision of sanitary conveniences. The general sanitation was under the Home Office. One of the first things they required to get in regard to sanitary matters was unification of the system. They must get local control and local responsibility for the sanitation of factories before they could get this connection between the factory service and the school service. When they once got the local sanitary authority responsible for the two matters the work of the certifying factory surgeons, under whatever safeguards might be decided, was put under the local health authority in connection with the school authority, then he thought they might be able to get a satisfactory link between the school medical service and the certifying factory service.

Mr. Elvin (General Secretary of the National Union of Clerks) said, like previous speakers, he was rather inclined to the view that with regard to the problem of preventing destitution they were doing like a good many people did when they tried to weed a garden. They seemed to think that by plucking at the tops they were afterwards going to get the roots out, but they found that the roots had such a hold in the ground that they left them in, with the result that sooner or later they found the evil they wished to get rid of had been intensified by their action. And so with regard to many of the cures they heard of they really did more harm in the long run. The question of physical unfitness proved his point very fully. One of the doctors referred to the question of imperfect growth, and he gave cigarette smoking as one of the reasons for it, whilst alcoholism had also been touched upon. He had so many vices that they would probably excuse him for saying he had two virtues—he neither drank nor smoked. A delegate at the back wanted to draw Mr. Stewart as to how many public-houses there were in Cowcaddens. Although they were agreed that a good deal of poverty might be the result of drink, he wondered whether he had inquired how much of the drink of this particular locality was due to the conditions under which these people lived. Then as to cigarette smoking; of course it was an evil. But when they condemned cigarette smoking

amongst the poorer classes and condemned the evils which were the result of it and told them it was a wasteful thing, which was perfectly true, they must not forget that in what was called the higher social circle they found more waste of money by smoking than amongst the working classes. Perhaps they did not see the evil effects of the smoking so far as the higher social circles were concerned, but the reason was largely due to the fact that they had means at their disposal by which they were able to obtain that nutriment which acted so largely in resisting the evil which was the result of smoking. Their friend had also referred to the subject of continuation classes, and enlarged on the virtues of Territorialism, and he gave two illustrations of how the Territorial system proved an advantage to the workers. There were many workers who were inclined to the view that there were other remedies in the air to produce physical fitness rather than Territorialism. Under the present economic system in large numbers of cases Mr. Haldane's Territorial Army had been a bane rather than a blessing. (Cries of "No.") He would give his illustration. A large employer in London, when Mr. Haldane's scheme was introduced, paraded his patriotism in the papers in order to get a little advertisement, and strongly urged all his employees to join the Territorial Army. But he found that the annual leave which was required to comply with the training was detrimental to his business, and during the past few weeks he had dismissed many of those who became "Terriers" at his request. With reference to the Workmen's Compensation Act one great blot was the power given to contract out. Mr. Barber had referred to the injuries which boys and girls had suffered, and he would like to give one instance to show how the power given under the Act to employers, to practically at any rate contract out of the Act, was acting very largely to increase destitution. A young fellow of 24 or 25, married, met with an accident during the course of his employment which unfitted him for the work that he had previously been engaged in. The employer practically contracted him out of the benefits he ought to receive under the Workmen's Compensation Act by persuading him to accept a lump sum. They, as social reformers, ought to strive for this, that it should be absolutely impossible for an employer to get out of his due responsibilities by paying an injured man a certain sum. This was generally due to the ignorance of the worker, who was not certain what his rights were under the Act. Coming back to the child question, it resolved itself into this, that every child of the State should be fitted by the State for its future industry. They had talked about people being too old at 40, and there were many who were looked upon by the employers as being too old who were really physically fit to earn a livelihood. After all, they found that this supposed physical unfitness at 40 largely turned on the social status a man might occupy in life. The workman was too old at 40. The soldier who had served his country well for perhaps twenty years was too old at 40 or 42, but they found that men like Lord Roberts and Lord Cromer—who was very much against old people having pensions of 5s. a week—were not found to be too old at 40, but could go on in the service of the State and elsewhere and earn very good incomes. What they had to aim at was that there should be no difference as far as citizens were concerned. They were all serving the State to the best of their ability, and because of that the State should come to their aid to see that they were not imposed upon.

Mr. WHEATLEY (Huddersfield Union) congratulated Colonel Melville on one very vivid sentence, when he said that the soldier and the sailor must start his career sound in wind and limb, for it was not worth the while of the State to train and educate the man who possessed some obvious physical defect which would almost certainly incapacitate him when exposed to the strain of service. If that was the condition which they wanted for men who slew their brothers across the seas it was ten times more necessary that the industrial workers by whom the community was enabled to enjoy comfort should be in a perfectly healthy condition. If the State was prepared to tax them over £40,000,000 for the British Army to throw lead then they could afford to be taxed for the wellbeing of the industrial workers. He had a little bit of sympathy with the Territorials, although some of his friends deprecated them, for he did think if they were all to learn to use their feet and walk properly they would be better men and better women. He would ask Col. Melville seriously to consider whether it was not as necessary for the citizens of the country as a whole to be in as fit a state as the soldiers of the British Army. Mr. Hamilton expressed some doubt as to whether the masters did deprecate a man who was just turning grey. He believed, however, there was no

reason to doubt it. He hoped when they got back home they would study the papers and see if there were not some things they could put into operation now for the benefit of the humanity which surrounded them.

Mr. COLVIN said that this was a many-sided problem. He wished to speak on the paper of Col. Melville, not so much in criticism as to supplement one idea which he brought forward. They were instructed as to the standard of recruiting, but what was important to them when they were considering unemployment was the standard of discharge. What was the kind of men that were discharged from the Army? What was the effect on unemployment of the kind of men who were coming from the Army to the extent of 30,000 a year? There had been a very marked improvement within the last twenty-five years in the class of men who were coming from the Army, and he wished to emphasise the point that the physical efficiency of these men depended very largely on the habits which they had in the Army. The moral and physical efficiency of the units was influenced by two factors, which were not dealt with in the paper, and these were the effect of the use of alcohol during their life in the Army and also the constitutional degradation which was produced by immorality. There had been some emphasis laid on the bad effects of cigarette smoking by boys. The physical bar to employment produced by alcohol and other causes in the Army was tenfold more than that of cigarette smoking amongst boys. One speaker mentioned the fact of the waste in smoking tobacco. It was not the waste of the tobacco smoked or the waste of the alcohol drunk, but it was the physical effects which were produced. In dealing with the prevention of unemployment, and in preventing unfitness for employment, the attempt to promote abstinence and purity in the Army was a most valuable help. Mr. Stewart had referred to the consumption and rickets in Glasgow. He was not going to enter into the question there as to whether drunkenness had produced Cowcaddens or Cowcaddens had produced drunkenness. It was a reflex action, but they could not leave out of account the effects of the consumption of alcohol. They also wanted education and housing and fresh air, and cookery classes, and an organisation to prevent boys being thrown out of regular work at 17 or 18 years of age to become loafers. He did not want to make that platform a branch of the Church of England Temperance Society, but he did wish to impress the fact that those who had worked for years to raise the tone of the Army had been their most valuable workers in the cause of health and physical fitness, and therefore in the cause of the prevention of unemployment.

Miss HARTOP (Secretary, Juvenile Employment Committee of Board of Trade Labour Exchange, Dewsbury) said that Dr. Dearden towards the close of his paper referred to the co-ordination with Labour Exchanges. She represented the Advisory Committee which dealt with juvenile labour which was connected with the Board of Trade Labour Exchanges. They had made arrangements with the certifying factory surgeons in Dewsbury to supply the committee with information about all the children he rejected from factory employment. The factory surgeon gave them the causes of the rejection and the kind of work he thought they were unsuitable for, and also as to whether he thought for the time they were unsuitable for work of any kind. The children were then visited by the secretary, and they tried to obtain medical attention for them where necessary and suitable employment where necessary, and so far they had been very successful. They had got several cases treated and suitable employment for many children. Of course, a child might be unfit for factory employment, but quite fit for open-air work. It was a work they certainly felt a little bit proud of. There was one rather important point, which was that the certifying factory doctor in Dewsbury was also the school doctor.

Councillor J. CROWTHER (Sheffield) said there were two points he wished to mention from his experience on the Sheffield Town Council, which was the largest city in Yorkshire. (Laughter.) As the result of his ten years' experience of the work of the Distress Committee, of the Health Committee, and of the Education Committee, he wished to emphasise two or three of the points that had been mentioned that morning. He had been attending conferences for years, and he had heard a great deal about the causes but very little about remedies, and he thought that conference should try and devote itself to remedies. Mention had been made of the large class of people who were not in a condition for employment because of the drink question. He was not one of those who believed that, but he attributed a great deal to the housing conditions of great cities. He had seen the Cowcaddens district, and had no hesitation in saying that Glasgow had the worst housing

conditions of any city in Great Britain. He would like to know the variations in the death-rate of Glasgow, because that bore largely on the subject. He believed in Glasgow the death-rate rose from seven per thousand in one district to something like forty-two per thousand in another, and that left room for a great improvement. He did not hesitate to say that the foundation of the greater part of the poverty caused by drink was due to the housing conditions of the people, and he further said, as a social reformer, that if those present had to live under the same conditions as these people did they would do the same. It was the housing conditions which lay at the root of the question. These people were all by-products of their social and industrial system, and he believed they ought to try and deal with these by-products as they did with the waste products of trade—treat them for the good of the community. He hoped when their legislators realised that in these human by-products there was a great value they would at once apply the remedies.

The Rev. J. JOHNSTON said he humbly ventured to put in a word for the silent working man. He yielded to no one there in his anxiety to improve the social conditions of life in their country, and he had been trying for the last twenty-five years to help in that. He was glad that a delegate had brought forward the case of Cowcaddens. He wondered how many people had read the Reports of the Poor Law Commission. This was not a party question at all. If the Dean of Norwich were present he would bear him out when he said that both the Majority and Minority Reports of the Poor Law Commission showed how appallingly frequently unemployment was due to immorality. He did not think many people knew what a large army of men were walking about the streets to-day because they had become unfit from moral causes. If they had not studied the Reports of that Commission he would respectfully ask them to do so. He would also like to emphasise what had been said about drink. So long as a hundred millions of pounds were spent by working men on deteriorating their own physical vigour——

Mr. CROWTHER : I object too that rich people as well as poor are spending that.

The Rev. J. JOHNSTON said that for over twenty years he had been working in a town where, fortunately, the standard of wages was high, and where, except in times of extreme depression, their working men were fairly comfortable. They were either moulders inside the town or miners outside, and in both cases if these men behaved themselves and stuck to their work, they could live and did live in comfortable houses. He did not know if anybody there had been in as many workmen's houses as he had, and he thought it extremely doubtful. He said that if these men stuck to their work they were able, through a building society, to secure houses of their own—a nice house with a little garden. The majority of men who were not living in such houses owed it to their own fault.

A month or two ago he had heard about a miner working a coal cutting machine for which he received 14s. a day. That man was urged very strongly by his employer to get a better house. He had a wife and a large family, but he point blank refused to take more than a two-roomed house. They must get at men of that sort; but unless their trade unions would help them they would never get at them. If they got a man with 70s. a week living abominably, what were they to do with him? It was not State aid that we required nearly so often as an increase of self-respect.

Mr. J. Ross (Glasgow Parish Council) said he merely wanted to say something in regard to what had fallen from Mr. Stewart. He happened to know Cowcaddens, and had lived in it for thirty years and knew all about it. He represented it on the Parish Council, so what he was saying was absolutely correct. In Cowcaddens they had 317 public-houses. In Kelvinside they had more. He could not give the correct figures of the death-rate, but he knew that Cowcaddens headed the list. Mr. Stewart talked about the housing conditions and the giving of better houses in Cowcaddens. Let him say that in connection with a scheme of housing in Cowcaddens a number of gentlemen built a certain street not exactly in Cowcaddens, but in the adjoining ward of Woodside. They were good houses, such as the working men had been crying out for for many years. But what were the conditions of those houses to-day? Just slums! Why? Just because the dwellers in Cowcaddens went there with their habits. They went there with their drinking habits and they were drinking as much in Oban Terrace as they drank in Lyland Street. He wanted to refer to the moral point which Mr. Colvin had spoken about. He knew men in Cowcaddens who earned regularly from 38s. to 42s. a week and they had nothing in their houses. Absolutely nothing except misery and dirt and filth. And he knew

men earning 18s. a week regularly in the same street and there was no destitution in their houses. They were pretty comfortable. They had moral fibre. (Cries of dissent.) He could give a number of families where, on 18s. a week, three, four, and five children were being kept. (Cries of "It can't be done.") He knew what he was talking about and those who interrupted him did not. (A voice: "What do they live upon?") They lived on what they purchased at the grocer, the butcher, and the baker, but they purchased no drink. (Applause.) He simply wanted to point out that the prevention of destitution to a large extent depended on the people themselves. He had himself been brought up in the humblest home, and was still in a humble home, but he had always had enough and to spare; but he had never touched strong drink.

Councillor HARVEY (Plymouth Distress Committee) said he wanted to speak from three points of view, those of the slum worker, an employee, and an employer. In the town he came from he had worked amongst the people, and he agreed practically with every speaker that morning. (Laughter.) He agreed with every man, let him be Socialist, or Radical, or temperance reformer, or anything else, so long as he was trying to solve the problem of destitution. He was not going to condemn the employer of labour or the wage-earner, but he said they should go to the root of the evil. The leaves and flowers would declare themselves if they put the roots in perfect condition. He went that morning into the slums of this beautiful city of Westminster, and he found them reeking with the germs of disease. People came out of those houses with food to sell to the community. He thought they should try and cure destitution. In the town he came from he had had the control of houses, and he found that there were good landlords and good tenants and bad landlords and bad tenants, but they must deal with the whole and must make the landlord and agent responsible for every kind of sickness within a dwelling. (Cries of "Oh!") If they could find regular employment they would prevent destitution. He asked some of the people in the slums of Westminster to tell him how destitution could be prevented, and they said: "Take us out of this and give us constant employment and treat us as men and women and we will cure ourselves." That was what the congress should endeavour to do.

Rev. C. G. GARDNER (West Bromwich Union) asked to be allowed to say a word about the cause of the dismissal or the rejection of men not so much at 40 as over 50. As a Poor Law guardian working in an area where there were some of the largest works in the Midlands, they were constantly being impressed with the increase in this social wreckage. It was a very serious problem, and he wanted to disabuse the mind of the conference of the opinion which had got rather settled. He saw in *Chambers's Journal* a month ago an article which attributed this serious and regrettable phase of the present social and economic condition of the working classes entirely to the Compensation Act. In their district the Compensation Act had got nothing whatever to do with it, and he wished to emphasise that strongly. What was the cause of this constant dismissal and rejection of men from 40 to 45 years of age? He asked a man the other day why he could not get a job, and he was told that he had been to the foreman of a factory who said he dared not put him on. He said: "It is as much as my job is worth to put on any man over 45 years of age." It was not that such men were liable to come on the insurance fund, but the whole cause was the speeding up of the work. In his district they said the general manager directed the attention of the managers, and the managers spoke to the foremen, and the foremen kicked the men. He had experience after ten years' works on a relief committee, and he ventured to say that the cause of these men being refused work was that after 45 or 50 years of age they were not able to keep up the pace. They could do the work if they were given the time, but under the present economic conditions they must not let the work slacken down. He was not blaming the employers, because if they could not make a profit the works must be shut up, and in order to make a profit they had to do what they were doing. What became of these men six months after they were dismissed? In many cases they became unemployable. They were no longer able to go to the works at 6 o'clock in the morning expecting to get a job, and they were even driven into the workhouse, or what was more serious they must become a charge upon the home. He wished they had more of the people who earned 14s. a day, but they had a great many who did not earn 14s. a week. These were the sons of the men who could get no work, and they were supposed to help keep the fathers. They as Guardians could not think of imposing on them the responsibility of contributing to

their parents' support. They did not ask any man to give anything unless he was over the poverty line of 22s. a week. But as a matter of fact a great many of them did take on the responsibility of their own goodwill, and the consequence was that their wives and children suffered and their homes were depressed through the economic conditions all the way round. The question was, what were they to do? Nobody had yet discovered the solution. (A voice: "State control.") He supposed State control meant the taking over of the whole of these works, but if so the speeding up would still have to go on. The only thing he could say was that they should insist that all the work the local authorities had to do should be done by these men, and after that national support in the way of pensions was all he could suggest.

Mrs. BREMNER (Scottish Council of Women's Trades) said she had simply to contribute one fact to the common stock, and that fact was diametrically opposed to the facts of most of those who had spoken. Some years ago in Glasgow they wished to get employment for some people who were quite capable of doing light work. They thought that first they might get these people insured, and so they went to the insurance companies and asked what the rates were. They went to eight, including Lloyds, and not one would take the risk at all and insure these handicapped persons. Their failures sometimes were as useful as their successes, and it was right that it should be known that the real difficulty in this case was the Workmen's Compensation Act. It was interesting to learn from Mr. Hamilton that the older men were not more subject to accident, but still he was undoubtedly more subject to continuous permanent disablement, and one way or another it worked out that the insurance companies would not insure these people. The moral of this little fact was that if they were going to try and solve these difficulties by State machinery their legislation should be well considered and provide for cases of hardship which might occur in spite of the very best intentions.

Mr. R. S. GORDON said that he only wished to refer to one point which was of importance. Mr. Hamilton referred to trade unionism, and said the trade unions did not allow the older men to accept a lower wage. As a matter of fact many of the trade unions did allow a man to receive a lower wage after he had reached a certain age. Many fixed it at 50, and one or two came down to 45. Therefore they could see that the trade unions were doing what they could to meet the position of their aged workers.

Third Day, Thursday, June 1st.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was occupied by the President, Sir Alfred Mond, and the subject of discussion was PROVISION FOR THE UNEMPLOYED. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Hollesley Bay Labour Colony.*
By Mr. BOLTON SMART, Superintendent, Hollesley Bay Labour Colony.

2.—*Working Colonies and similar Institutions in Germany.*
By Dr. OTTO MOST, Chief of the Statistical Department, Düsseldorf.

3.—*The Edinburgh Labour Colony at Murieston.*
By Professor RICHARD LODGE.

4.—*The Labour Colony as an Agency for the Prevention of Destitution.*
By Colonel D. C. LAMB, Salvation Army Emigration Bureau.

The Hollesley Bay Labour Colony.

By BOLTON SMART.
(Superintendent of the Colony.)

THE Hollesley Bay Labour Colony was originally built and used as a Colonial Agricultural Training College. The Colony is situated near the village of Hollesley, about seven miles from Melton Station, and eight from Felixstowe and Woodbridge. Accommodation is provided for 350 men, but it is only during the winter, when unemployment is particularly keen, that the Colony is maintained at full strength. In the summer time the number of men employed is reduced to 200.

The Colony was established by the Central Committee of the London Unemployed Fund in February, 1905, the estate and buildings being leased to that committee by Mr. Joseph Fels, at a peppercorn rent, for three years, with the option of purchase at the original cost price at any time within that period. Under the terms of the agreement the estate was to be transferred on similar conditions to any Metropolitan authority established to deal with the unemployed, and the offer of the transfer of the Colony—on which at the time 170 men were working—followed automatically upon the constitution of the Central (Unemployed) Body for London; but, until its own constitution could be completed and the matter properly considered upon full information, consideration of the question of applying for the sanction of the Local Government Board to purchase, was deferred.

The total area of the estate is nearly 1,300 acres, and at the commencement of

operations by the Central Body 600 acres were arable land, 250 acres heathland, and the remainder pasture, woodland, and grounds. On the estate were also the buildings of the defunct Colonial Agricultural College.

The actual date upon which the Central Body officially took over the Colony was the 12th December, 1905, but it was not until the 18th August, 1906, that the Local Government Board gave their permission to the purchase of the estate. The Central Body thereupon decided to purchase the property, and on the 18th January, 1907, the purchase was completed.

Scheme of Development.—On taking over the Colony from the London Unemployed Fund Committee the Central Body endeavoured to carry out the programme laid down by that committee when the Colony was opened in February, 1905. The scheme of development being as follows:—

(1) The provision of special work for periods of exceptional distress, in order to meet which certain works connected with the improvement of the estate were, as far as possible, reserved.

(2) The provision, in two stages, of more continuous work for men who were not only in exceptional need of work, but who either had already lived upon the land or who showed a marked aptitude for country life.

(*a*) *First Stage.*—A probationary period of (say) three months, during which the men would live in the College buildings, their wives and children being supported in London.

(*b*) *Second Stage.*—Should the probationary period prove that the men had strength and ability for agricultural work, it was proposed that in suitable cases wives and children should be brought down from London and a cottage allotted to each family for a further period of (say) from six to nine months.

The training was to be made especially adaptable for preparing the men for permanent work in the country as gardeners or farm labourers. Every effort was also to be made to interest the wives in country ways and methods of living, and when the London home was given up, agricultural rates of pay were to be adopted, all customary perquisites, allowances, etc., being taken into careful consideration.

(3) The establishment of suitable men and families in agricultural or other rural industry in various forms:—

(*a*) Ordinary farm situations—preferable in districts where wages and conditions were good, and where a movement towards small holdings, allotments, market gardening, co-operative farming, etc., was developing.

(*b*) Market gardening or ordinary gardeners' situations.

(*c*) The establishment of co-operative small holdings in the neighbourhood of the Colony or elsewhere (either with or without some intervening period of service elsewhere under *a* or *b*); this to be the hope held out to picked men on the Colony.

(*d*) Suitable training for emigration.

A serious difficulty, however, arose, and continues to exist, with regard to the establishment of small holdings, referred to in (3, *c*), the Local Government Board having stated in reply to an inquiry by the Central Body that they did not consider that the purchase of an estate for the purpose of developing small holdings came within the powers of the Central Body. Up to the present, therefore, it has not been possible to give full effect to the training scheme referred to in (3, *c*).

As the matter now stands, the sending of men to the Colony for a period of sixteen weeks means to the bulk of the men sixteen weeks of good food and good air, with provision during this time for their wives and families, and then, in cases where the men are unable to obtain work, a return to former conditions.

The scheme, however, has not been lost sight of, for endeavour is still being made to obtain powers to carry out this important section of the work; and a scheme for the cultivating of small holdings on co-operative principles, for the production of market garden and fruit crops has been submitted to the Local Government Board and the Board of Agriculture.

Reference to the schemes for the training of applicants for emigration and for the migration of families to other parts of England and Wales are made later.

Work of the Colony.—The actual work of the Colony is supervised and controlled by a superintendent who has the assistance of certain other officials, including a farm and garden manager and a works manager. The former has control over the outside work on the farm and garden, while the duties of the works manager are to superintend the erection of all new buildings and the execution of any necessary estate repairs. The superintendent presents a detailed report of the work in progress, or proposed to be put in hand, to a Rota Committee, who visit the Colony once a fortnight.

The men are employed continuously for successive periods of a month, returning to London at the end of each month for two days to visit their homes and look for work.

Conditions as to Payment.—The men receive their board and lodging, 6d. per week for incidental expenses, and a weekly allowance is paid to the wife at her home in accordance with the following scale:—

10s. 0d. for the wife
2s. 0d. for the first child under 14.
1s. 6d. for the second child under 14.
1s. 0d. each for other children (only children under 14 years of age being reckoned).

Deductions will be made for other earnings at the following rates:—One-third wife's earnings; one-fourth children's earnings.

In no case will more than 17s. 6d. be paid, except in cases where men have resided at the Colony for a period of twelve weeks, when they are entitled to receive 1s. extra as a clothing allowance.

The work carried out on the Colony since December, 1905, has been very varied, and is briefly summarised herein:—

Estate Works.

Water Supply.—An extensive system for the supply of water to the institution and estate generally has been installed. The water is pumped by an oil engine from a spring to an iron cistern capable of holding 9,000 gallons, which was erected at a point forty-six feet above the highest ground level on the estate. No difficulty is ever found in obtaining spring water even at times of long drought.

This scheme also includes the installation of a very efficient hot water service, with shower baths for use by the men.

Settlers' Cottages.—Twenty-one cottages have been erected on the estate, the original intention being to allow selected men to occupy these whilst working on holdings adjacent to them, but at present they are occupied by selected men to whom the Central Body are giving a prolonged course of training with a view to settlement on the land, either as agricultural labourers or on small holdings.

Fifteen of the cottages referred to were built of concrete *in situ*, with internal walls of brick, and the remainder were constructed wholly of bricks. They contain one large living room, scullery with bath and copper, and three bedrooms; the roof space is utilised to provide a store room.

The bricks used in the construction were manufactured on the Colony, and are composed of cement and sand.

A water supply has been laid on to each cottage.

Farm Buildings and Cottages.—Very extensive additions, repairs, and alterations have been made to the existing farm buildings and cottages. Excluding the new settlers' cottages, there are twenty-six of the latter. *Greenhouses.*—Eight glasshouses have been erected, and three others are in course of erection, the whole giving 25,320 superficial feet of glass. A large number of pit lights have also been made in our shops.

Riverside Wharf.—A concrete wharf, 135 feet long by 30 feet wide has been constructed on the river front, and a warehouse capable of holding 1,000 sacks of grain has been erected upon it. A dock is in course of construction adjoining the wharf, and will accommodate two sea-going barges.

Tramway.—Different parts of the estate are being brought into quicker communication with one another by the laying down of a system of light rails. At the present time there are two miles of track laid, which is being used for the haulage of coal, manure, and farm and garden produce.

Open Air Swimming Bath.—The river and sea frontage being dangerous, an open air swimming bath has been constructed of the following dimensions:—Fifty-two yards by twenty-three yards.

Institution and Buildings.—Considerable improvements have been carried out in connection with the buildings and the superintendent's quarters. The Central Body were desirous of installing a system of electric lighting for the Colony, but as the Local Government Board did not approve, a system of petrol gas has been approved, and will shortly be installed.

Other Work.—Altogether a varied schedule of works has been carried out, but it would be of little advantage to give details of the others here. The principal items include the construction of a sewage filter, lamp room, disinfecting chamber, motor house, new stabling, implement sheds, and workshops.

Farm and Garden.—When first acquired, the farm land was in a very poor condition, and the whole estate generally required much attention. The original area covered by the market garden was about nine acres, but there are now over 200 acres planted, mainly with fruit.

The live stock on the farm has also received attention, and at March 31st, 1911, included:—

Horses (Farm) ...	38	Lambs	500
Colts	5	Boars	2
Horses (Institution stable)	3	Sows	40
Bull	1	Store Pigs	114
Cows	12	Young Pigs	174
Calves	2	Cocks	27
Steers	32	Chicken (including hens)	2,508
Heifers	15	Ducks	30
Rams	5	Drakes	3
Ewes	255	Ducklings	38
(Lambing not finished.)		Hen Turkeys	7
Shearlings	89	Cock Turkey	1

The policy of the Central Body has been continually to extend the market garden operations. This work requires more labour than the ordinary farm work, and in this way it is possible to put to work a larger number of men during times of depression. It is also understood that any scheme for small holdings for London men that may be inaugurated at a future date will rely chiefly upon market garden work, and the training at Hollesley Bay would then be of use.

Monthly Furloughs.—The men are free to return at the end of each month, leaving the colony after working hours on Saturday and returning by early train on Monday morning, during which time the payment to the families is continued. They are also free to leave the Colony at any other time, but, unless they can show good reason for so leaving, their places are not to be reserved for them.

Class of Men received at the Colony.—In considering the morale, physique, and intelligence of the men sent to the Colony, it is necessary to point out that the whole of the men are selected for their character and fitness by the various Distress Committees of London, the Central Body allocating a given number of vacancies to each Distress Committee in the administrative County of London. We have, therefore, twenty-nine selection committees, and although there is naturally some difference in standard, the Committees have, on the whole, done their work well.

Men applying to a Distress Committee, with a view to entrance to the Colony, must be married, under 45 years of age, unemployed, of good character, of good health, and resident in London for a period of not less than twelve months.

The men received at the Colony are drawn therefore from the whole area of the County of London, and are selected by the various Distress Committees set up under the Unemployed Workmen's Act of 1905 in each Metropolitan Borough and the City, whose administration is controlled and unified by the Central (Unemployed) Body for London, created and receiving its powers under the aforementioned Act.

In times when work is scarce the standard of men sent becomes higher, and naturally automatically recedes when work becomes more abundant. It will be seen by the table of occupations (see p. 491) that a very large number of men come from casual or seasonal occupations, and in view of the irregularity of income, and consequently the irregularity of all their domestic arrangements, it is surprising to find the general physique and morale so good as it is, although there are many exceptions of a painful character, and probably one's judgment would not be so favourable if formed without a full knowledge of the demoralising conditions accompanying casual and seasonal labour.

Successful applicants for entrance to the Colony receive from their Distress Committee an identification card, in exchange for which they receive a railway ticket at Liverpool Street Station, and travel in parties by the Great Eastern to Melton Station, Suffolk, situated some six and a half miles from the Colony, to which they are expected to walk.

Upon arrival the men receive dinner, after which particulars respecting each man are taken down (the card record system being adopted at the Colony). After this the party of men are interviewed together by the Superintendent, who usually spends a full hour with them. There are no printed rules, but in this interview the things that may, or may not, be done, are carefully explained, and an attempt is made to imbue the men with a spirit of hope and co-operation, and to establish a personal link betwixt the head of the colony and each new man. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance and utility of this initial interview,

which is not simply a recital of rules, but a real and definite attempt to stir favourably the best in the men, with a view to their own betterment.

First, it is pointed out that the whole of our arrangements are such that no self-respecting man need fear damage thereby, and that their proper dignity and independence will be respected the whole time they are here; that whenever rules or regulations are spoken of the reason for the same is given; the need for looking on the bright side, and acting in a brotherly way towards each other is emphasised; personal habits are talked about; the working and election of the Men's Council, and the advantages of the education, training, and social side of their life at the Colony explained.

So that, at the close of the interview, each man is led to feel he is part of a great whole, which depends for its well-being upon the individual conduct and good-will of every unit.

Special instructions are given to men who have come to the Colony specifically for training with a view to emigration; each man receiving a note-book for his own use during training.

The rest of the afternoon is taken up in issuing boots, which are sold at half-price to each colonist; leggings and towels are loaned, beds allocated, bathing, etc.

The following morning the men are received into the various departments, as arranged betwixt the Superintendent and the heads of same, where each man is set to work under competent foremen and gangers.

Hours of Work.—The hours of work in spring and summer are as follows: Get up bell, 5.30 a.m. (every man expected to pack up his bedding neatly before leaving dormitory); work bell, 6 o'clock; breakfast, 8 to 8.30; dinner, 12 to 1; finish work, 5.30 (Saturday, 1 p.m.). Winter: Get up bell, 6 a.m. (every man expected to pack up his bedding neatly before leaving dormitory); breakfast, 6.30; work, 7; dinner, 12 to 1; finish work, 5 o'clock (Saturday, 1 o'clock).

Work of the Colony.—The work of the Colony is arranged under three departments—institution, farm and garden, and works. There is a farm and garden manager, and a works manager, who are responsible to the Superintendent. Each of the departmental managers have under their direction a staff of foremen and gangers.

In addition to the oversight of the men arranged within each department, the gangs of men are visited twice daily, names are checked, and the total number of men must be found to balance.

A daily record is kept of each man's work and conduct. In cases of laziness one warning is given, and if the offence is repeated the man is discharged.

Farm.—On the farm almost every kind of farming stock and cultivations are undertaken, and, in the gardens (which include a considerable area of glass and a nursery) widely varied horticultural operations are carried on. Probably no better opportunity for practical training in any of the branches could be found in this country.

The dairy is carried on upon the most approved lines, and in the county notorious for variable quality in butter, we have succeeded in standardising the butter we produce.

The flock of pedigree Suffolk sheep has attained distinction two years running as the most prolific flock of its class in the county, and as the fall of lambs this year exceeds either of the last two years, we are hopeful of maintaining this position.

The bullocks are grazed and fed off in our stock yards, while our strain of pigs are well sought after for killing and breeding purposes.

Our poultry farm has been remodelled and enlarged, and includes an up-to-date incubator house, containing ten incubators, from which we are able to raise some 4,000 chicks, 1,000 ducks, and 100 turkeys.

About forty horses are employed on the estate, including some good pedigree Suffolks and shires, from which we are breeding our young stock.

Training of Emigrants.—Each candidate for emigration is taught to milk and to make butter, and to handle as many farm implements as possible. He is also passed round for a period with the various kinds of stock.

Migration.—The Central Body continue in a modified way to select men who show special ability and adaptiveness for agricultural work, and to give them an extended period of training. In some cases the families of the men are migrated to the Colony, and the men rent a cottage on the estate and work and live under the same conditions as ordinary farm hands. The colonists who, after further training, are still found to be suitable for migration, are then recommended to farmers who from time to time apply to the Central Body for labourers.

The chief difficulty in respect to this section of the work is the necessity for training the men for a period considerably in excess of sixteen weeks, and the accommodation of the family on the Colony during such time. Unless the men have been thoroughly trained the Central Body do not care to recommend them for agricultural appointments.

Garden.—The garden contains about 200 acres, mainly planted to fruit, including apples, pears, plums, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, currants, etc.; crops under glass consisting of strawberries, tomatoes, chrysanthemums, salads, seakale, and rhubarb. The nurseries, covering about six acres, from which we obtain our own hard and soft fruit stock, and saplings for estate forestry. We have also, in connection with the gardens, an extensive apiary.

Special Work carried out during Winter.—When the number of men in the Colony has been in excess of the number which can be conveniently employed on the farm or garden or on the estate works, the men have been put to the reclamation of heathland, of which there was originally 254 acres, cleaning out of dykes, and afforestation.

Works Department.—The Works Department is equipped with plant to carry on the whole of the estate upkeep and repairs, brickmaking, and for the erection of new farm buildings, cottages, greenhouses, etc., required from time to time. We are able also to build our own vans, carts, make our own horse shoes, and do our own shoeing; falling and working up our own timber as available, and suitable for jobs in hand. The portable engine used for threshing and grinding on the farm is available at certain times for the steam saw bench.

The workshops include departments for carpenters and joiners, wheelwrights, farrier and general blacksmith, and painters and plumbers, and one skilled man is retained in each of these departments. Some of the work accomplished will be found scheduled on page 484.

It will therefore be seen that from the standpoint of variety of occupation the colony is complete.

Institution.—The institution contains the main buildings, with accommodation for 330 men, and a supplementary dormitory (in connection with the Works Department) to accommodate a further twenty men, making a total of 350.

The whole of the domestic arrangements are carried out with an absolute minimum of paid labour, the staff being as follows: Storekeeper, cook, day man,

and night watchman. The whole of the cooking arrangements are carried out in a central kitchen, under the direction of the cook.

The cleaning of the entire establishment, the oversight of the laundry, of sanitary accommodation, the issuing of bedding and oversight of same, are included in the duties of the day man.

The night watchman is on duty every night till 6 a.m., and is responsible for the safety of the place; the orderly behaviour of the men, the lighting of early fires, and calling all men working early hours on special jobs.

The whole of the washing for the establishment is done by colonists, their own personal washing being done in their own time, the bed washing being done in their ordinary working hours of the Colony.

The whole of the bread for the institution is made on the premises, the work being carried out by a paid man; boot and harness repairs are also done on the premises by a paid man.

The office staff, for the clerical work of the institution, farm and garden, and works department, consists of an accountant, shorthand-typist, and ledger clerk.

Education and Training.—Although the Colony has not been able to accomplish all it set out to do under this heading, it has, nevertheless, done a good deal of very valuable work. For the six months of autumn and winter, a comprehensive scheme of lectures, classes, and examinations, are carried out. Each week three technical lectures upon every branch of farming, gardening, and fruit culture are given, with one lecture on some general subject likely to attract the whole body of men. The lantern, microscope, and actual specimens are utilised, and the students are encouraged to make full use of note-books provided. At the end of each quarter the note-books are carefully examined; the students are asked to fill in questionaire papers, and write essays on the subjects dealt with in the lectures of the previous three months.

The lectures are definitely linked with the practical training the men are receiving in the various departments of farm and garden, and cover the whole range of stock keeping and cultivations. The whole of the men sent to the Colony for emigration for definite training are expected to attend all the technical lectures with regularity, while the whole body of the men are also encouraged to attend. It is no less surprising than delightful to witness the keen interest and intelligence of our students, and there can be no doubt that the training received here will prove immensely valuable to the men seeking life in the colonies.

The London men settled with their families on the estate are also very keen in their work, most of them being now able to do any kind of gardening and to raise their own fruit stock; budding, grafting, pruning, and fighting every kind of pest the fruit grower has to meet. They are also, like most London men, extremely fond of live stock, and most of them are doing well with their poultry and pigs, while the large garden of nearly half an acre attached to each cottage compare favourably with any cottage gardens in the county.

Generally speaking, the instincts for country life and natural objects are quickened and rapidly developed by residence here, and, almost without exception, the London men are keen and interested fanciers of every kind of live stock.

Our experience, therefore, points to a successful issue should we be able to revert to our main function as a training establishment. From the teaching standpoint we have found the Londoner to be good material; he is so curious and alert.

The whole of the nursery, budding, and grafting, and the planting and pruning for our extensive fruit orchards has been done by London men of our own

training, and I have no hesitation in asserting my belief that if the way were opened for the establishment of co-operative small holdings we can quite successfully train suitable London men for this purpose.

Domestic Life on the Colony.

Dietary.—A varied dietary has been arranged, the average cost per week working out last year at 4s. 8d. This is an increase on the average of previous years of 1d., the increase in cost being accounted for by the higher prices of provisions.

Hot and Cold Shower Baths for Men.—Every man must bathe at least once per week. There are large open dormitories, each accommodating about fifty men, and these are subdivided into cubicles, accommodating five men each. The men are messed at separate tables, accommodating ten. A proper quantity of food, according to dietary scale, is placed on each table, and the men of each table appoint their own "father," whose duty it is to apportion out the meals to each man.

Clothing.—Should any man be in need of underclothing, he is able to purchase this at cost price from the store, the same being charged to his wife's account, and weekly stoppages made to pay for same. No man can purchase more than 12s. worth, including the half-cost of boots issued, during his residence at the colony. Each man is expected to wash his own underclothing, and to change every week.

Medical Aid.—There is no resident medical man, a local practitioner being called in when required. The general health of the men is excellent. During the whole of the six years, 6,022 men having passed through the colony, three deaths have occurred.

Social and Religious.—There are both church and chapel in Hollesley village, and our men are free to go, and are welcomed at either. During the winter months an unsectarian service, and a Sunday Morning Brotherhood, are conducted in the large dining hall. A weekly concert is arranged by the men, while various indoor and outdoor recreations are provided.

In connection with the domestic and social life of the men, a Men's Council is appointed by the men themselves, each group of men from individual boroughs electing their own delegate. Matters of complaint, or suggestions for the welfare of the men, are made to the delegates, and are discussed in the fortnightly Council meetings; and, when thought necessary, the views of the Council are then laid before the Superintendent.

The Council also appoints various committees for the management of the domestic and social life of the colony. The Men's Council also manages a tobacco shop, and run a life assurance fund, which is supported by weekly contributions from the men and subsidised by profits from the tobacco shop. The colony library is also subsidised from the same source.

The work of the Men's Council has been an important factor in the domestic and social life of the Colony, and has helped to create an *esprit de corps* and morale that would be difficult otherwise to attain.

Discipline and Conduct.—The men are expected to be clean in all their habits. Smoking is allowed in all the day rooms, but is strictly forbidden during meals, and in the dormitories. Spittoons are provided in all day rooms and corridors, and the men are constantly urged to cleanliness in this direction. Men are allowed if they wish to go to the public-house in the district to get a glass of beer, but

they are carefully warned that if they come back the worse for drink they will be immediately returned to London.

Men are allowed to go anywhere they like about the district in their own time, so long as they are in before the bed bell rings at 9.45 p.m. There are no fines or punishments in connection with any of the rules, excepting that for the breach of any serious rule a man is returned to London. The general discipline and conduct of the men are excellent, and their behaviour outside the Colony has been such as to win the approval of the leading residents of the district.

Cost of Training, and Upkeep of Family during Training Period.—The cost of maintaining the man at the Colony and his family in London works out at 26s. 6d. per week, or about one-third the cost of maintaining the man and his family in the workhouse.

Revenue.—The total annual revenue of the farm and garden now approaches £8,000, and this will be largely increased as the orchards come into full bearing.

Improved Estate Value.—The official improved estate value to March, 1910, was £9,462 8s. 8d. This is likely to be increased at this year's valuation by £2,711 0s. 5d., making a total increased estate value of £12,173 9s. 1d.

The work of the past six years establishes certain facts: (1st) That there are numbers of men in London who are keen to adopt country life, and earn their living on the land; (2nd) that such men can be trained successfully for country life; and (3rd) that this can be accomplished at one-third the cost of the indoor workhouse treatment.

It may be added that, good as the discipline and conduct of the men have been during the past six years, the standard would have been higher still if the establishment had been run only for the training of men suitable and keen for settlement on the land, and with the hope of such settlement before them.

It must not be forgotten that when the small holdings scheme was blocked, a large factor of hope was taken from the men. It should also be remembered that colonies of other grades should be running concurrently, for the purpose of dealing with defective, lazy, or undisciplined men.

The following tables are given:—

TRADES OF MEN EMPLOYED AT THE COLONY, 1905-1910.

	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	Average.
Building Trades	23.16	27.81	26.84	28.49	26.57
Metal Workers	3.94	8.40	8.58	8.10	7.25
Printing and Paper Trades ...	.87	.07	1.15	.69	.69
Dress	.43	.64	.06	1.00	.53
Wood Workers	2.88	3.95	4.06	2.77	3.42
Sundry Manufacturers ...	4.13	3.6	3.37	2.00	3.27
Food and Drink	2.06	3.03	3.60	4.16	3.21
Dealers and Clerks	4.5	.05	.06	.77	1.34
Coachmen, Carmen, and other Transport Labour ...	57.48	52.38	49.30	50.73	52.47
Civil and Municipal ...	.5	.03	.05	.54	.28
Service (various)	—	.04	.08	.54	.16
Unclassified	—	.02	2.76	.15	.73

REASONS FOR DISCHARGE, 1905-1910.

	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	Average.
Misconduct	3.7	3.5	2.6	2.00	2.95
Medically Unfit	1.3	1.8	1.4	.17	1.17
*Emigrated	10.0	.9	.9	1.63	3.36
Sickness & Medical Attendance	6.4	8.3	5.8	6.27	6.69
Trouble at Home	3.8	2.4	2.6	2.52	2.83
No reason given, or own accord	10.8	3.7	3.8	6.18	6.12
Dissatisfied	.5	1.4	.5	.26	.66
Time expired	21.4	38.6	48.9	45.95	38.71
Migrated	1.5	2.6	.7	.61	1.35
Found work	18.7	17.8	20.5	20.37	19.34
Did not return (presumably found work)	1.0	11.5	6.3	6.18	6.24
Drink	2.4	.8	1.6	2.44	1.81
Discharged (various reasons) .	1.4	4.9	4.4	5.31	4.00
Reduction of numbers ...	7.1	1.6	—	—	2.2
Deceased	—	.2	—	.09	.07

The number of men sent to the Colony up to March 31st, 1910, is 5,725.

Number "country born," 790. (*Note.*—The majority of these commenced their life in London as children.)

The average age of the colonist is 33 years.

The average family is man, wife, and four children.

The average cost per man and family per week is 26s. 6d.

The following table is the result of an inquiry, undertaken by an independent and highly qualified authority, into some 800 cases of men who had passed through the Colony. These were men who had been sent to the Colony for a period of temporary employment, and not for training. The period elapsing from discharge to inquiry ranges from three months to three years.

	Employment since leaving Colony.	Subsequent Applications.	Opinions of men.
More or less regular .	17 per cent.	—	—
More than half time .	31.3 „	—	—
Less „ „	39 „	—	—
No work	12.7 „	—	—
To Distress Committee .	(No result).	33.5 per cent.	—
„ „	(Result).	13.7 „	—
To Poor Law . . .	—	11.4 „	—
No application . . .	—	41.4 „	—
Satisfied	—	—	93.7 per cent.
Dissatisfied	—	—	6.3 „

* Emigrated. This does not include wives and children, who in each case are emigrated with the men.

	Condition of homes.	Benefit to family.	Opinions of wives.
Clean	63.3 per cent.	—	—
Fair	22.4 „	—	—
Dirty	14.3 „	—	—
Permanent	—	16.9 per cent.	—
Temporary	—	74.8 „	—
No benefit	—	8.3 „	—
Injurious	—	—	—
Money sufficient	—	—	91 per cent.
Money insufficient	—	—	9 „

Sunk from skilled trades, 11.7 per cent.

Working Colonies and similar Institutions in Germany.

By Dr. Otto Most.
(Deputy Mayor and Chief Statistical Officer of Düsseldorf.)

The vagrancy problem, due to the wandering about the country of men out of work, was a far more serious evil in former centuries than it is to-day, yet its extent and absolute importance can hardly be said to have decreased. While formerly it was due to a lack of organised poor relief, to a far-reaching *Heimatlosigkeit*, or lack of claim for support upon a particular commune, impoverishment in war and the general insecurity of existence, it is to-day a consequence of the fluctuations of the population due to the extraordinary progress of commerce and industry, as well as the variations in production and employment due to the same cause.

Regarded individually, it is difficult to draw a distinction between the destitute wayfarer, the wandering beggar, and the worker travelling in search of work, in so far as the individual does not become hopelessly depraved. Neither the laws nor the different systems of poor relief can draw a distinction between these three categories. The relation of poor relief by Imperial legislation has failed to solve the problem created by this whole class. Section 28 of the law dealing with the subject (*Unterstützungs-Wohnsitzgesetz*) provides that every German needing assistance is entitled to it from the local poor relief union of the district in which he finds himself. This provision, however, has in the main been evaded, as the smaller poor relief unions with limited means are naturally unable to grant support to every stranger passing through their district, and constantly endeavour to get rid of the travelling poor by forcing them to

"move on." In cases, however, where assistance is afforded in the spirit of the law there is a danger that the work-shy and dissolute will receive more than assistance under a well-organised system would cost. In view of this condition of affairs, effects were made as long ago as the 'sixties and the 'seventies to repress the flow of beggars and tramps by systematic organisation. Societies were formed in numerous places with the object of putting an end to the nuisance of begging, not through individual almsgiving, but by means of organised help through the societies which would make the help given in each case correspond to the needs of the individual. These efforts, however, failed to secure any permanent success, owing to the fact that the best organised society could not raise sufficient funds to enable it thoroughly to test the real requirements of all applicants.

The first considerable progress secured in this direction came through the recognition that it was necessary to draw a distinction between the "work-shy" and those who were willing to work, and the further recognition that this was only possible through substituting relief in return for work in place of mere almsgiving. Thus there came to be established in South Germany in the 'seventies what were known as *Naturalverpflegungsstationen*, or refuges where board and lodging is given in exchange for work, founded and maintained by societies with the object of assisting poor persons able and willing to work. These "stations" were intended simply as refuges for those who were seeking work, their object being to help them, with the least possible delay, on their way to those places where they would be likely to find employment.

Though at first these *Naturalverpflegungsstationen* were only of advantage in smaller districts, their effects became more important when the principle upon which they were based was extended to larger ones, and, as far as possible, combined all the communes of such a district in co-operative action.

As long ago as 1880 delegates of such institutions, which were soon afterwards established in other parts of Germany as well, met for a conference, the most important result of which was the introduction of *Wanderscheine*, or "way tickets," which were handed to the assisted person by the manager of one station as a certificate for the bearer at the next station—a procedure intended to obviate abuse of the assistance granted. In 1884 there were 1,626 of these stations, and very soon they constituted a thoroughly effective network in different districts, such as the Grand Duchy of Hesse, the Province of Hesse-Nassau, Westphalia, several districts in North Germany, Baden, and Bavaria. From the beginning of the 'nineties, in particular, a union of these "stations" was founded, with the object of developing, and, as far as possible, unifying the system. These "stations" are particularly well organised in Westphalia, where for a considerable time past the provincial administration has contributed a third of the total cost, amounting annually to 15,000 marks (£750).

The example of Westphalia shows most clearly the tendencies that now govern the development of these "stations," a fact that renders it desirable to deal with it a little more at length. In Westphalia the old system of a large number of small "stations" is being gradually replaced by the creation of larger and more powerful "stations" in the more important districts. The object is to force destitute wayfarers to follow as few routes as possible, and, so far as is practicable, to oblige them to take the railway from one "station" to another. Here there is a double end in view—first, through the connection between the "stations" and with the Labour Exchanges, to secure work speedily for those capable of it; and secondly, to render it possible to hand over to the police or to

the Poor Relief Authorities those incapable of work. Each tramp who is not in possession of such documents as his insurance premium card, his police certificate of departure from his last place of residence, and his certificate from his last employer, and who is wandering about the country without work, must spend at least two days in stone-breaking before he receives help and easier work from the "station." In this way the transformation of the old defective system of scattered and independent "stations" into a concentrated system of more scientifically organised institutions is being gradually effected, or, in other words, the change is being made from the *Naturalverpflegungsstationen*, or refuge houses, where food and lodging is given in exchange for work, to *Wanderarbeitsstätten*, or refuges for the unemployed.

It is due to the efforts, continued for decades, of humane reformers, and above all, to the vigorous and continuous agitation of the late Pastor von Bodelschwingh, of Bethel, near Bielefeld, a man of the greatest self-sacrifice, courage, and energy, that public help has gradually been secured for the efforts of private persons, and that now there is every prospect of increased development of these *Wanderarbeitsstätten*.

In Prussia, where the Government, in 1895, introduced a far-reaching resolution in connection with this scheme, a law was passed in 1907, on the direct initiative of Pastor von Bedelschwingh, a Member of the Diet, which provides, *inter alia*:—

> "*Section I.*—In Provinces which undertake to regulate the condition of travelling workmen it is permissible, by a decree of the Provincial Diet, to oblige country and town districts to erect, maintain, and administer refuges for the unemployed. This decree must be carried by a majority of at least two-thirds of the votes given."
>
> *Section II.*—The function of unemployed refuges is to give temporary work to destitute men capable of work, who are seeking employment outside the area of their usual residence, in return for board and lodging."
>
> "*Section IV.*—Districts in which no unemployed refuges have been erected but which benefit by those of other districts in the same Province, may, by the resolution of the Provincial Diet, be obliged to contribute to the maintenance of such refuges, the amount of that contribution to be fixed by the Committee of the Provincial Diet."
>
> "*Section V.*—The Provinces must return to the districts two-thirds of the cost of maintenance of these unemployed refuges."

This law, of course, is but a beginning, and its practical importance will depend upon the degree in which the different Provinces make use of the authority given to them. The danger of the regulation, as it exists in Prussia, consists in the fact that those Provinces which established unemployed refuges might easily attract a large number of unemployed persons if "work-shy" individuals were not kept at a distance and prevented from entering from neighbouring Provinces by very strict regulations, such as those in force in Westphalia.

The first attempt to carry this law into effect has been made in the district of Cassel, in which, in all, seven unemployed refuges have been established at about equal distances from each other throughout the whole district, so that the railway, which allows reduced rates to the unemployed, can be used to a very considerable extent, with the result that begging along the roads is rendered impossible. Each of these refuges is connected with a Labour Exchange, which deals in part with agricultural labour. The total cost is estimated roughly at 40,000 marks (£2,000).

In other Provinces, such as the Rhine Provinces, Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony, etc., it has been proposed to proceed in a similar way, but thus far the Provincial Diets have declined to act, in order to await the experience of others. Considerable progress was, however, made in 1909 in Würtemburg, where a close network of refuges was established and routes fixed for the unemployed by the joint action of the State, and the town and country administrations. The result of the opening of the first twenty-seven refuges in October, 1909, has been exceptionally favourable. In the first fifteen months lodging was given to more than 27,000 persons, at a cost, in round numbers, of 30,000 marks (£1,500).

A further noteworthy effect is that in the districts in question the number of beggars and tramps fell to one-third in the first year of the application of the new system, while the cost of arrest and transport was reduced by about one-half, or, roughly, 20,000 marks (£1,000). Thus the greater part of the cost of the new system is already covered by the improvement which it has occasioned. In this case also provision has been made for the closest possible connection between the new refuges and the Labour Exchanges. The principles upon which the support of the Government is granted to these refuges, estimated at 20,000 marks (£1,000) per annum, are as follows:—

"I.—The actual unemployed refuges are, as far as possible, to be brought into close connection with communal institutions such as hospitals, poor-houses, etc. In such cases their management is to be carried out by communal officials, who will also administer the Labour Exchanges, in case there should be no public Labour Exchange in the commune."

"II.—. . . The task to be done by the travelling unemployed shall not exceed four hours daily."

"IV.—Travellers who are not in possession of a way ticket may secure one from the manager of the unemployed refuge by one whole day's work."

"V.—Travellers out of work cannot be obliged to accept places when (*a*) such places are vacant in consequence of a strike or lock-out; (*b*) when the existing arrangement between the employer and his workpeople has not been kept by the former, or when the wages and conditions of work are below the standard prevailing in the district; or (*c*) when the work offered is of a kind that, owing to the men's physical capacity and training, is beyond their strength."

"VI.—In the giving of work at the unemployed refuge in return for board and lodging, consideration should be paid to the trade of the worker, or to his last occupation."

Efforts are being made in Baden and Alsace-Lorraine to establish similar institutions, and, particularly in the latter country, to secure effective legislation on the subject.

Fortunately, the progress of these unemployed refuges has had no harmful effect on the development of their younger sisters, the *Arbeiterkolonien*, or Labour Colonies. The difference between these two institutions lies in the fact that the persons provided for in the former remain but a very short time and change almost daily, while the protégés of the latter remain for considerably longer periods, and consist more particularly of persons who have deteriorated through tramping the country and begging.

The object of the Labour Colony is to help these men to lead a respectable life, by means of regular work in return for board and lodging, in addition to a low wage. In these Labour Colonies a home is provided, not only for regular tramps, but also for discharged prisoners, the unemployed, semi-invalids, drunkards, and

persons of every description who are temporarily or permanently destitute, including a certain proportion of the educated classes.

The sole condition of admittance is ability and readiness to work. The occupation in the colony is, as a rule, continued until work is found outside, a Labour Exchange being connected with each colony. Agricultural labour is carried on in nearly all these colonies. Those in towns, such as Berlin, Hamburg, and Magdeburg, where agricultural labour is not possible, devote themselves to straw-plaiting and brush and broom making.

The colonist must work without payment for the first fourteen days, and those who come back several times have also to serve for longer periods without wages. On the conclusion of these periods twenty to forty pfennigs daily (about 2½d. to 5d.) is put to their credit. No charge is made for their keep, and only necessary expenditure, as for clothing, etc., is deducted from the amount earned, which is handed to the colonist on his departure.

The initation of this system was due to charitable persons, one of the first and indefatigable advocates of help for "our poor brethren of the highway" having been Pastor von Bodelschwingh, who, in 1862, founded the first Labour Colony at Wilhelmsdorf, which he was able greatly to extend twenty years later with the assistance of the Westphalian administration. In that instance the accommodation, which was at first estimated for 150 to 200 persons, was increased to 360 before the end of the first year. Since then new colonies have come into existence almost every year, so that in 1908 there was a total in Germany of thirty-five, twenty-six of which are maintained by the State and provincial associations. Very considerable contributions are made to these institutions by District Governments and Provincial Diets.

In several districts, particularly in Catholic countries, the administration has been undertaken by Catholic religious orders, such as the Franciscans and Trappists. Of these colonies, all of which, with one exception, are united in the Central Union of German Labour Colonies, there are twenty-four in Prussia, three in Bavaria, two each in Hamburg, Saxony, and Würtemburg, and one in Baden. The thirty-sixth of these colonies, which is affiliated to the German Central Union, is the "German Industrial and Farm Colony in London."

In all, these colonies have since their foundation given refuge to 200,000 colonists. The number admitted annually amounts to about 10,000, and the work-days to one million.

The sole colony not affiliated to the Central Union is the richly endowed Jewish Labour Colony, founded in 1902 at Weissensee, near Berlin, where twenty-two persons are occupied in coffin-making and carpet-weaving. Colonists are free to enter and leave at any time. The working hours are those which prevail in the district in which the colony is situated. The standard of lodging, food, and clothing is based on that of the common soldier. Those who are idle or insubordinate or who bring in spirits, are expelled. In view of the character of the colonists, it is natural that the regulations should be very strict. An idea of their character may be gathered from the following particulars of the rules at the Berlin Labour Colony. These rules enforce diligence and strict obedience; cleanliness, including the washing of the hands before each meal, weekly baths in summer and fortnightly in winter; all private work for fellow-colonists or officials is forbidden, as also the borrowing of articles. Colonists must not leave the refuge without written permission, when abroad must not beg, and must return sober. No food may be introduced into the institution without leave and no alcoholic drinks under any condition whatever. Clothing brought into the

institution must be handed to the bath-keeper for disinfection, and may not be used before it has been cleaned. Colonists are not allowed to keep on their persons either money or postage stamps, which must be placed in the custody of the Director. Mockery of the Scripture leads to instant dismissal, as also insubordination, drunkenness, theft, or other moral offences, as well as every gross breach of the regulations of the house, or wilful damage to property. Information of such offences will be communicated to other colonies, with the object of preventing the offender from obtaining admission to them.

On leaving the refuge, each colonist must, as far as possible, be in possession of the following articles in good condition: A suit of clothes, a hat, two shirts, a pair of boots, and two pairs of socks. If he is not in possession of these articles, and if the amount to his credit permits of their purchase, the refuge is entitled to buy them for him and deduct the amount from his credit. Whoever leaves the institute in debt must undertake to pay back the amount within a fixed period.

At present there is very considerable difference of opinion as to the success of these labour colonies. The fact that but a small part (roughly about one-fourth) of the colonists succeed in permanently maintaining an independent existence, is to be explained by the general bad character of the majority, but the rescue of even this one-fourth signifies a very considerable gain for humanity. It is well worth considering whether a better classification of the colonists, and greater consideration for the moral character of those who seek work, is not desirable, all the more as in this instance the assistance granted is not for a short time as in the case of the unemployed refuges, but frequently for months at a time.

As a measure of progress in this direction, we may mention the Heimatkolonien or the Home Colonies, the first of which was founded in 1886. The object of these colonies is gradually to establish in the district such colonists as prove themselves capable. One of the most recently founded of these colonies has adopted a very practical method whereby those who conduct themselves well are gradually supplied with better lodgings, better food and clothing, and are separated from the other colonists by slow stages. In this way the better elements are separated from the worse, while an educative influence is exerted upon the latter. This method was also introduced by the late Pastor von Bodelschwingh in his newly founded colony, "Hoffnungstal."

The number of men who have followed Pastor von Bodelschwingh is his efforts to develop the unemployed refuges and *Naturalverpflegungsstationen*, together with the economic importance of these institutions, which have now lasted for several decades, justifies the hope that the work of giving relief to destitute wayfarers in Germany is but beginning to develop, all the more as besides the various institutions mentioned, others of a different origin, such as the labour colonies of the Salvation Army and the fourteen women's homes existing in Germany, together with the Wanderherbergen or travellers' shelters, that have done such good work in the country for half a century, appear well calculated gradually to fill up the gaps that still exist.

The Edinburgh Labour Colony at Murieston.

By Professor Richard Lodge, m.a.

When the City of Edinburgh Distress Committee set to work to deal with the problem of unemployment, it found itself confronted with the difficulty of finding suitable relief work, which should not be useless and recklessly extravagant, and should not be work taken out of the hands of other working men. After some experiments in dealing with jobs created or supplied by the municipality, the Committee decided to take the matter into its own hands, and to act under that clause of the Act which authorised the expenditure of money for starting a labour colony.

Acting on this decision, the Committee purchased for £5,500 the estate of Murieston, consisting of 202 acres of rather poor land, most of which was used for grazing purposes. The estate is situated about thirteen miles from Edinburgh, and is adjacent to the Caledonian Railway from Edinburgh to Glasgow. There is a station, New Park, adjoining the estate, and the previous proprietor had constructed a private siding for the purpose of working a quarry. Besides the house and outhouses, several cottages had been erected on various parts of the estate. After the purchase was completed, the outhouses were fitted up for the housing of some sixty labourers, and a portion of Murieston House was converted into a residence for the manager, who was selected both for his knowledge of agriculture and for his power of dealing with men.

It was soon apparent that under the Unemployed Workmen Act it was impossible to maintain a labour colony in the proper sense of the term, which implies a certain amount of segregation and continuous training. We could only give work for a limited period—the average term has been about six weeks—and we were bound to keep the men in touch with the labour market in order that they might return as soon as possible to normal industry. Hence the residential accommodation provided for the men has only been fully occupied during the summer months, and even then the men have returned to town for the week-end. In the winter the great majority of the workmen have been conveyed backwards and forwards by a daily train: and the Committee has paid their fares—4s. a week per man—in addition to their wages.

Murieston has thus never been a labour colony in anything but name. Although crops have been raised upon a portion of the land, this has only been a temporary measure. The estate has been used to supply relief work, and that relief work has been directed, not to the working of a farm, but to the improvement of the soil. As soon as this improvement had been effected, the land was destined to be let off in small holdings for market garden purposes Directly the whole of the soil has been treated, Murieston will cease to serve the purposes of the Distress Committee.

The interest of the experiment tried at Murieston, which has attracted a good deal of attention from experts, lies in the character of the relief work supplied and in the agricultural value of the improvement effected. I will take the latter point first. Starting with the fields nearest to the railway, the men have been employed, first in trenching the land, and then in inserting a thick layer of city refuse which was carried out by train. As the near fields were completed, the rails of the siding were taken up and re-laid to more distant fields, which

were similarly treated. In the first year the value of the treatment was tested by growing various vegetables in exhibition plots, some of which had been merely dug over, while adjacent plots had been treated with a layer of refuse. The difference between the crops produced was remarkable, and justified the continuance of the experiment. As soon as sufficient progress had been made, the improved land was offered to be let. The existing cottages were utilised, and thus the expense of building was cut down to a minimum. Already five lots, averaging about fifteen acres apiece, have been leased to market gardeners for ten years at £4 10s. an acre. Reckoning from the purchase money, the previous average value of the land may be computed at 10s. per acre. The enhanced value represents the gain accruing from the operations of the Committee.

While it cannot be contended that this experiment has been actually remunerative, it may be held that the loss is mainly due to the employment of unskilled workmen for short periods, necessitating the introduction of new men just as their predecessors had learned to do the work, and that the loss has been considerably less than in ordinary forms of relief work. It is computed that if skilled labour had been employed, if the cost of its transport could have been avoided, and if the refuse had been obtained for nothing (a good deal of it was so obtained), the work would have actually paid its cost. Of course, the neighbourhood to the railway was an indispensable advantage both for carrying out the work and for letting the land. It is this conviction that the relief work has been well and not extravagantly directed which has enabled the Edinburgh Distress Committee to obtain larger and more continuous voluntary contributions from the citizens than have been obtained (I believe) by any other Distress Committee.

While the work has not been unsatisfactory from the pecuniary point of view, it has proved simple and not unattractive to the men employed. If it should be decided in the future to establish labour colonies on any considerable scale—and there are many who think this is inevitable—the experiment of Murieston may be valuable as a guide for the direction of at any rate some of such colonies. Training colonies, designed to fit men for a return to normal industry, must naturally be of a varied industrial character. But detention colonies—for the mendicant and the vagrant—should rather be of a simple than of a complicated type. Even test colonies—designed to classify unemployed according to their willingness or unwillingness, or their capacity or incapacity to work—may also be based upon a simple and uniform scheme of labour. For such colonies as these two latter categories, the work of reclaiming and improving the unproductive land of the country, as practised at Murieston, is admirably adapted. There will be no cost of transport, as the men will be resident for considerable periods, and the housing accommodation can be of such a character as to be easily moved to another site, when the work of re-claiming one area has been completed. It is, of course, essential that the land shall be within easy access of the railway. But—in Scotland at any rate—there is no lack of suitable land adjacent to the railway and approximately equi-distant from Edinburgh and Glasgow, in which the refuse of two great cities, instead of being wasted, might be incorporated, with the result of a vast increase in the productive power of the soil.

There is one last point about Murieston on which I should like to lay stress, and that is the use to which the land is put after the process of reclamation is completed. It is employed for the creation of small holdings, and these might easily be transformed into small properties. There are many of us who hold that in the extension of small holdings and properties lies the salvation of our

race, and the checking to some extent of the exhaustion by emigration and otherwise of our rural population. For this purpose we require both the preparing of the soil and the training of the people. I am not without hope that at Murieston, after the letting or selling off of the outlying fields, the central portion of the estate, with the house and the outhouses, already fitted up for residents, may be taken as a farm colony for city lads. After a few generations of slum life, our city population needs, like Antæus, to renew its strength by contact with mother earth. If ever we are to translate the policy of "back to the land" from a pious aspiration into actual practice, it must be done by getting hold of some members of the rising generation in the plastic days of youth and giving them the taste and the training for rural life. And if we can keep the best of them in our own country by providing them with adequate and remunerative occupation on the land, so much the better for the community.

The Labour Colony as an Agency for the Prevention of Destitution.

By Colonel D. C. Lamb.

For five years Resident Governor of the Salvation Army Land and Industrial Colony at Hadleigh, Essex; for some time Private Secretary (for social affairs) at the International Headquarters to Mr. Bramwell Booth; Licensee of Victoria House Retreat for Inebriate Gentlemen; for ten years Poor Law Guardian (Rochford Union); Member of the British Institute of Social Service; Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute; and now Director of the Emigration Department of the Salvation Army.

Scheme of Labour Colonies Advocated.

I believe that the establishment of a comprehensive scheme of judiciously managed Labour Colonies would materially aid in the prevention of destitution; and, no matter what the cost, would prove to be a true national economy.

I consider that the State should do at least as much for the man who has only his labour to dispose of as it does for the man with money. The latter can at all times fall back on the funds, the national reservoir for the investment of unemployed capital, and obtain at least the minimum rate of interest for his money. There is no need for it to remain absolutely unproductive, although it will not gain as good a return as in the ordinary market.

In like manner the worker who for any reason is unable to obtain employment in the ordinary industrial channels should have a national labour reservoir to turn to where he would get employment at wages lower than in the open market, but still sufficient for maintenance.

The provision of work is the only way to prevent destitution and the elimination of the unemployable and the work-shy from the ranks of the unemployed is the first and most essential step in any attempt to grapple with the problem.

The Unemployables and Work-shy.

My scheme of Labour Colonies armed with necessary powers of detention would sweep our streets clean of "unemployables" and keep them swept, and it would thus simplify the dealing with the genuine out-of-works who would remain.

Further, it would afford a temporary haven for such of the latter as failed from whatever cause to obtain work within a reasonable time—not a *cul de sac* like the workhouse, but on the direct channels to employment when circumstances became more favourable.

Let us glance briefly at the most difficult of the classes designed to be benefited. We may presume that the Trade Unions, the Labour Exchanges, and other similar organisations will deal with the others.

The Classes to be Benefited.

They may be grouped as follows:—

(1) Those who have come down, whether through direct fault of their own or otherwise, whose boots are now worn out tramping in search of work, and who have become for the time physically incapable and "unemployable." To them the Colony would be only a port during the storm.

(2) Those with good intentions and poor wills, men without backbone, moral invalids who are all right as long as you supervise and guide them. These must be kept in the Colony as long as necessary, time being essential to their complete cure. To them the Colony must be more of a home and a moral hospital.

(3) Those who have no desire but to continue the idle life of the tramp or loafer—lazy by instinct or through force of circumstances—drunken by choice; they are the contaminating element which it must be ever our aim to entirely suppress. To them the Colony must be as an adult industrial school, where the training would ultimately culminate in a return to civil life or in permanent segregation with the unfit.

(4) Prisoners, for whom it is felt by the authorities who commit them that the prison is not quite the proper place, but who must be sent there in the absence of a more suitable destination. I mention them separately, but in fact they would distribute themselves amongst the three preceding classes.

The Hadleigh Colony.

To turn now to the Salvation Army Colony at Hadleigh. Its underlying purpose is to provide an open door for any of the classes above referred to with the object of securing to each individual that opportunity of labour—with the share of God's gifts to man—suited to his capacity, and then, ultimately, to bring him where that capacity is likely to develop.

The Colony can never be adequately described—it must be seen. It consists of about 2,000 acres of land and 1,000 acres of foreshore, covered at high tides and reclaimable, as 800 acres of our pleasant pasture land have been in years gone by. The 2,000 acres may be roughly divided as follows:—

800 acres pasture.
600 acres arable land.
300 acres market garden.
100 acres fruit.
20 acres poultry; and
180 acres occupied by brickfields, buildings, roads, etc.

The stock consists of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry, etc. The best breeds are kept, and the pedigree animals are a feature of the colony. Poultry is exported to all parts of the world, and several thousands of pounds' worth has been sent to South Africa during the last few years, and the highest prices are realised. The produce of fifty milking cows is sold locally, as are also the fruit and produce of the market garden and the output of the brickfields. The borough of Southend-on-Sea (four miles distant) takes the bulk. Its residential population has increased during the past ten years from 25,000 to about 60,000. The total value of the produce sold last year amounted to over £20,000.

The colonists are housed in twelve separate buildings in addition to twenty cottages for married people. The accommodation is carefully graded, and all the inducements are towards industry and good conduct. On entry, care is taken that no man is degraded in any way. From the lowest grade a man may work to the highest, and ultimately secure residence in one of the cottages on the Colony.

The organisation controls the "General Stores," providing groceries, provisions, clothes, indeed all necessaries, as well as luxuries like tobacco and sweets, at prices current in the neighbourhood, and open to villagers, employees, and colonists alike. A library, recreation room, hospital, and other social institutions are provided.

For a description of one aspect of this colony, let me quote from *The Farm and the City*, by the late Sir Walter Besant:—

WORD PICTURE OF HADLEIGH, BY THE LATE SIR WALTER BESANT.

"I was standing on a gentle slope rising slowly out of the uncompromising levels of the Essex marsh and the mud of the foreshore. Beside me stood up against the clouds and shapeless ruins of an old castle; behind me were the orchards of a four years' growth, their harvest over, their work for the season done; at my feet the ebb tide had left the expanse of mud bare and wet, glittering here and there with strange gleams of light; behind the mud lay Canvey Island, its flat meadows seeming lower even than the mud of the low tide; beyond Canvey rolled the broad river on which the ships go up and down all the day and all the year round; beyond the river one could see the mouth of the Medway and the low cliffs of the Kentish shore. The ebb was quite finished; the autumn sky was grey, but brightened by the frequent appearance of a cloudy and shaded sun, as of a lamp with a gauze upon it; this coming and going of the sun causes that glittering of the mud, and drew those silver lines across the levels. All these surroundings, the strangest prospect of a stretch of bare mud was not unlovely, the gleams of light, the splendid river, father of wealth and fosterer of industry, the blue hills in the distance, suited the place, and the mood called up by the place, and the meaning of the place. For here around me were the ruins of an abandoned past; here was a new life springing up; here were hapless, dreary, sorrowful stretches of barren mud, yet touched with light here, though the sky was overcast, the colours of earth and air and water were tinged with a gentle melancholy; though the very light of day was sad, yet the light intervened, and the clouds, if you looked up, were slowly, slowly falling away to the west, leaving in the east the promise of a golden rose of dawn.

This place is none other than the Farm Colony, the farm of Hadleigh, part of the great scheme of General Booth, of which the world has heard so much, of which the world as yet understands so little!"

The broad lines on which the colony is conducted are laid down by General Booth in his "Darkest England and the Way Out," but all details of administration are left to the governor. He has, of course, officers to advise and consult with, but the responsibility and power is with him, thus carrying out the system of the one-man government favoured by the Salvation Army in many of its operations in distinction to that of committee management.

Some of the details of administration may be of interest, and I shall deal briefly with the more important in the following order:—Food, Work and Conduct, Recreation, Religion.

Food.

On entry, the man for a few days receives food and treatment irrespective of his work or any other circumstance, except his need. Obviously all entrants do not receive the same treatment. Care is taken to guard against loafers. Every man is classified as quickly as possible, but not in too great a hurry. He sees food and comforts have a definite relation to work and comfort, and even before he experiences that fact the knowledge of it affects his mode of life.

At the dining-room the food bar affords a variety of food at fixed prices, as it is important that the colonist should, as far as possible, have the choice of his food. The beginning of his independence will often be found here. He may choose a light breakfast and he may take away a lunch. He may deny himself to purchase clothes, or sweets, or a newspaper, or tobacco, or to send to his wife, or other dependent, or he may go in for "Standard Bread."

A maximum for food as well as a minimum is fixed. Earnings and grants over and above the maximum are paid, part in current coin of the realm and part deposited to the credit of the colonist against the day of his departure. He is taught to spend as well as to hold money. We think it would be fatal in many cases to keep a man for a year or so without cash and then put several pounds in his hands.

Work and Conduct.

With regard to work it is always borne in mind that work is honourable and is not to be considered as a punishment. While the men are classified and rewarded according to their work, they are made to feel at the same time that good conduct is equally important.

The labour superintendent at the close of each day gives each colonist tokens or counters for food and lodging according to his work. If the minimum (fixed by the governor) has not been reached the colonist can, as a matter of right, go to the home superintendent, who, if the applicant's conduct has been satisfactory, and he has not been reported for laziness or any other breach of regulations, assists him to the extent of the minimum. The tokens or counters are available for food, lodgings, and clothes, or exchangeable by the home superintendent for cash if he considers it desirable. Piece work is given under certain circumstances.

It has been noticed in hoeing in the market garden, and clay getting in the brickfields, that frequently two newcomers in a gang of ten would set the pace. It might be supposed that the eight would have carried the two, but observation led to the conclusion that unconsciously the eight slackened pace so as not to discourage the two, and the more readily when the two happened to be decent fellows anxious to keep up with the eight.

The net result was that the eight men had not done so much as they had on the previous day, while the two, although doing a little more than they would

otherwise have accomplished, were reasonably too tired and discouraged in consequence.

We have found from experience that to secure the best results certain proportions must be observed in the numbers of the different classes of the colonists. Thus the Poor Law and Distress Committee cases, who are being paid for by those authorities, must not exceed 30 per cent. of the total number. These classes frequently are troublesome, knowing as they do that the local authorities are making a contribution to the colony funds for their maintenance, they are inclined to take up the position that they should not be called on to work as hard as the others.

At the other end of the scale are what we may call the "upper ten" of the colonists—the men of superior education and training who are able to take a wide view and possess *esprit de corps*, and who throw their energies into carrying on the work and observing the discipline, and by their example and influence are able to carry a certain proportion of the others with them.

Recreation.

Owing to the wide diversity of the classes of men who pass through Hadleigh, variety and change in recreation and social life are just as necessary as in food and work, and this is fully realised in the administration. There is a recreation room where newspapers, games, etc., are provided, and in the summer time there are cricket and other sports.

A social meeting is conducted every Saturday evening at the citadel, at which attendance is compulsory, but there is no difficulty in enforcing attendance as the meetings are of an attractive and varied character. Songs and recitations are frequently given by the colonists themselves, while concerts, lectures, and other forms of instruction and entertainment are regularly arranged by friends from outside the colony, and I know that from time to time the colony has produced exponents of bridge and chess who would have done credit to the Athenæum or the Reform Club.

Religion.

In "The Citadel" (seating 500 people) or in some of the other buildings, religious meetings are conducted every night. Attendance is not compulsory, but every man is pledged to attend a place of worship twice during the Sunday. He is free to attend any place in the neighbourhood, and those not going elsewhere are expected to come to the Army hall, "The Citadel."

All colonists are pledged not to drink intoxicants or to enter places where they are sold. Superintendents and other necessary employees are engaged for particular work irrespective of anything except their ability and character. They must be professing Christians and abstainers. Salvationist officers are not allowed to smoke—rarely one of the rank and file does—although he is not prohibited.

The religion of the Salvation Army does not savour of materialism, though things material are not overlooked. Conversion—by which we mean a change of heart—has a definite place in our work, and it is no uncommon sight to see two or three and perhaps as many as a dozen or a score of men at the penitent-form at the close of a Sunday evening service. But our religion is one of works as well as of faith. There is no premium put on religious profession, and the colonists themselves see to it that hypocrites in the professional sense do not exist on the colony.

Probably not more than one-third of the colonists ever become Salvationists, another third retain connection with their churches of the various denominations, while the remaining one-third *appear* to give no outward sign of religious conviction. (I refer here to those who have spent some time—say six or twelve months—on the colony.)

But it is not everyone that says "Lord! Lord!" who will enter the kingdom. I have laid stress on *appear*, for some of the last class have often taken the most active interest in unselfish efforts for the benefit of their fellow colonists, and their conduct might often put to shame those of more open professions.

Cost.

At Hadleigh the average man contributes little or nothing towards the cost of his food for the first three months; for the next three he probably earns his food but nothing towards the establishment charges. After that period the man becomes a valuable asset, but soon passes back to the world, making room for another wreck.

The management and capital charges per head, of course, vary according to the number residing in the colony at any given time. The actual cost of food, with all reasonable kitchen charges, works out at about 5s. 6d. per week per man.

Full particulars of the capital charges and other items are published every year in the audited statement of accounts.

As an illustration of what can be done with labour of this sort when the period of training is past, I cannot do better than refer to the experiment which we conducted at Easton Lodge at the request of Lady Warwick.

Work at Easton Lodge, for the Countess of Warwick.

Lady Warwick, having in view the making of certain improvements in the gardens of Easton Lodge, was confronted with the difficulty of obtaining sufficient labour locally. There were the alternatives of bringing men from a distance by special train or the erection of temporary buildings for their accommodation, and in either event there was the difficulty of control and regulation.

It then occurred to Her Ladyship that it might be possible to utilise the "unemployed" in the project, and with that in her mind she opened up communication with me at Hadleigh Colony. A contract was duly signed, temporary buildings erected, and within three weeks the men were at work. For nearly five months between seventy and eighty men, under the care of the Hadleigh Colony authorities, were at work, directed by the landscape garden expert, improving the gardens of the Lodge. The undertaking was carried through without a single hitch, and the work was completed to the entire satisfaction of all parties to the contract. The men were originally drawn from the ranks of the unemployed and unemployable, but had been undergoing treatment at Hadleigh before being sent to Easton Lodge.

Lady Warwick herself, writing on the subject in *The Nineteenth Century*, says:—"Their labour was not quite so rapid as that of the skilled working man who keeps his muscles in good training, but this was due to lack of physique. Most of them, however, made up for this lack of strength by the willing and persevering spirit they showed. The Salvation Army has, in fact, achieved a remarkable result in a short time for a class that is generally considered most unpromising."

After charging every legitimate expense and doing well for the men, we finished with about £100 cash profit and a quantity of kitchen and other utensils and other useful gear.

The conduct of the men was entirely satisfactory.

Cost to the Community of a Wastrel.

But on the question of cost, the late Sir Walter Besant made some very appropriate remarks: "Every man," he wrote, "who does not work lives on the labours of other men. If a wastrel of London streets devours and consumes and used up, one way and another, in a year, at least £40 worth of food, drink, clothes, light, fire, and shelter, he ought to produce by his own work at least £60 worth of something or other; so that every such idle and worthless creature is a dead loss to the community of £100 a year. If 260 of these creatures are converted from ways of waste to ways of carefulness, there is a saving to the community of £26,000 a year in clear money . . . If the deficit were £10,000 a year the country would still save £16,000 by the process.

"Most of my readers will agree with me, however, that this is not the best or the truest estimate of the gain to the community. . . . The gain to the country of every single case can never be estimated, can never be measured by any standard; it is the gain of an example; it is the gain of children and grandchildren —one knows not how far and wide the gain may reach—brought up in honesty and temperance; it is the gain of one more man on the side of order; it is the gain of infinite possibilities in the direction of good rather than of evil. These gains can never be set down in figures or estimated by dollars."

My conclusions based on my experience at Hadleigh, and my long study of the question there and elsewhere, may be stated as follows:—

Powers of Detention Wanted.

(1) The establishment of a central authority to organise and supervise, and the granting of powers of detention—not with any idea of punishment—in particular cases to the colony authorities are essential to the success of such a scheme as I contemplate, the realisation of which would, by sweeping the streets of the unemployables and won't-works, clear the ground for the genuine unemployed.

A New Stratum in our Social Life.

(2) One result of the colony at Hadleigh has been that a tract of land which was a waste has been made to blossom as the rose. A place of hope has been established, and a new stratum in our social life recognised and provided for.

State Colonies should be Established.

(3) Colonies might be established and conducted by County Councils, Boards of Guardians (singly or grouped), or they might be founded and controlled by religious and philanthropic societies—public authorities having power to contribute to the establishment and maintenance of such (as under the Inebriates Acts). We would strongly favour the colony managed by a religious society, on account of the elements of self-sacrifice in the workers thereby secured, and the greater freedom of appeal to the religious sentiment of the colonists; but we consider that public authorities also should have power to establish and manage colonies.

It is not intended that the colonies recommended should supersede the Hadleigh Land Colony or any kindred effort. The beneficent results of that "Great

Endeavour" can best be secured by maintaining the complete voluntary spirit which is its present chief characteristic. It might be a powerful aid to the proposed new colonies to have the voluntary colonies alongside, especially as these might be used as stepping-stones on which colonists could come back to civil life as well as being an inducement to good conduct.

Labour Exchanges—Emigration.

Thus we should have the colony armed with powers of detention working on the lowest level with the unfit and unemployable, and as the higher levels were reached working in conjunction with the Labour Exchanges for the return of the men to outside employment at home, or through proper emigration agencies to the transfer of willing persons to suitable parts of the empire abroad.

Failure of Unemployed Workmen Act.

(4) In this connection I cannot help remarking that it seems an extraordinary thing that under the Unemployed Workmen Act there has been no disposition to facilitate the appointment of Distress Committees except in a few large cities. It is admittedly good policy to endeavour to prevent persons from the country districts flocking to the towns, but it is not easy to see how the establishment of Distress Committees in the large cities but not in other districts further this policy.

Adds to Attractions of Great Cities.

In these other districts the men who want to emigrate—and they are numerous—should be enabled to do so without being compelled to come into the city and to be semi-submerged before being qualified to emigrate.

But perhaps one should not expect more from the Government Department which is content to say to the homeless, dead-beat wayfarer at Hammersmith at midnight that there is probably an empty bed for him in the casual wards at Woolwich, ten or twelve miles distant, and the more so when the chief of that department in Parliament vigorously and picturesquely mis-quotes figures based on such facts.

Selection of Sites for Colonies.

(5) The best results in economy, efficiency, etc., may be expected where, in the selection of a site for a colony, some consideration has been given to natural beauty and moderate proximity to a town. The natural beauty will be a continual source of moral elevation, while the knowledge of the vicinity of a town, and at night perchance the reflection thereof, will give the colonist the feeling that he is not banished.

The town may afford a market for colony produce, and certainly will provide sources of entertainment, such as concert parties, lectures, and lantern exhibitions, etc.

Industries for Colonists.

The staple industries at the colonies would probably be of two kinds—one where the work undertaken would be of the nature of a national improvement, such as the reclamation of waste lands and the planting of trees, in which no immediate financial return would be looked for; the other, according to the industries followed, would yield certain income. The nature of the work would be largely determined by the locality.

The Social Life of the Colonies.

(6) Colonies should be on a scale sufficiently large to secure a population which will save the undertaking from the monotony and other disadvantages peculiar to small hamlets, and at the same time economise to the greatest extent the cost of administration.

The social life of the colonists ought to be carefully nursed, and the whole atmosphere and surroundings of the colony should tend to natural and healthy conditions. For this reason provision ought to be made for the reception of the wives and families of well-conducted colonists who shall have proved themselves worthy of encouragement, and for whom there is a prospect of independence and return to ordinary civil life.

Good Women on the Staff.

In the "staffing" of the colony women would, where possible, be employed, for the influence of good women in such an effort cannot be overestimated.

Classification.

Careful classification would give the partially unfit such conveniences as they are able to appreciate, while the general comforts would not be such as would induce a man to leave civil life, and under capable management he would not prolong his stay longer than was necessary.

Hours of Labour.

(7) The conditions as to hours of labour, food, and general comfort must not be such as to prove unfairly attractive alongside those of the outside world.

Right to Produce and Sell.

I think the men on these colonies have a right to produce and enter into competition in the open market, although great care must be taken to see that in the placing of the produce on the market no hardship to any individual is involved.

National Economy.

With careful thought at the inception of a colony, no local industry need be interfered with. Under any circumstances it must not be forgotten that the product of the colonist must in the national total leave the honest ratepayer better off—for the man has previously been living off the rates or on charity, or by stealing, and contributing nothing towards the national wealth.

Discussion.

Captain Spencer said that in the Church Army they worked largely among the social wreckage, which they found was largely the result of placing children in blind-alley occupations or the unwise and unthinking policy of the parents in changing children from one employment to another soon after leaving school. He came across a curious case of a man in prison. He rather burked the question as to what his occupation was. At last he said in the early summer time he went in

for the early pea picking; later there was fruit picking; after that there was the hop picking; after that pocket picking and picking oakum. Between 14 and 16 years of age he had six different occupations, being taken from one to another by his parents. At the end of that time the man said he lost heart, ran away from home, adding, "And here I am, a hopeless criminal." In connection with the Church Army farm colony, they were dealing with boys who were in danger of drifting into the ranks of the ne'er-do-well or criminal. Many of those lads had such occupations as held out no hope for their future lives. They found them through the League of Friends of the Poor. They had over 3,000 ladies and gentlemen who had banded themselves together to take care and assist and advise in every way for each one poor family which was just taking a downward course. The friend, among other things, advised the parents as to the children. If they found children between 14 and 18 years of age in such blind-alley occupations they tried to persuade them to put the children into stable occupations. Where necessary the Church Army took the lads to the colony at Saffron Walden, and there they were trained in emigration work and to maintain themselves. As to results, out of over 500 cases that they had dealt with during the last three years, 71 per cent. had turned out successful, and were that day in regular employment, most of them, of course, in the colonies, many of them in Queensland. Seventeen per cent. were doubtful; he could not say that they were good or bad. Only 12 per cent. turned out really badly, so he thought the percentage of good cases was very, very encouraging indeed. (Hear, hear.) They would not have such a large percentage if they were not dealing with young people and inspiring into the hearts and minds real hope of their future lives.

Professor Bowley asked to what extent farm colonies were possible and successful in supplying a practical means of dealing with unemployment. As had been indicated the Government measures now taken or in process of development for dealing with unemployment were not going, directly or, in the immediate future, indirectly to affect the question in regard to those kinds of men who at present were taken to those colonies, and it was quite certain that if they worked, as had been said, from the top—there was every reason for beginning at the top—it was more practical, and they could see better what they were doing and how they were going to relieve destitution in the next generation. That seemed a more practical policy to support than to try and cure people who might be past curing at great expense. It was quite certain after regular labour and willing labour had been arranged for, there would be a residuum, and there would be trouble for the Distress Committees as long as there was that residuum. It appeared that colonies afforded some means for dealing with that residuum. The question he wished to put was, were they capable of dealing with it as a whole or were they capable of dealing only with a few hundred persons? There was, of course, no exact knowledge, or very little exact knowledge, as to the number of persons who would be left over after all possible arrangements had been made for insurance. It was a very big number at any rate; and those colonies whose success had been spoken of that afternoon were tackling relatively a very small number. They had had before them no figures of expense, and it was not at all clear how much it cost to apply all the possible curative influences to one of these individuals. Did it cost £500 for a man, or what? He noticed in regard to these colonies that there was always a percentage of permanent derelicts who were beyond cure but who must be dealt with in some way or other. The question of expense became very important in this connection. If it could be done, as, he thought, was suggested in the Minority Report, at a single expenditure of two million pounds, no doubt they could do it offhand. But he feared the expense of establishing a system of colonies would be very much more than that; but whatever it might be, when they had decided to meet it they would have to face the question—from what will the money be withdrawn and what will be the other effects of so large an expenditure by the State on the expenditure of the local authorities? It was that side of the question to which he particularly wished to call attention.

Mr. William Smith (Edinburgh Distress Committee) regarded the question as a serious one. He liked the idea suggested by Col. Lamb that the labour colony was a reservoir. He (the speaker) had been in the habit of using another expression—standby. They must have something of the kind to meet the fluctuations of employment. He had been a fairly close observer of unemployment for sixty years, and during that time there had been some serious fluctuations and considerable difficulty from want of employment. He still held that the reclamation of land was really the best form of labour that could be applied to those fluctuations of labour.

They found in Edinburgh, when they paid men to make streets, that they came into conflict with the trade unions, and they had good grounds for finding fault with their doing the legitimate work of the city at a low figure. Then they fell back on the land, and it had proved a very useful standby. They had to administer the Unemployment Act, and between themselves it was not an ideal Act. They had difficulty in working it. If they had been allowed to say something in the making of it, he thought they might have made it better. During the last year, out of 3,000 applications 1,000 were disqualified. They had been asked in and outside the Distress Committee as to what they were going to do with the 1,000, and he could only answer, he did not know. The effect of the present arrangements had been to prevent these people getting employment under the Act. With regard to the loafers, a class which had been growing up from infancy, he suggested that the Education Act should be extended so as to follow youths of this class until they were fulfilling noble places in society as working men. After dealing with that class they had to deal with the man who had come down from a higher state to that low state. That class must be tackled, and the sooner the better. They had a register of unemployed men and women; he would have it made compulsory for every man who was idle and had no private means of subsistence to register himself as unemployed. In that way they would find out what the trade unions wanted to find out in Edinburgh at the expense of a great many thousands of pounds—the real state of unemployment in the country. If they had all the men registered, they could more clearly deal with the loafer, who could be handed over to the police or to a jury of his own fellow-countrymen or townsmen such as the Distress Committee, who would determine whether or not he was to be detained by the power of the magistrate at a labour colony for a certain period.

Dr. J. Wilson Harper (United Free Church of Scotland) said there had been a great awakening throughout Scotland on the part of church members as to the cost of unemployment and the possible remedy. The two things with which they were faced when they considered the question of unemployment was, first, that they must have knowledge and sympathy in dealing with those out of employment, and, secondly, they felt they must bring the results of the most recent investigations in the economic field to apply to those questions. The slum conditions in Scotland had awakened the church and the general chairman of the church had appointed a committee and charged it with the task of visiting the populous centres and the country districts inviting the ministers and workmen and representatives of the unemployed to meet them in conference, and he did not know anything that had contributed more to awaken sympathy than that conference had done. But they felt that they must try to find some remedy, and they as a church had not hesitated to do what no reformed church had attempted but themselves. From their General Assembly they sent out a pastoral letter upon social reform, and they laid down these three positions. They said that unemployment was due to economic causes, and they invited, on the one hand, the men to consider that all work was sacred, and, on the other hand, they asked the masters to consider these three questions: after they had remunerated themselves, first, for their personal service; secondly, for the risk of carrying on the business; and thirdly, for the return for their money invested—after remunerating themselves—they being the judges as to what that remuneration should be—they should consider the claims of those who helped to make the surplus value. Any person who noted the trend of things at the first time was aware that it was just that question of surplus value finding its way into the pockets of the few which caused to a great extent that surplus of workers.

Miss Irwin (Scottish Council for Women's Trades), as a member of the Glasgow Distress Committee since its inception, said they had been confronted with two main difficulties in providing work. Their first difficulty was to find work which would not compete with outside industries; and their second difficulty was to provide work suitable to the class of persons who applied to them. Quite obviously, farm and labour colonies afforded the greatest range of possibilities; but they, too, had their limitations. They could not take the skilled artisan with delicate fingers and put a spade in his hand and say, "Go, dig," and find they had adequately provided for him. Prolonged occupation in agriculture would have a deteriorating effect and might unfit him for taking his place in his own trade later on. They would suggest that they might profitably turn their attention to the most important experiment which had been tried at the Merxplas Colony, near Antwerp. There they had, not a farm colony or labour colony, but a little industrial townlet. The main principle

was that the colonists should produce all they needed for their own consumption and that they should consume all they produced, so that they did not come into competition with outside people. The bootmaker made all the boots required; the builder was set to build the houses and other buildings necessary. Because their hands were idle and not contributing towards production, and because their pockets were empty and not contributing towards consumption, they placed them in this townlet and set them to supply each other's needs in the way they were best fitted to do. Obviously such a scheme as that could not be undertaken by any local authority; it would require to be organised by an Imperial authority financed out of the Imperial Exchequer and probably controlled by Government officials. But one of the reasons for their failure to deal with the unemployed was that they had localised authority too much. It was far too big a problem to place on a local authority. It ought to be centralised and dealt with by the nation as a whole. She wanted to emphasise what seemed to her a vital point and principle brought forward in the suggestive paper that was given at the inaugural meeting of the section—one of the most stimulating papers they had had. The point was the classification of workers and the differentiation of treatment. She did not think so long as they proceeded as they did now—treating them in the lump—they would ever make any progress. The absolutely first step to be taken was to riddle them out into classes and try to apply differential treatment. Hitherto they had treated their unemployed as they had treated their poor, and they had failed conspicuously. They had failed to discern how they differed from one another and what their respective means were.

Mr. J. Middlehurst said he did not feel that while he had been in that place he had heard one word that would lead to the prevention of destitution. (Oh!) He had not lived in the large towns, but in isolated places, and he came from the country which had been selected for the purpose of introducing and promoting what to his mind were the entirely useless and altogether abortive labour colonies, which were not going in any sense to deal with the matter. The writers of the papers did not tell them how much it cost to run the colonies. They had statistics of so many horses (the stock), so many unemployed, and so many skilled men. If they provided him (the speaker) with the same stock and put him on any farm in Sussex, he would return them a commercial profit. What they wanted to do was to do justice to the men already in the villages.

Mr. L. Humphreys (West Ham Distress Committee) said that in the West Ham Colony they had had some 2,000 men up to date. As to the cost, if they considered it in relation to the commercial return, he was afraid the answer would be a pretty gloomy one. But was it only the commercial return that they looked to in judging as to the success or non-success of those colonies? Surely not. (Hear, hear.) Wasn't it the more solid return in the men themselves? They had proved it, because 24 per cent. of their men had gone down as physical wrecks, with their mental capacity drooping as well. They had their sixteen weeks there—which was useless for the training of an agricultural labourer—but the net return when they came back was that they were in a condition to take practically any occupation and were welcomed by employers because of the condition they were in. The Merxplas Colony seemed to be an ideal one for a national effort on behalf of men who were not agricultural labourers or who were not skilled. In looking at the expense of those establishments, they had to remember that the colonies were carried on for the purpose of giving the greatest amount of helpful work to the greatest number of unskilled labourers; and they could not expect from that the same return as from a minimum of skilled hands. He could only testify as far as the value in humanity was concerned in these farm colonies. More particularly he valued the efforts made in the colony carried on by the Central Body in regard to the more substantial influence on character that had resulted. Farm colonies were a splendid opening for the training of youth labour. They had found the farm colony a splendid aid to the preparation of men for emigration to the colonies.

Mr. Stewart Gray claimed that all they were asking for—the powers to acquire the land and to divide the worker from the non-worker—was already provided by their forefathers in 1835, as was admitted in the Report of the Royal Commission (*Hansard* of July, 1905, and September 12th, 1893), when Mr. Balfour (President of the Local Government Board) and Sir Henry Fowler both admitted that Guardians had the power to purchase land, to set any unemployed person, married or single, to work, to pay reasonable maintenance, to banish the non-worker, and to reward the industrious with small holdings to be used co-operatively. Let the poor be

self-supporting and they could shut up all the workhouses. The colonies, which had been spoken about must always lose money if they tried to turn a printer into a market gardener, who produced five times as much as he and his family could eat. At his place at Shepherd's Bush, they showed that the workers of the East End of London could weave a dress in a day. If people could get housing, food and clothing, what more did they wish to offer them? What they had to do was to get quit of a good deal of their fallacies and go back to the fact that God and man, if brought into contact with science, could produce all that was necessary for life. Two million three hundred thousand acres were available. His scheme of nationalisation was 2½ million acres at the market value—about one year's drink bill (£150,000,000); half what they spent on the Boer War—to be spent in buying land and maintaining the people for twelve months, pulling down slums and shutting up the public houses. That £150,000,000 at 2½ per cent.—£3,000,000—and they spent twelve millions in the workhouses. What were they talking about? Sixteen weeks in a colony was no good. If they could not have a chance of seeing the cabbage grow that they had planted, and eating it afterwards, it was no use. People wanted the means of self-expression.

Alderman F. SHEPPARD (Bristol) wished to know something of what had happened to the men who had passed through the farm colonies, and if a record was kept as to how they were engaged. The committee assumed that the farm colony for training boys and men for agricultural pursuits would be one of the greatest steps for solving the unemployed problem. His experience as one who had been on the City Council and a member of the Bristol Guardians for seventeen years was that they had done a great deal by sending boys into agricultural districts. Those boys had been trained until they became men in the agricultural districts; but as soon as they became men and wanted men's wages they either drifted back to the town or, as in Wales, drifted into the pits. The question to him seemed to be whether there was a demand for agricultural labour at all among the people who were out of work. Somersetshire, at any rate, had no difficulty in getting farm labourers. In Norfolk, he understood, there had been a dispute over an increase in a miserably low standard of wages, which did not seem to show that there was much opportunity for men to go into agricultural pursuits. If labour colonies were to be brought into being for the purpose of teaching trades, where was the trade that could not command the men? He spoke as a shoe operative, and he wanted to know what he could do for the more than one thousand men whom he could get at any time, who were always ready and anxious for work. Were those men to go into a labour colony for the purpose of becoming trained agriculturists, or to be trained as carpenters? There was at first a big demand in London for carpenters and joiners in connection with the preparations for the Coronation, and there had been no difficulty at all in getting all the extra men required. Yet, notwithstanding that, they had a percentage of unemployed men in the carpentry industry. The Distress Committee in Bristol were in the most helpless condition as to taking action. They had come there to try to get suggestions what they were to do with the 2,000 or 3,000 men they had registered with them. He was bound to say he was going home not much wiser for attending that Conference. There was one method that could be adopted. Want of organisation was largely responsible for the present conditions. What was wanted was more regulation of the hours of labour in such industries as the railway system. That would do more to absorb a large number of the unemployed than if they spent thousands of pounds on labour colonies. Such colonies were useless, though they would be useful in regard to emigration. In Bristol they had done a great deal in sending hundreds of people to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In spite of the ignorance of agricultural pursuits, they had made excellent colonists. Therefore, from the point of view of training men for the colonies, labour colonies might be good; but if they were to train men to send into the country districts of England, then he held they were trying to build up false hopes in the minds of men who would have to compete with the expert.

The Chairman (Sir ALFRED MOND), referring to the last speaker, said there was no such thing in England as an expert labourer. There were a few expert agricultural farmers. Mr. Fels had demonstrated in the work he had done in Essex by bringing people over from France who knew about intensive culture that they could take land with almost nothing, and make it valuable. They could take the agricultural farmer —and he believed the average townsman would do the work as well—and make him a very good market gardener of the type this country had never known. Agriculture in

this country was still in its infancy. In his opinion it was the most scientific thing he knew. There was no necessity to send the people to the West of Canada, to do very much more primitive agriculture, when by training the people here how to market garden and how to really go in for fruit growing there was promise for millions of people in England. The small holdings movement was just beginning. When he saw what was done in Denmark by small holdings, by quadrupling the milk of cows in fifteen years; what had been done in Ireland under Sir Horace Plunkett, he held there was ample margin in these farm colonies for training people we wanted ourselves. That was one of the objects at Hadleigh. They did not expect Hadleigh to pay a dividend. Prof. Bowley asked whether the cost of Hadleigh would be so great that they could not establish it on a sufficiently large scale. That was a problem on which it would be interesting to have information. He sympathised with Mr. Gray when £150,000,000 was spent on a war without hesitation, but when they wanted to spend a few millions on something good they were told the money could not be found. It was not true. Money could be found if people wanted it done. If people wanted farm colonies, money could be found for them too. There was one word he wished to say about insurance, because so many speakers seemed to have taken a curious view—namely, that the Government scheme would only touch the people at the top. The Government scheme included the building trade, and in that trade were all the builders' labourers. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Smart's figures showed that no less than 28.49 per cent. of the people going to his colony were in the building trade. Those people were insured by the Government, and would receive maintenance while out of work, so that they would probably be able to go on living and waiting until the building trade revived. The chairmen of distress committees said they had so many thousands of people out of work: what were they going to do with them? People engaged in seasonal industries were only out of work in the winter, and there were three ways in which they could deal with them. Either they must save money in the summer to keep them in the winter, or the employers who wanted them in the summer should give them wages in the winter if they wanted them again. That seemed to him not unreasonable. Or they must ensure them against the time when they would be naturally out of work. That, the Government proposed to do. Those were the people they were dealing with—people they know would be out of work in hard weather. For four or five months they could not do any building. They would be always out of work in the winter, and that was one of the most difficult problems in the world. When they went to a country like Canada, they could do nothing from October to the end of April in the way of out-door work. They naturally found that people had to get very, very high wages in the summer in order to keep them through the long winter, and it was really the business of the industry to see that people were paid sufficiently to keep them during the time they could not work. Then there was the question of the regularisation of labour. The chairmen of Distress Committees, together with the town councils, devoted their thought and mind to see how far the municipal authorities in their districts could regularise the work they had to give out, and make a point of giving out as much in slack times and winter time as they could. In Germany a great deal was done in that direction. In Russia the Government kept back orders for State railways. It met the economic depression due to bad trade. Every local authority could do much in that way. He did not think we had reached the end—that we had seriously begun, in fact—of taking every obvious step for dealing with that problem.

Colonel LAMB, dealing with the question of cost, said that the loss at Hadleigh was a diminishing item. Further, the land in the neighbourhood had appreciated considerably in value during the fifteen or twenty years since they had purchased it. If the first cost of the colony, the amount of the loss and all the money the General had put into it were put together and offered for the land now, he (Colonel Lamb) did not think the General would jump at it. With regard to the man who had passed from the colony into the world, those who had emigrated had done well. He agreed with the chairman, they had a lot to learn. After all, the average man wanted to get rich quickly, and by putting his labour into the Western States of Canada he got a quicker and larger return than he would in this country.

Mr. BOLTON SMART, dealing with the question of cost, took up the economic point of view. First of all, it was the usual thing for their critics to assume that if they were not dealing with the problem by farm colonies there would be no problem to deal with. But he wanted to remind them that the problem was there, and if they did not deal with it in that way, they must do so in some other way. The only machinery

they had at present for dealing with the same problem, apart from the distress committee and the Legislative Act of 1905, was the Poor Law. In the great cities—London especially—they were practically confined to dealing with these people by the indoor system. The labour yard had hopelessly broken down. The only way, then, to deal with the family was by dumping them into the workhouse. Therefore, when they asked that economic question whether or not a farm colony would pay or did pay, he said the only fair economic way of judging it was to compare that treatment of the problem with the other possible treatment of it. When they came to that he had to say, if they could take a London man and turn him efficiently into a horticulturist or agriculturist, and at the same time they could keep his family in proper decency and comfort for a third of the cost of breaking up the home and admitting them to the workhouse, then on economic grounds purely the farm colony paid. He would like to point out it was no good growing stuff if they were not allowed to sell it. They had been encouraged to grow stuff, and had been criticised for it. He had been brought up on the old-fashioned advice that the more they produced the better England would be. (Hear, hear.) The whole problem was that the stuff should be put on the market with no sort of suspicion that they were underselling, and he thought the fairest and safest way was to send the stuff to the central market and let it go under the hammer. With regard to the very important matter of decasualisation of labour, he was one who was deeply dissatisfied and disappointed when they got the Labour Exchange Bill that it did not provide for compulsory registration of all unemployed and casual labour and the compulsory employment of casual labour through the register. Glasgow, Edingburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, none of them could tell what unemployed they had, and they never would until they were able to separate the two problems—under-employment and unemployment. Supposing they had 15,000 casual labourers in a given district—say, Stepney. At the end of a given period, through the work of the compulsory clauses they reduced it, and if they found a surplus of 5,000 they knew something had happened there. They knew that 15,000 people had been trying to live on an income barely sufficient for 10,000. Therefore the standard of living had been depressed. If they had the possibility of saying to these 5,000 men, "We are going to pass you over now to the unemployed register, and we are going to allow those 10,000 people for whom the masters are asking to do the work," they would still be casual labour in the sense that those men are working for many masters; but they would in the other sense have decasualised that labour, because each of the 10,000 would be getting a full week's work instead of only three or four days. But in thus simplifying the problem they passed over the surplus into the ranks of the permanently unemployed. That was a big problem. They wanted everything they had to-day, and something besides, to deal with that problem.

They could not deal with casual labour except by compulsion. Trade unions had failed. They could not deal with a demoralised body from a voluntary standpoint. After the Dock Strike he was hon. secretary of the Mansion House fund. They knew what happened. The Dock Company listened to them, and they instituted a ticket system for the decasualisation of labour; but men would tell them to-day that the tickets were worth nothing if they fell back to the old ways. So they could not organise the casual worker either through a trade union or an employer. It was much too difficult a job, and he felt very strongly that that was the key to the position. They could only begin by getting strength from the State to say to these men, "We must know where you live"; and secondly, "We will not permit one section of the casual workers to depress the standard for the whole lot." He did not think they could deal with unemployment until they had fairly and squarely dealt with the question of under-employment.

Professor LODGE (Edinburgh Distress Committee) agreed with Mr. Smart that in considering the estimate of cost the public had got to consider what would be saved on the Poor Law administration and the police and gaol administration of the country. In the second place the chairman very rightly reminded them that the Insurance Bill against unemployment did go rather lower than his (the speaker's) hasty words implied. In the five trades such as the bricklayer's labourers and builder's labourers they might be said to be dealing with what he said, for want of better words, were the lower stratum of organised labour. He still, however, retained his opinion that the scheme left untouched the great mass of casual labour—labour that took odd jobs in all sorts of trades. The effect of that insurance did nothing to remove the causes of unemployment, and it did not touch one of the most demoralising features of unemployment—idleness. That was better touched by giving employment instead of giving

small sums to tide them over. In the discussion that day there had been too great a tendency to confuse the subject of labour and farm colonies. A labour colony was not necessarily a farm colony. He at any rate never advocated what was frequently called a farm colony at all. He advocated, on the contrary, a detention colony and the test colony—a simple form of labour—namely, the reclamation of land—and not the ordinary farm processes at all. The experiment was only in its infancy. Remember, they had never seen a State colony tried in this country at all. He thought the President of the Local Government Board was hasty in his condemnation of labour colonies on the ground that they were wholly inadequate.

Fourth Day, Friday, June 2nd.

MORNING SESSION.

At the opening of the Session the chair was occupied by Professor Lodge, who, however, relinquished it to the President, Sir Alfred Mond, on his arrival during the proceedings. The subject of discussion was THE ELIMINATION OF SEASONAL AND CYLICAL FLUCTUATIONS IN THE AGGREGATE NATIONAL DEMAND FOR LABOUR. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Development Act and Unemployment.*
By Mr. A. D. HALL, F.R.S., Member of the Development Commission.

2.—*The Statistics of Unemployment with Special Reference to Seasonal Unemployment.*
By Mr. A. D. WEBB.

3.—*The Regularisation of the Public Demands.*
By Mr. G. H. WOOD.

4.—*The Building Trades and the Reorganisation of Public Work.*
By Mr. N. D. DEARLE.

The Development Act and Unemployment.

By A. D. HALL, M.A., F.R.S.
(Member of the Development Commission.)

As a considerable interest has been excited by the Development Act, because of the possible bearing of some of its provisions upon the question of unemployment and the prevention of destitution, I may perhaps be allowed to explain briefly the purposes of the Act, and to call attention to those parts of it which may deal at all with the question before us.

The Act sets apart certain sums of money which may be advanced by grants or loans to associations not trading for profit for the following purposes :—

(*a*) Aiding and developing agriculture and rural industries.
(*b*) Forestry.
(*c*) The reclamation and drainage of land.
(*d*) The general improvement of rural transport.
(*e*) The construction and improvement of harbours.
(*f*) The construction and improvement of inland navigation.
(*g*) The development and improvement of fisheries.

Reviewing the provisions of the Act in the light of the parliamentary debates we may say that its object is the promotion of the economic development of the *rural* industries of the United Kingdom; urban industries, trades and manufactures are by implication excluded from its scope. One other section of the Act, which bears particularly on the question of employment, is so important that it may here be set out in full:—

"In approving, executing, or making advances in respect of the execution of any work under this Act involving the employment of labour on a considerable scale, regard shall be had so far as is reasonably practicable to the general state and prospects of employment."

It is quite clear from its defined purposes read in connection with this section that the Act does not, as some people suppose, set up a machinery for dealing with unemployment. It would be contrary to the spirit of the Act to use the funds for relief works in times of distress, or for schemes which have for their main object the utilisation of the unemployed, still less the unemployable residuum of the urban population. But while the Act may thus not be utilised directly for the relief of the unemployed, there are certain directions in which it may be utilised to minimise the fluctuations of unemployment and to act as a kind of equalising reservoir for the labour market, and the section of the Act which I have last quoted shows clearly that it was intended to operate in this direction.

There are two forms of fluctuations in employment for which provision should be made:—

(1) The seasonal fluctuations between winter and summer.

(2) The longer period fluctuations which depend upon the cycle of trade and recur at periods of from five to eleven years.

As regards the seasonal fluctuations, many of the rural and semi-rural industries are very subject to loss of employment in the winter time. Arable farming requires as a rule fewer men in the winter than in the summer, and it is often customary to dismiss the single men during the winter season. Quarrying, gravel-digging, and similar industries connected with the building trade are also subject to long spells of unemployment in the winter. These intervals of unemployment, however temporary, are apt to force men into the towns in search of other forms of casual labour, and without doubt are potent factors in the creation of permanent destitution. They may be met by some of the forms of unemployment insurance which are not before us, but the most economical way of meeting them is by the creation of other industries which function only in the winter and act as second strings or alternatives to the man's prime occupation. Of such "second string" occupations, forestry is one of the most notable, fitting in particularly well with the farming and other rural pursuits enumerated above.

More than a century ago Cobbett was never tired of explaining how much more prosperous the agricultural labourers were on the poor lands near the fringes of the woodlands than in the richest districts of pure arable farming, simply because the woods provided work in the winter, as well as the cheap fuel which was so valuable in the labourer's household. Even at the present time, in the woodland district of Sussex many of the labourers go off regularly to the woods when harvest is over, returning to the farmers as soon as the spring work becomes general. It may be argued that from the point of view of utilising the land to maintain the largest possible number of men forestry is not likely to be valuable. Once a forest is in working order it provides regular employment for a smaller number of men per 1,000 acres than any form of agriculture, for which reason it is desirable to restrict rather than extend the area of English woodlands, confining

them strictly to the land which is too high or too poor to be profitable under cultivation. This, however, does not take into account the subsidiary industries which arise from the utilisation of the wood; for example, the chair-making of Bucks is the direct outcome of the beech woods of the Chilterns. Considering the type of land, it probably employs more men as forest than it would under cultivation. What is chiefly wanted is to get the existing woodlands properly managed so that they do become overflows for the winter unemployment in their neighbourhood, and even absorbents of the more violent fluctuations. It would be possible, for example, even with high forest to dictate the felling and the replanting to some extent according to the state of the labour market. That is to say, though the working plan of a forest may have settled that a given plantation shall be cut after sixty years, it would not seriously derange that plan to advance or retard the felling and consequent replanting, by a few years, according to the labour that is available. It is possible to plan out a rotation for a large forest area that should keep a permanent staff in continuous employment felling and replanting a certain proportion every year. In practice, however, it is more usual to keep the permanent staff small and skilled, and draw in labour from the outside from time to time, when felling and replanting takes place.

The value, then, of forestry in this connection, lies in its providing an overflow that can, and will, naturally expand to meet unemployment in the countryside, and also a second string of a more regular character in the shape of winter work for agricultural labourers. The work, therefore, of the Development Commission must be less to provide forests in this country than to secure the proper development of those which now exist, and as a consequence in this direction its efforts will be mainly educational. The Commissioners are endeavouring to secure such a system of forestry education and research as will eventually lead both to the improvement of existing woodlands and the afforestation of many areas which are now lying waste and useless. But education and research must precede any large attempts at State afforestation, even in areas in Scotland, Wales, or Ireland which are probably suitable for nothing else but woodlands, because we have not at the present time the requisite basis of knowledge, nor the trained men by whom such work could be controlled. Lastly, I should like to say that in the opinion of those most qualified to judge, afforestation is one of the last things which could be entrusted to the type of labourer which is usually described as the "unemployed." The preparation of the ground, the tree-planting and fencing which go to the initiation of a forest, are all skilled operations which would be disastrous in the hands of townsmen temporarily without work.

Turning now to the second class of operations, works which may be carried out somewhat intermittently whenever the factor of unemployment is a high one, we can probably include in this category the reclamation and improvement of land, the construction and improvement of harbours and inland navigations, and some of the larger works in the improvement of roads. The improvement of roads, however, does not fall within the province of the Development Commissioners, and to a large extent it is skilled work which will fall upon a permanent staff. It will be noted that the Road Board are, at the present time, only making grants for improvements in the existing roads, but have put out no schemes for the construction *de novo* of some of the great highways that appear to be called for. These latter schemes, which would utilise a large amount of comparatively unskilled labour, are probably being deferred until the present cycle of industrial prosperity seems to be coming to an end. It is necessary to bear in mind that schemes intended to absord surplus labour in bad times must not call for very

specialised skill in the workmen employed; but if they can find room for the agricultural labourers, navvies, builders, brickmakers, quarrymen, and people similarly engaged, they will lighten the burden of unemployment in other directions. One undertaking which is open to the Development Commission —the reclamation of land—offers perhaps the most promising outlet for such labour, because the construction of harbours, and the improvement of navigation are more technical matters which may require special skill, and can only be carried out in certain times and seasons not depending upon the labour market. But in several directions the reclamation of land would appear to be economically possible. In many parts of our coast line there are great areas of estuarine marsh now submerged at every high tide, and reclaiming itself naturally, though the process might be hastened and made far more effective if some labour were put into it. We have only got to realise that practically the whole of the rich marshes bordering the Thames estuary, and such great areas of valuable land as Romney Marsh have been deliberately reclaimed by the construction of retaining walls coupled with a process of more or less artificial warping, to see what possibilities there are in this direction, whenever a large amount of labour can be directed on to one spot. The "inning" of marsh and slob land has, in fact, been discontinued only within the last century, through the absorption of labour elsewhere, and in some cases through difficulties about the title to the foreshore to be reclaimed. What appears to be necessary is to fix upon certain areas where such work is feasible, to secure the necessary rights over the land to be dealt with, and then prepare quietly and with some foresight the plans of the work and the scheme of organisation, so that the undertaking can be put in hand upon a matured plan just as soon, and no sooner, than the call for relief for unemployment made itself felt.

Nor does the reclamation of the estuaries comprise the whole of the work in making new land that is still possible even in England. We have thousands of acres of barren heath on the one hand, and intractable clay on the other, which are capable of amelioration and of being converted into fertile farming land. In the first half of the nineteenth century much work of this kind was done. In Lincolnshire, in Cheshire, in Norfolk, great areas of what had been waste were clayed or marled, and to-day constitute some of the most valued land in this country. Then the process stopped because of the increasing scarcity of labour, and still more perhaps because of the diversion of the landlord's capital and energy to more lucrative industrial pursuits. The reclamation of such land is, indeed, not a particularly tempting speculation to the individual landlord. It calls for considerable skill in the organisation of labour, and the returns require a long time for their realisation. To take an example of the kind of thing that is possible in the South and East of England. The State already possesses very considerable areas of land situated upon the Bagshot Beds and the Lower Greensand, land which has never been profitable to cultivate, but remains barren and waste. The materials for ameliorating these unprofitable soils are never far distant. The chalk is close at hand on one side, and on the other are beds of clay, yet if these light sands are covered with, say, fifty tons of chalk and fifty tons of clay per acre, and suitably manured by a dressing of basic slag, and one or two crops of vetches ploughed into the soil, they can be converted into land of considerable permanent value for agriculture. The heavy clay lands which nowadays mostly carry a poor stunted grassy vegetation are perhaps less amenable to treatment; but even there, if a big block of one or two thousand acres were taken in hand with a large staff of labour, the water-courses straightened, tiles for draining

duly burnt and properly laid, and the surface soil lightened by the incorporation of a fair proportion of charred subsoil, the land would become susceptible of profitable cultivation and capable of carrying many more men than now have charge of the cattle which wander over it.

The great advantage of all land reclamation schemes is that in addition to providing temporary employment for a large number of men, they should also result in a rural colony recruited from those who have proved most suitable for permanent rural life amongst the men engaged in the reclamation. Much preliminary work, however, remains to be done before we in this country shall be in a position to undertake such reclamation work with success. We have little experience of such work, and in consequence few men capable of drawing out the necessary plans. Still less have we men accustomed to the organisation and economical utilisation of unskilled labour. We have seen repeatedly labour colonies and similar relief works failing because the director or directors were either unacquainted with the conditions of rural work, or lacked the power of discernment and organisation necessary to put it through. We shall without doubt have to train men to supervise these schemes, just as it is necessary to get the plans for them all drawn up in this present fortunate interval during which unemployment is comparatively low.

From this brief outline of the work which is possible under the Development Act, it will be gathered that much cannot be expected from it for the direct lightening of the burden of unemployment. After all, institutions, organisations, and schemes count for very little. Reform has to initiate in the minds of the people themselves, and probably in the end the educational and research work which is perhaps the prime business of the Development Commission will result both directly and indirectly in a greater reduction of unemployment than all the particular relief works which it can set in being.

Statistics of Unemployment, with special reference to Seasonal Unemployment.

By A. D. Webb, B.Sc. (Econ.), F.S.S.

The principal statistics of unemployment in the United Kingdom are those collected and published by the Board of Trade. They appear in considerable detail in the *Board of Trade Labour Gazette*, published monthly, and are summarised at length in the annual "Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom." These statistics are described and critically discussed in the evidence of the Board of Trade witnesses before the recent Poor Law Commission, and in several extremely valuable memoranda put in in connection with the evidence. These and the evidence are printed in Appendix vol. ix. to the Reports of the Commission.

The statistics are obtained by the Board of Trade mainly from two sources—employers and trade unions. Reports are also received from trade correspondents who are secretaries of employers' associations, and from local correspondents of

the Board of Trade who are mostly connected with trade unions. Employers furnish the following information:—

(*a*) Number of days per week in the coal-mining industry, on which the pits are at work. In March, 1911, the number of workpeople covered was 660,000.

(*b*) Similar information respecting the iron and shale-mining industries. About 20,000 people were covered by the March, 1911, returns.

(*c*) The number of furnaces in blast in the pig-iron industry. About 23,000 workpeople were covered in March, 1911.

(*d*) The number of mills in operation in the tin-plate industry. About 26,500 workpeople were covered in March. It is pointed out that the statistics under this and the preceding heading are mainly useful in making comparisons over short periods, during which the average output of a blast furnace, or a sheet mill, varies so little that it may be neglected. In long periods, this factor would, however, be very important.

(*e*) Number of workpeople employed, and shifts worked, in iron and steel works. In March last, about 93,000 workpeople were covered by the returns.

(*f*) Number of workpeople employed, and their total earnings in one week in each month, in the cotton, woollen and worsted, carpet, bleaching, printing, dyeing and finishing, linen, jute, lace, silk, hosiery, shirt and collar, boot and shoe, brick, porcelain, china and earthenware, and glass trades. About 470,000 workpeople in these industries were covered by the returns in March, 1911.

(*g*) Total numbers employed, in the case of a few trades, of which the most important is dock and riverside labour in London.

Trade unions furnish information of the number of their members out of work, so far as recorded. The principal trades covered by the returns are the building (carpenters, joiners, and plumbers only), coal-mining, engineering, shipbuilding, metal, textiles, paper, printing and bookbinding, and furnishing and woodworking. The membership of the unions which reported in March, 1911, was about 760,000.

It is clear from this brief statement that the statistics of unemployment published by the Board of Trade are varied in their nature, and more or less limited in their scope. The trade union statistics cover only skilled workers, and only about one-third of all unionists. Some very important trades are not included in the statistics at all, for example, bricklayers and other sections of the building trades, railway servants, and agricultural labourers. Further, the trade union figures may not include all the unemployed members who have not completed the qualifying period of unemployment, which entitles to out-of-work benefit, or all those who have "run out of benefit." These and other qualifications of the figures are fully discussed in the Poor Law Commissioners' volume already referred to. The statistics cannot, therefore, be regarded as directly applicable to all trade unionists, and still less so to all workers, skilled and unskilled. The most that can be said for them with any assurance (and this is all the Board of Trade claim) is that they are an index to the variations of employment generally. They show "whether employment is going up or down, whether it is better or whether it is worse" (evidence of Mr. A. Wilson Fox, C.B., before Poor Law Commission; Q. 98,893).

Whether or not the Board of Trade statistics measure the absolute amount of unemployment, they may certainly be accepted as a reliable index to its

fluctuations. Unemployment is subject to two regular movements—a cyclical one, and a seasonal one. The former movement is shown by the following series of index numbers, compiled by the Board of Trade on the basis of the trade union returns of unemployment (the figures of the last three years have been calculated by the present writer). The series represents the number of unionists *not* returned as unemployed, the number in 1900 being taken as 100.

Index Numbers of Employment.

(1900 = 100.)

1860	...	101.0	1886	...	93.1
1861	...	99.1	1887	...	95.6
1862	...	96.7	1888	...	98.7
1863	...	98.1	1889	...	100.8
1864	...	100.9	1890	...	100.8
1865	...	101.1	1891	...	99.4
1866	...	100.2	1892	...	96.6
1867	...	96.4	1893	...	95.0
1868	...	96.0	1894	...	95.0
1869	...	96.8	1895	...	96.7
1870	...	99.1	1896	...	99.3
1871	...	101.2	1897	...	99.2
1872	...	102.0	1898	...	99.7
1873	...	101.7	1899	...	100.5
1874	...	101.3	1900	...	100.0
1875	...	100.7	1901	...	99.0
1876	...	99.4	1902	...	98.2
1877	...	98.4	1903	...	97.5
1878	...	96.5	1904	...	95.9
1879	...	91.9	1905	...	97.1
1880	...	97.5	1906	...	98.7
1881	...	99.3	1907	...	98.5
1882	...	100.5	1908	...	94.3
1883	...	100.3	1909	...	94.5
1884	...	95.6	1910	...	97.5
1885	...	94.1			

If these index numbers be arranged in periods and averaged, so that each period includes only one maximum and one minimum, the following averages are obtained:—

Average of 1862-1867	...	98.9	Average of 1886-1893	...	97.5
„ 1868-1878	...	99.4	„ 1894-1903	...	98.5
„ 1879-1885	...	97.0	„ 1904-1907	...	97.6

Two things may be noted in respect to this cyclical movement—first, that it follows fairly closely the "trade cycles" of the last fifty years;* and second, that there is no evidence that unemployment to-day is worse than a generation ago. No light, however, is thrown by these figures on under-employment.

It is, of course, not to be expected that the depressions in the several trades should exactly synchronise. For example, the years of greatest unemployment in the building trades, as represented by the statistics of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, were 1862, 1870, 1879, 1886, 1895, and 1905, while

* See Report of Poor Law Commission. [Cd. 4499]. P. 328.

the years of greatest depression as given in the above table were 1862, 1868, 1879, 1886, 1893-4, and 1904. It is seen that the year of greatest unemployment among carpenters and joiners often lagged behind the year of general depression.

The second regular movement which the Board of Trade figures reveal is the seasonal variation of employment. By averaging the monthly percentage of unemployment over a series of years, the effects of casual influences are eliminated, and the seasonal fluctuation made apparent. Thus, taking all trade unions together which made returns to the Board of Trade, the average percentage of members unemployed at the end of each month during the decennium 1898-1907, was as follows:—

January	4.7	July	3.9
February	4.0	August	4.2
March	3.9	September	4.4
April	3.8	October	4.4
May	3.8	November	4.4
June	3.8	December	5.0

Unemployment in general, therefore, appears to be greatest in December, to diminish gradually to a minimum in April to June; and to increase to its maximum at the end of the year. The season of maximum or minimum unemployment is not, however, the same for all trades. Nor is the season always the same for the same trade in different localities. The first point is demonstrated and proved by a calendar of busy and slack seasons prepared by the Board of Trade for the Poor Law Commission.* This calendar is here reproduced for convenience of reference.

Month.	Busiest Season.	Slackest Season.
January . .	London Docks.	Furnishing; Iron Mining.
February .	Paper-making.	Plumbers.
March . .	Steel Smelting; Textiles.	Coopers.
April . . .	Brush-making; Furnishing.	——
May . . .	Engineering; Ship-building; Hat-making; Leather; Coach-building; Clothing.	——
June . . .	Millsawyers.	London Docks; Coal Mining.
July . . .	——	Steel Smelting; Iron and Steel Works; Tinplates.
August . .	Carpenters and Joiners; Coopers.	Printing and Bookbinding; Paper-making; Tobacco.
September .	Plumbers; Iron Mining.	Various Metals; Textiles.
October . .	Iron and Steel Works.	Clothing.
November .	Various Metals; Printing and Bookbinding; Tobacco; Tinplates.	Ship-building.
December .	Coal Mining.	Carpenters and Joiners; Engineering; Hat-making; Leather; Millsawyers; Coach-building; Brush-making.

* Appendix Vol. IX. p. 655. [Cd. 5068] 1910.

Thus every month in the year, except July, is the busiest season for some trade, and every month, except April and May, is the slackest season for some trade. If every trade is a water-tight compartment for labour, it follows that the maximum number of workpeople required by all trades together is greater than it would be if labour were free and were able to flow from one trade to another. This is illustrated by the following table taken from the same source as the preceding one. It gives the number of workpeople employed at the end of each month in 1906 in gasworks, waterworks, and tramways. It is unfortunate that these particular figures cover only one year, so that the seasonal variation in the several occupations may be more or less modified by accidental and temporary causes. For a complete discussion of the problem, too, the numbers employed on every day of the year, and not only at the end of each month, are required. Although these considerations would be of the greatest importance if practical measures were being taken, they do not much matter in the present instance, where the figures are being used to illustrate an argument.

1906.	Numbers employed at end of each month.			
	Gasworks.	Waterworks.	Tramways.	Total.
January . . .	24,377	4,750	17,554	46,681
February . . .	23,478	4,576	17,754	45,808
March	22,222	4,511	18,034	44,767
April	21,275	4,490	18,306	44,071
May	20,864	4,523	18,737	44,124
June	20,557	4,752	19,112	44,421
July	20,592	4,676	18,956	44,224
August	20,688	4,416	18,885	43,989
September . . .	21,559	4,386	18,857	44,802
October	23,030	4,290	18,530	45,850
November . . .	24,755	4,400	18,418	47,573
December . . .	25,482	4,314	18,223	48,019

The maximum number employed, as given in each column, is underlined.

The greatest number employed at the same time in all three occupations is seen to be 48,019, at the end of December. But the greatest number employed at any time is 49,346, namely—

Gasworks	25,482	in December.
Waterworks	4,752	in June.
Tramways	19,112	in June.
	49,346	

If each of these occupations is inaccessible to the workpeople engaged in the others, 49,346 separate individuals must exist; but if labour is made mobile between them, only 48,019 are required. It is, of course, not necessary that every person employed at, say, gasworks, should be able to fill a position at, say, waterworks, but only that a small percentage should be able to do so. This mobility of labour can only be effected in a properly organised labour market and with properly trained workers. This, it is needless to say, involves hearty co-operation of both employers and workpeople, and absence of trade union hostility to dovetailing of trades. Given all these conditions, a saving of 1,327 men would be secured in this particular case. The Labour Exchanges are obviously the instruments for securing the easy and rapid passage of men, temporarily unemployed in their principal occupation, to other occupations enjoying their "busy season." But it is also necessary that the gasworks' man shall be economically useful and profitable to, say, the tramways' manager. It seems to follow, then, that a certain proportion of persons in most occupations, in fact, those persons most liable to be "seasonally" unemployed, shall be trained to follow one or more other occupations, which, to them, will be subsidiary or complementary occupations. It will probably happen that the workers falling to be so trained will be the least efficient in any trade, but this plan will surely make them less useless to the community than prolonged periods of unemployment. Some such scheme as this would also embrace the problem of under-employment.

The illustration serves to show two further facts. It shows that 1,327 men, so far as these three industries are concerned, are entirely superfluous. They are what has been called the "ultimate residuum," composed, without doubt, of the most inefficient workers. It is a most important problem what is to be done with them, but I do not propose to discuss it here. It has been treated at length in the Reports of the Poor Law Commission. Secondly, it will be noted that while all three industries together need, in December, 48,019 distinct workers, in August they can employ only 43,989, or 4,030 fewer workers. Since, *ex hypothesi*, this maximum of 4,030 workers will be unemployed every year during the slack season of the three industries combined, the remedy for, or palliative of, the consequential evils is a system of unemployment insurance, which, again, I need not discuss here.

The last aspect of seasonal unemployment to which I desire to direct attention is its variation in the same trade in different localities. It is analogous to the classical example of dock labour, which has been so ably discussed by Mr. Beveridge, among others. The example I wish briefly to discuss is that of the building trade. Evidence of the local variation of seasonal unemployment is published monthly in the *Board of Trade Labour Gazette* in the shape of the numbers of workpeople paid wages on the last pay day in each month in different parts of the United Kingdom. England and Wales are divided into London, northern counties and Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire, midland and eastern counties, south and south-western counties and Wales, and other districts. Scotland and Ireland are not sub-divided. I have expressed the numbers of skilled men employed at the end of each month in 1907 as a series of index number; similarly for 1908 and 1909. The averages of these three series of index numbers are as follows:—

District.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
London ...	102	110	116	**117**	112	104	110	**123**	111	101	98	92
N. Counties & Yorks.	97	101	106	111	115	**121**	119	117	117	113	109	101
Lancs. & Cheshire	100	104	110	115	119	120	**123**	119	116	110	105	94
Mid. & E. Counties	97	99	104	108	**109**	108	109	**113**	110	103	101	94
S. & S.W. Counties and Wales ...	96	104	110	114	117	**118**	**118**	**118**	115	106	107	101
Scotland ...	99	102	105	107	**108**	106	106	**109**	**109**	102	96	93
Ireland ...	99	97	102	104	**111**	109	116	**124**	**124**	123	113	108
Total U.K. ...	100	105	110	113	**114**	111	114	**118**	113	105	99	95

The maxima of employment are shown in heavy type. The periods of maximum employment do not, as a rule, differ by more than a month in time from one locality to another. There is no doubt, however, that if smaller areas could be examined, the maxima would be found more widely distributed over the year. The deduction is the same as that made in the case of seasonal variation in different industries, namely, that by a ready mobility of labour, secured by Labour Exchanges, a certain number of men in the building trade could be made redundant, and more work be left available for each man of the balance. There are, however, two important points of difference between this and the former case. Since only one trade is under consideration,* it is not necessary to train a certain proportion of men to be "Jacks-of-all-trades." Secondly, in this case it would be necessary for some workers temporarily to move their home or residence from one part of the country to another. Such a spatial translation of labour as this, however, involves not only the provision of means of locomotion, but also of housing accommodation for shorter or longer periods. I leave alone the question as to how and by whom this is to be done.

It may be here mentioned that this local variation in seasonal unemployment in the building trade is confirmed by statistics contained in the Board of Trade Report on the earnings and hours of labour in the building and woodworking trades in 1906 (Cd. 5086 of 1910). This Report gives the number of workpeople paid wages in the last pay-week or other ordinary week in each month in 1906, in different districts of the United Kingdom. The figures have an advantage over those in the *Labour Gazette* in that they relate to the same firms throughout the year, which those in the *Gazette* do not necessarily do. But the figures in the Wage Census Report cover only one year, and may, therefore, be affected by other than purely seasonal causes.

It may also be pointed out as a matter of interest that in the building trade there are in some districts—for example, London—two seasons of maximum employment within the year, or a season within a season. This, however, I do not propose to investigate further at the present time.

In these brief notes, I have not announced any new discoveries, or proposed new remedies, but they may be found useful as a summary of some existing statistics, and as indicating the manifold nature of the problem of unemployment, and the need for various remedies.

* It is assumed that what applies to the Building Trade as a whole, applies equally to Carpenters or Bricklayers, or any other of the separate branches of the Building Trade.

The Regularisation of the Public Demands.

By G. H. Wood, F.S.S.

Of the proposals for prevention of destitution through want of employment which the controversy over the reform or otherwise of the Poor Laws has brought into the region of "practical politics" probably the most neglected or misunderstood and yet the most pregnant with possibilities is that of utilising the State and other public purchases for the "smoothing out" of the cyclical fluctuation in trade. So far as I am aware, no economist has yet analysed this proposal and its manifold ramifications, and as with other valuable and interesting suggestions, the technique of the subject has yet to be worked out. Needless to say, I do not propose to attempt this task in the present paper. My humble purpose is to offer some general considerations on the matter, and then to examine its possibilities and effects on the one industry with which I am able to claim a first-hand intimacy.

In his evidence to the Poor Law Commission, Professor Bowley gave it as his opinion that between the best and worst years of a trade cycle there was a difference in the total wage bill of the United Kingdom of £10,000,000, and that in a period of ten years the total loss of wages of about £40,000,000. Continuing, he asked, "Is it possible for the Government and other public bodies who employ labour in large quantities to counteract the industrial ebb and flow of demand by inducing a complementary flow and ebb; by withdrawing part of their demand when industry needs all the labour it can get, and increasing the demand when industry is slack?"*

In answer to this question, or rather in accordance with the suggestion it contains, it has been proposed to "ear-mark" a part of the State demand for labour to the extent of £4,000,000 annually, and to arrange a "ten years' programme" for its expenditure at the times most appropriate. This expenditure is to be on goods and services ordinarily needed, and is to be made in the open market in exactly the same way as other public expenditure. The labour is to be paid for at the ordinary rates, and the contracts open to public tender. No increased expenditure is involved in any way, and there is nothing of the "Setting the Poor on Work" idea about the matter.

Except when some vast disturbing influence intervenes, *e.g.*, a great war, the industrial cycle may be taken to cover a period of seven years. This, it may be observed, is a shorter period than that which usually prevailed previous to the great inflation and depression of the "'seventies." As this seven-years period has, on the average, been constant for the past five cycles, we may now, in my judgment, regard the displacement of the ten-eleven years cycle by the seven-years cycle as permanent. There appears to be nothing gained by taking a longer view, and a seven-years' programme would have advantages over a ten-years' programme, in that it is easier to plan. Accordingly, we require, on Professor Bowley's basis,

* Evidence, Q. 88192, par. 9.

the administration of a sum of £28,000,000. As a rough first view of the scheme as a whole the course of this administration might be somewhat as follows:—

	State of trade.	Percentage Unemployed. £ mil.	Expenditure. Amount postponed.	Savings used. £ mil.
1st year -	Normal	$3\frac{1}{2}$	7	—
2nd „ -	Boom	$2\frac{1}{2}$	14	—
3rd „ -	Normal	$3\frac{1}{2}$	7	—
4th „ -	Moderate	5	—	$4\frac{1}{2}$
5th „ -	Bad	$7\frac{1}{2}$	—	10
6th „ -	Bad	$7\frac{1}{2}$	—	10
7th „ -	Moderate	5	—	$3\frac{1}{2}$

I commence, for simplicity, with a normal year, the eighth year again becoming normal. In this case expenditure is only postponed, and none is anticipated. At present this year promises to be "normal," and the first normal year of a cycle. If, however, the work of administrating with this end in view commenced, say, three years hence, and the cycle started at a "moderate" year, the course might be:

	State of Trade.	Percentage Unemployed.	Expenditure. Anticipated Fund.	Arrested.
1st year -	Moderate	5	$4\frac{1}{2}$	—
2nd „ -	Bad	$7\frac{1}{2}$	10	—
3rd „ -	Bad	$7\frac{1}{2}$	10	—
4th „ -	Moderate	5	$3\frac{1}{2}$	—
5th „ -	Normal	$3\frac{1}{2}$	—	7
6th „ -	Boom	$2\frac{1}{2}$	—	14
7th „ -	Normal	$3\frac{1}{2}$	—	7

It merely depends on the point in the cycle when the specialised administration commenced whether the extra expenditure is an anticipation or a postponement, and as we have to start *de novo* it is probable that when the scheme is taken seriously in hand the evolution to the maximum amounts will be gradual and based on a mixture of both. Indeed, a combination of anticipation and postponement appears to have advantages over either method used alone.

So far we have merely been considering a general outline. When we turn to consider the matter in detail we find that a large number of things have to be taken into account before we can decide on the practicability of the suggestion.

The trade of the country may be divided into five classes,* namely:

(*a*) Home raw materials, produced almost entirely for home consumption;

(*b*) Home raw materials (with some imported), an appreciable quantity being exported when manufactured;

(*c*) Imported raw materials, mainly retained for home consumption.

(*d*) Imported raw materials, largely exported after manufacture.

(*e*) Transport trades.

Examples of (*a*) may be found in the furnishing and domestic trades, the building trades, etc.; of (*b*) in the woollen and jute trades; of (*c*) in the leather trades, paper making, tar making, etc.; of (*d*) in the cotton trades.

* Ignoring manufactured goods, ready for the final consumer, and including all others as raw materials. They, of course, affect employment in the transport trades.

It is self-evident that the possibilities of "smoothing out" in these trades will vary greatly. Little or nothing can be done in a trade like the cotton trade, where all the raw material is exported and the supply is therefore beyond our control (or even beyond any human control); and where 80 per cent. of the produce is exported. On the other hand, a lot might conceivably be done in a trade where the supply of raw material is unaffected by "good" or "bad" seasons, and where the produce is practically all consumed at home. If the proportion of public purchases was equal in these five trade divisions, most could be done in the way of "smoothing out" in (*a*) and professedly less in the succeeding classes (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*), while the effect on (*e*) will be determined by the proportion of work which this group does over the rest. If most of the transport work is done for the domestic trades, then "smoothing out" in these trades will have a considerable effect on the cycle in the transport trades; if, instead, the dockers, carters, and railway workers are mainly employed in handling the products of trades in class (*d*), then we can do little to regularise their labour from one year to another.

Similarly, when we come to consider the goods purchased by the Government and other public authorities, we find it necessary to classify them according to the conditions which determine their purchase. Roughly, this classification may be made thus:

(1) Armaments.
(2) Routine goods, perishable.
(3) Routine goods, not perishable.
(4) Non-routine goods.

At first sight it would appear that the only group which lends itself to the conditions of purchase implied by withholding or anticipating demand is the third. It is true that this is the group in which most may be done, but even in the provision of armaments there are a large number of standardised metal goods which could as easily be purchased now, say, and kept for five or even ten years, if necessary, as they can be purchased under the present haphazard, hand-to-mouth methods. The second group affords us no help; the third is almost entirely amenable to our purpose; and the fourth, except in so far as it consists of emergency purchases, is by its definition capable of being manipulated, sometimes by anticipation but mainly by postponement, according to the needs of the labour market.

At present public purchases are mainly determined by two conditions. In the first place, storage room is a consideration, and the aim of most stores clerks is to keep just enough stock to see them through with a little over for emergencies. With the Local Authorities there is the further desire not to burden the rate-payer to-day with expenditure which can be put off until to-morrow—or next year. In the Civil Service the Treasury demands that all moneys voted to each Department of State and not spent by the last day of the financial year shall be returned, so that even if they would "take thought for to-morrow" the Treasury denies the purchasing officials the opportunity. Hence it comes about that in the first quarter of each year we often have mad rushes to get things ordered and delivered—in many cases goods which need not be bought for a year or two.

The list of Departments of State which purchase in this unregulated, haphazard way, without co-ordination or consultation with one another, and without consideration for the condition of the labour market, is a long one. In it we find the Admiralty Contract and Purchase Department, the Admiralty Works Department, War Office, India Office, Home Department, Crown Agents for

the Colonies, General Post Office, Office of Works, Stationery Office, Metropolitan Police, Prison Commission for Scotland, Royal Irish Constabulary, Commissioners of Woods, Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland Prison Commission.

The list of goods purchased is almost endless, and may be studied month by month in the *Board of Trade Labour Gazette*. I have no space for an enumeration here.

An official connection with the great staple industry of the West Riding naturally induces me to examine how far we can use the public purchases of woollen and worsted goods of all sorts to smooth out the recurrent trade depressions in that industry. I do not speak of the depressions caused by great calamities, such as the Australian droughts of 1900 and 1904-5, and the South African War, which produce unemployment through shortage of materials to work with. Over such things as these we can have no control. On the other hand, there are annually large quantities of cloth purchased by the Government and by municipalities (not to mention the railway companies, over whom the Railway Department of the Board of Trade ought to have some control in this matter) for making into uniforms for soldiers, sailors, postmen, tram-car drivers and conductors, as well as horse-cloths, blankets, and many other kinds of woollen goods. In a year of good trade like 1906, the value of the output of the whole woollen and worsted trade was about eighty-five millions sterling, of which, in one form or another, about thirty-eight millions were exported and forty-seven millions retained at home. Of that retained at home, not less than one million was purchased by the Government (mainly) and various Local Authorities. Probably the amount so purchased was nearer two millions than one million, but to be on the safe side I take one and a quarter million.

This State and other public expenditure is a practically constant sum, and the goods bought are not subject to deterioration by being kept. It is, therefore, a simple matter to postpone or forestall purchases according to the state of the labour market, once a sufficient reserve in hand has been established.

The position accordingly is as follows. We have thirty-eight millions over which we have no direct control, forty-seven millions purchased privately (or by quasi-public bodies whom we cannot, at present, force to "take thought for the morrow"), and one million to our hands for use in smoothing out cyclical fluctuations. What we can do with this depends on the extent of the depression during the cycle from one year of very good trade to the next, and on the extent to which the privately controlled demand for clothing, etc. (a secondary necessity of existence), can be regularised by the smoothing out of the fluctuations in the other industries.

Starting with a year when trade is "very good" and overtime is being worked (meaning by overtime, not the casual overtime of an ordinary year, but continuous overtime, so that on the average of the year more than ordinary mill hours were worked), we find that the changes in trade from year to year will be first from "very good" to "good," next year to "moderate," the next two to "bad," then back to "moderate" again, then to "good," and in the eighth year back to "very good" once more. This, for all practical purposes, is the course and employment. If we take it that in a year of "good" trade there is rather more work than can be done in just full time (that is to say, there could be some but not much postponement of purchases without causing unemployment), we shall be safe in saying that in "very good" years the net overtime worked equals about 5 per cent. of the ordinary hours; in "moderate" years unemployment (or net undertime) reaches

4 per cent., and in "bad" years it reaches 7 per cent. This is a variation of 12 per cent. between the worst and best years.* How much of this 12 per cent. can we smooth out?

One thing is certain. Little or none of the State demand for woollen goods is wanted by the trade in the "very good" years. The State can, therefore, once having a supply in hand, save up all the possible purchases in these years, and at least one-half of the possible purchases in "good" years, and use it when the state of trade makes it desirable that a more than normal public demand should be made. In the table which follows I have analysed what, in my judgment, can be done, and its effects on the state of employment. I ignore, of course, any expansion of the trade, and assume that the amount of its output remains relatively stable from one trade cycle to another. In other words, I eliminate the secular trend and consider only the fluctuations.

SEVEN YEARS OF THE WOOLLEN TRADE.

		Under Present Conditions.					Under "Regularisation" Administration.						
				Amount of Output.				Public Expenditure.					
Year.	State of Employment.	Index Number of Employment.	Value of Output.*	Exported	Privately purchased at Home.	Purchased by State and Local Authorities.	Private Purchases.	Expended.	Accumulated.	Anticipated.	Sums of Cols. (8) & (9)	Sums of Cols. (5) & (12)	Index Number of Employment.
			£ Mil.	£ Mil.	£ Mil.	£ Mil.	£ Mil.	£ Mil.	£ Mil.	£ Mil.	£ Mil.	£ Mil.	
1	VG	105	85	38	45¾	1¼	44½	0	1¼	—	44¼	82½	103
2	G	100	81	36¼	43½	1¼	43¼	½	2	—	43¾	80	100
3	M	96	77¾	34¾	41¼	1¼	42¼	1¼	2	—	43½	78¼	97¾
4	B	93	75¼	33½	40½	1¼	41	2¾	½	—	43⅝	77¼	96½
5	B	93	75¼	33½	40½	1¼	41	2½	—	⅝	43½	77	96¼
6	M	96	77¾	34¾	41¾	1¼	42¼	1¼	—	⅝	43¼	• 78	97½
7	G	100	81	36¼	43½	1¼	43¼	½	—	—	43¾	80	100
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)

* At stationary prices. If prices varied, as they would do, the values in succeeding years would vary accordingly, but the amount of employment would be unaffected.

In this table column 4 shows what would normally be the value of the output in seven years, if prices remain unchanged and the trade neither permanently expands or contracts;† columns 5, 6, and 7 show how it would, under present circumstances, be distributed; column 8 shows what would probably be the effect of regularising the State demand in other trades on this trade (and here I think I have underestimated); columns 9, 10, and 11 show how the present public expenditure of about one and a quarter millions could easily be administered; column 12 shows the combined effects of direct administration through public purchases of woollen goods, and in direct administration through regularising public purchases of other goods and smoothing out the cycles in other trades; column 13 shows the total effect of these influences on the gross product of the industry; and column 14 shows the changes in employment resulting therefrom. We do not entirely smooth out the cycle, but we do nearly smooth it out so far as the home market is concerned, and this is considerably more than one-half of the total. In the worst year, instead of having 7 per cent. unemployed, we have only

* The woollen trades do not fluctuate from trade depressions and expansions as much as, *e.g.*, the iron and steel trades, and it must not be assumed that the above percentages hold good for all trades.

† This, of course, makes our measurements one of quantities rather than of values.

4 per cent., an amount which would be met by "short time" and "playing for warps" instead of unemployment.

I cannot, in the limits of the space assigned to me, attempt to trace the outward ramifications of this reorganisation. Its effects would be mostly felt in the purely domestic trades in the woollen and worsted towns. The building and furnishing trades, for instance, would immediately and obviously benefit. The furnishing trade, in particular, would become much more regular, as furniture is one of those secondary necessities which people have to buy in good times and have often to sell second-hand in bad times. The study of these inter-relation effects is the legitimate task of the economist, and this also applies to the effects on our foreign trade. A steadier home trade will mean a steadier purchasing of foreign goods, and, *per contra*, a steadier sale over-sea. Hence, besides the direct effects on the transport trades, a more regular domestic trade will also have an indirect steadying influence on the employment of dock and railway workers, carmen, etc.

The question naturally arises here, "How much of the whole trade cycle can we smooth out?" I am afraid that this can only be answered after we have tried it, but I am certain that the possible smoothing is, on the whole, considerable. Without dogmatising, I offer it as my opinion that whereas the "percentage unemployed," which is our chief index of the course of the labour market, now ranges from 2 per cent. (which merely represents the leakage in going from one job to another, and is much more than counter-balanced by overtime) to (in the worst months) $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., we can by careful administration reduce this fluctuation to between 3 per cent. and 6 per cent. In other words, we can abolish three-fifths of the range of the trade cycle.

It will be obvious that even the amount of regularisation at present possible can only be carried out by organisation. It will not do to leave each Government Department to act by itself without co-ordination, or this will produce overlapping. As soon as trade got bad, each Department would come in and cause a temporary boom which would soon come to an end. Then we have the Local Authorities, who would mainly be guided by local considerations, but still do buy out of their constituencies in the localised staple trades. It is difficult to see how these could be controlled or co-ordinated, but something might be done by advising from a Central Authority that certain trades are either becoming depressed and that any work offered would be of help or that they are busy and that orders might with advantage be withheld. This Central Authority should be a joint committee of the Board of Trade Labour Department, or its successor if a Ministry of Labour is ever formed, and of the spending Departments of State, with Treasury representation. Its functions would be to study closely the state of the labour market, contemporary and prospective, and to advise each Department as to the desirability of postponing or placing orders.

One objection which I have heard raised to this plan is that it merely "robs Peter to pay Paul." That is, that we do not alter the volume of unemployment, and that to have less employment in some years merely to have more in other years will not avail anything. In answer to this it should be observed that the great effect of "regularisation" will be more stability. Wages would be subject to less fluctuation, and this would be an inestimable boon in giving a more stable Standard of Comfort in many trades where now great suffering prevails when wages fall to their lowest point and much sheer waste and recklessness is seen in the busy times. The coal and iron trades give examples of this, and anyone acquainted with the lives of the workers in these trades will agree that their

normal Standard of Comfort is lower than it should be because it is based on the low wage times. Much of the overtime now worked in many years would be rendered unnecessary, and this would be an advantage to all concerned. Further, if for no other purpose, a less violent cycle and a steadier labour market is desirable because it will make the administration of Unemployed Insurance easier and will also have the same effect on the administration of the unemployment benefit of Trade Unions.

On all points there is much to be said for a " Regularised Administration " of public purchases, and there is no valid objection which can be raised against it.

The Building Trades and the Reorganisation of Public Work.

By N. B. Dearle, m.a.
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I have not been able to go deeply into the statistical information bearing on this subject, and shall confine myself, therefore, to considering the conditions which govern the attempt to reorganise public work in the building trades. For this question, appearing comparatively simple on the surface, reveals very considerable difficulties as soon as it is investigated. I intend, therefore, to consider—*first*, the different varieties of fluctuations in these trades; *secondly*, the various types of work carried out by public bodies; *thirdly*, which of them can be utilised to offset trade fluctuations; and *lastly*, the difficulties by which such a policy is beset. This will make it possible to estimate what is being done at present and what can be done in the future.

The building trades are for many reasons peculiarly suited for consideration. The amount of work carried out by public authorities is very large and varied; the trade experiences, in a very high degree, the different types of fluctuation—both seasonal and periodic; and finally, whilst the total amount of work available for our purpose is very large, the difficulties of reorganisation are in many respects greater than in some trades where it does not appear so feasible.

First, let us consider the seasonal fluctuations or variations in the demand for labour *within* the year. In building there is a broad general variation between summer and winter common to every district and almost every trade, but it is not the only one. It springs from a number of causes. A severe frost stops all outdoor labour and brings most building work to a standstill; and though in the southern districts there has been no prolonged stoppage for this season since 1895, the possibility of frost still has considerable effect. Further, general winter conditions, damp, wet and fog, render it difficult to carry on certain forms of work except at a ruinous cost, bricklayers, painters, and plasterers being particularly affected; and the shortness of the working day similarly influences branches not directly touched by the weather. The trade is further affected by social influences, since it is during the winter that private houses and many other buildings are in fullest occupation, and their owners therefore refuse to have work done to them at these times. Hence influences of all kinds co-operate

to produce a winter slackness, varying in length from district to district. Large contracts, a severe frost apart, usually go on steadily in winter and summer alike, and have to do so; small jobs and decoration avoid as far as possible the winter months.

But we also get smaller seasonal variations in other parts of the year, sometimes in the form of a summer slackness, the trade being briskest in the spring and late summer, and quiet in June and July. This slackness is less than in the winter because the smaller work is mainly affected, the larger and speculative building being consistently busy throughout the summer. Painters suffer most, and the other trades to a lesser extent. The causes of this summer decline are purely social. Much work in preparation for the summer season is done in the spring, and much too in the summer holidays. This phenomenon is mainly a characteristic of the large towns; but elsewhere too the period of high pressure is comparatively short, meaning that the trades are only fully employed for a few months. A few illustrations from the official returns may be interesting.*

In London trade usually begins to recover in January, advancing rapidly to a spring maximum in April or May, which is followed by a marked decline to the end of June, and sometimes with skilled men a further one in July. Then there is a rapid improvement to a maximum in August, and then the winter decline. In the North of England trade begins to revive in February, and is pretty steady throughout the summer, with a decline from July or August; but the large towns have a distinct summer slackness at mid-summer. Lancashire and Cheshire experience steady improvement till about mid-summer, with the reverse movement setting in about August; and in the Midlands the spring season begins in February; whilst the large towns show a marked decline in June and the smaller ones a long and regular summer season, with July the busiest month.

Such, roughly, are the deductions from the numbers employed with the trade percentages. The carpenters, taking the country as a whole, show a slight mid-summer decline, and the comparatively regular summer figures are the result of variations balancing one another. In London the tendencies bear a very marked resemblance to those shown by the other returns. The figures for the Plumbers' Union are peculiar, showing not much variation between summer and winter. In London, however, the difference is more marked, with a low amount of unemployment in August and sometimes September.

Many of these data do not cover a sufficient period to permit of a decided opinion, but they do establish a case for inquiry, leading to the following conclusions:—

(*a*) The frequent existence of mid-summer slackness between periods of briskness in the spring and late summer;

(*b*) The irregular character of the summer season in other cases with fluctuations from month to month, and a short period of exceptionally brisk trade; and

(*c*) The existence of months, especially in the early autumn, where intermediate conditions prevail.

Now these short periods of very high pressure involve appreciable unemployment in the good season as a whole and increase the tendency to casualisation of labour.

* Labour Gazette Returns of the number employed month by month by certain firms from Sept. 1906 onward. Report into the earnings and hours of labour in the Building and Woodworking Trades in 1906 (Cd. 5086). Labour Gazette: Monthly percentages of Unemployed in the Carpenters' and Joiners' and Plumbers' Trade Unions.

Later I shall argue that more can be done by equalising work through the summer season and perhaps extending its length to meet its irregularities than to meet the larger winter decline. Whilst public action can to some extent mitigate the variation between summer and winter, it cannot do very much. It is therefore the more essential that the busy period should be as long and regular as possible; and public authorities can effect this, either by doing more work during the period of mid-summer slackness or by extending their work further into the autumn.

Turning to cyclical depressions of trade, the treatment needed is less extensive, not because this phenomenon is a less troublesome one, nor because it is little felt in these trades, but because it is common to most trades. On the other hand, in the intricacy of these seasonal variations the building trades occupy a peculiar position. Again, cyclical depressions are more uniform, affecting all districts alike, with variations in detail. Thus a decline set in well before the end of 1907 in London and several other districts, and reached its height in 1908, the recovery commencing in 1909 or early in 1910. But in Lancashire and Cheshire and the midland and eastern counties the depression, by the returns of the numbers employed, did not set in till 1908, and was very severe in 1909, continuing into 1910. Thus the existence of local variations suggests that there is a task specially imposed on, and often specially suited to, local authorities of adapting their work to meet their special circumstances.

Over a period of years the figures available are scanty. Such as they are, they show that in numbers unemployed the building trades stand next to the engineering and shipbuilding group, whilst if we omit shipbuilding they have recently experienced more unemployment than the engineering trades proper. There was an exception in 1893-95, whilst in some recent years of good trade the percentages in the building unions have been far lower than any others.

But these trades appear to experience a curious double cycle, namely, the ordinary one common to all industries, and a longer one peculiar to themselves. Trade as a whole generally runs in cycles, which take from eleven to seven years to work themselves out. The effect of these we also see in the building trades. But further, since 1880 the latter have exhibited a further tendency of their own to remain generally good or bad over a period of some eight to twelve years. The ordinary trade cycle exercises its influence indeed, but in the long periods of good or bad trade the maximum of unemployment is low or the minimum high as the case may be. Thus from 1878-88 trade remained generally bad with only a partial recovery in 1882-83, and from 1888-1901 abnormally good, with only a modified decline in 1894-95. Similarly in 1904 a bad era set in with only a very slight recovery in 1906 and 1907.

Now this long duration of periods of good and bad trade renders it more difficult, but not less necessary, to meet depression by regulating public work. Two reasons may be assigned for it. First, with respect to bad trade, a change in methods of production may permanently alter the demand for certain forms of labour. Of which we have had many lately like the displacement of bricklayers and masons by the ferro-concrete process. Secondly, long periods of bad trade tend unduly to check the numbers entering the trade, and the corresponding cycles of briskness are accompanied by so great an influx into it that the trade gets overstocked, the more so as labour often continues to enter into it after the decline has set in.

Temporarily, at least, then, we get a real surplus of labour, which must be removed if possible, not only for its own sake, but because it helps further to

casualise employment in the trade. To do this we need to average our work even between the years of a bad cycle, so that as far as possible it may be confined to the minimum average number required for it. Whether a larger policy can extend over the good and bad years of this longer cycle is doubtful. But such a policy will at least tend to check casual employment since nothing encourages it more than a surplus of labour, and to reduce the reserve of unemployment required in the best years which appears to vary with the violence of the fluctuations.

The second part of our inquiry deals first with the various types of work carried out by public authorities. This may be divided into new construction, reconstruction, and maintenance. The first may be defined as the putting up of fresh buildings where such did not exist before, and the second as operations of a structural character upon existing buildings, varying from complete rebuilding to renovation of an old fabric, and includes larger additions and extensions. Finally, maintenance consists of such work as is required to keep buildings in good order, such as any variety of repairs, periodical cleaning and re-decoration, and smaller alterations.

New construction consists of two classes of works, namely, those which go on pretty regularly from one year to another, like schools, post offices, barracks, and fire stations, and special buildings of which only a limited number is required, such as the new Government Offices mainly erected since 1904 and the London County Council Hall now under construction.

Such works as a whole do not lend themselves to regulation to meet variations between different parts of the year, but we must distinguish whether they last a year or over, or not more than, say, nine months, since a certain limited number of the latter could not be utilised to meet seasonal differences. Contracts above a certain size usually have to be carried on throughout the year, and though those of moderate size cannot be begun just before the winter, it is a question whether, when the period of greatest briskness comes comparatively early in the summer, it might not be possible to start them soon after mid-summer in order to carry them well into the winter. Indeed in 1908 some local authorities pressed on certain works to meet the unemployment prevailing and started them later in the year than this; and in January, 1903, a large piece of sewering work was commenced by one of the smaller local authorities.

Very considerable objections are raised to the utilisation of larger contracts to meet cyclical depressions of trade. Many such works must be carried out as they are wanted, neither before nor since. "Very little can be done," writes one authority, "in accelerating or postponing big constructive work—practically this must go on steadily." And with a large number of buildings this contention holds good. Many depend—as do schools and post offices—on the needs of a growing population, and, when the growth has taken place, cannot be delayed without inconvenient overcrowding of existing institutions.

Such considerations limit appreciably the power to utilise new work for this purpose. But whilst to postpone for several years is impossible, there does not seem the same objection to a gradual slackening off of work in good years, by which without any single building being long delayed, arrears would be accumulated to provide further employment in bad years. Again, a certain amount of building might be accelerated a few months without great inconvenience, and at the height of a depression a matter of a few months is often vital. This, indeed, has already been done in a spasmodic way, as by the London County Council in October, 1908. The tendency of many authorities to put

off all possible work till the very last moment and then hurry it through is urged against these two proposals; but a policy involving more foresight and more arrangement in advance would have general as well as special advantages. Finally, with special buildings like offices and halls, the difficulties are least. Plans and estimates are prepared in advance, and the difficulties caused by delay are far less urgent.

The second class of work, however, offers the most favourable field for operations, since the need for commencing work of reconstruction at a particular time is far less great, and a smaller proportion of the work will be incapable of manipulation in this way, and postponement or acceleration will be quite possible. Moreover, the work is often capable of arrangement for some years ahead in a definite programme. According to a recent annual report, for instance, the Board of Education is, for administrative reasons, attempting to induce local authorities to regulate the work of reconstructing their older schools. The method proposed is to prepare a list of such schools in the order in which renovation is required and to arrange a systematic programme for dealing with so many annually.

Two lines of policy are possible. First, though much public work is more regular than private work, postponement till the last moment often leads to much irregularity from year to year. To do a regular amount yearly, therefore, is a first step, by increasing regular, at the expense of variable, work, whilst it will be comparatively easy to go a step further and distribute the work according to the state of trade. The same considerations will often apply to large works of repair or re-decoration to single buildings.

Finally, we come to maintenance, which falls into two classes—work of a recurrent character, mostly cleaning and decoration, and odd jobs of various kinds which have to be done mainly as the need arises. Such work can only operate upon seasonal fluctuations, and whilst the amount done by any single authority may be small, the sum total of it is very considerable. Much of it, however, is not available for our purpose.

To begin with, a very large part of it must be done as it occurs. A collapsed sewer or burst pipe must be taken in hand at once. Secondly, weather conditions practically render impossible the doing of outdoor work in winter, as all experiments in this direction have proved, but such work can very largely be utilised to meet the summer slackness. Thirdly, certain work can only be done within strictly limited periods. Thus the internal painting of schools must be done in the holidays, and so for our purpose only the Christmas holidays are available. Again libraries are in fullest use in winter and cannot be done then, nor can churches, whose busy season, ecclesiastically, is from November to June. Finally, there is the question of convenience. The internal painting of offices of public authorities can be done best in the summer holidays, though from a purely business point of view the doing of the work in winter would be perfectly feasible, and the matter does not appear beyond the scope of organisation.

Much is being done already, as most public authorities are attempting to carry out as much internal painting as possible in winter. Much more might still be done, but distinct progress is being made. Recently the Board of Works, as the result of representations, issued instructions for painting to be done, as far as was practicable, so as to fall in with the painters' slack season, and the results are understood to be satisfactory. As regards winter work, however, it is not possible to do more than mitigate existing slackness, but far more can be done to meet the slack seasons of summer, and this is being realised by some

authorities. Except for work which has to be done in the holidays, a very great proportion of outdoor work could be put into the slacker months; and even with schools there would not be the same necessity for doing external work in the holidays.

So far as dealing with cyclical depressions are concerned, this will probably have to be left to the Government Departments and the larger municipalities. The smaller local bodies are more or less confined to attempting to meet seasonal variations. Their large contracts are so few and so irregular that even more than with the larger bodies they have to be carried out as they occur, and cannot be indefinitely postponed. It occasionally happens, however, that they may occur about the time of a depression of trade, and can be to some extent accelerated for the purpose. On the other hand, they may have appreciable opportunities for mitigating seasonal fluctuations.

The objections to these proposals fall roughly into two classes—(*a*) industrial and business, and (*b*) financial and administrative. The former have already been dealt with. The question of weather affects some of the parts of the seasonal problem only, and does not apply to the summer periods of slack trade. Similarly, public convenience, work that has to be done at fixed periods or as it falls due, all limit the amount available for our purpose, but the arguments based on them are often pressed too far. Two further objections are the limited possibility of delaying work and the fact that the times and causes of cyclical fluctuations are too intricate to be dealt with in this way. To meet these I suggested, as a possible alternate or addition to the proposed ten yearly period of the Minority Report, a proposal for gradually slackening work during the years of good trade and that a more careful review of the work to be done should be made in order to enable the local authority to press on more effectually any work which happened to be maturing.

Objections, however, are often based more on the financial and administrative than on purely industrial grounds. It is argued that by such operations the accounts for the financial year would be upset and that the necessity of working to the estimates renders such regulation of work impossible. This argument holds good so long as the present financial system continues, but the whole basis of the proposal is that the programme should be arranged some years ahead, and that whilst the work was spread unevenly according to the state of trade, the expenditure should be equalised between one year and another, a fixed annual sum being raised for the purpose. This also meets the objection that undue burdens would be placed on the taxpayers in years of falling revenue.

We now come to the general question of expense. Greater expenses certainly would be involved in some cases, but this applies mainly, if not entirely, to certain forms of seasonal work. It renders impossible the doing of the outdoor work in the winter, but as regards slack seasons of the summer it tells, if anything, in the opposite direction. More efficient workmen are obtainable, and this tends to reduce the cost, and I came across at least one case of an authority postponing work in this way in its own interest. In years of bad trade the same argument applies, together with the chance of cheaper contracts, since contractors will sometimes take a lower rate of profit to cover standing charges or to keep a good staff of workmen together. On the other hand, if the depression is brought about by dearness of money, a higher rate may have to be paid for loans.

A final argument is that the amount of public work is too small in proportion to the total work to achieve the object in view. This applies both to cyclical and seasonal fluctuations, and public action can for instance only slightly mitigate

the winter slackness amongst painters. Similarly, the long-continued periods of depression in the trade render the attempt to deal with it more difficult. But mitigation will at least save some from unemployment, and reduce that of others within manageable limits, since a shorter period of unemployment may not be beyond a worker's means.

Something is already being done, and the amount and conditions of this are worth considering. The attempt to do indoor painting in winter is often being systematically carried out. It began in some cases with an attempt to meet a specially bad winter. But so far little has been done systematically to meet cyclical depressions. On an emergency much has been done to hurry on work; but often the attempt has not been started by the local authorities till the depression was upon them. What has been done has often been carried out under the worst possible conditions and as a result of agitation, with an inevitable tendency to degenerate into relief work. But the amount that has already been done unsystematically and on the spur of the moment is sufficient to suggest that a systematic policy would yield far better results.

What then is possible? As regards seasonal depression, inside painting and cleaning can be done in winter, and is so being done; but it might be done to a very much greater extent if all authorities were brought up to the level of more progressive ones, and if it were extended to all available kinds of internal work. A little can also be done in other branches of the trade. To a very much greater extent can slackness in the summer months be met, since outdoor work is as possible then as in the busier months. More can be done here owing to the larger proportion of outdoor work to the whole, and less has so far been done, which leaves a much wider available margin. I would also suggest that certain contracts of a few months' duration might be so started as to last into the winter, and that a certain amount of outdoor work might be utilised to extend the busy season further into the autumn.

But when all is said, comparatively little can be done to meet seasonal depressions by these means, and if possible other methods must be utilised. A serious effort should, I think, be made to organise through the Labour Exchanges alternative winter employments. More hopeful, however, is a further regulation of the hours of labour, which should be varied in different localities to suit their special needs. The existence of a few months of summer pressure has a serious effect in calling casual labour into the trade and increasing unemployment in other months. Hence, I would suggest a further increase of hours by four a week in such months wherever they may occur. This would further tend by increasing earnings to increase resources against the winter season. There are, no doubt, objections to this policy, but on balance the effect would be appreciably beneficial. Finally, in some districts one finds that the summer variations are different in different towns. Often the months of pressure come about mid-summer in the smaller, and either earlier or later in the larger towns. Here, with strong Labour Exchange organisation it should be possible to dovetail the one with the other. It is rendered difficult by the existence of surplus labour in the trade almost everywhere, but is worth attempting.

Turning to cyclical depressions, it is the larger work, whether of new construction or reconstruction, that will best serve our purpose, and the amount of the latter available for it will be very much greater than that of the former. Of the two, new construction, owing to the conditions under which it is put up, lends itself to a small extent to organisation of this sort. It will, however, lend itself more to postponement or acceleration for a short period than for several years. I

suggest, therefore, that where possible the proposal of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission should be adopted, and work arranged ahead over a period of ten years. This would be possible in the case of a good dead of reconstruction and rebuilding, as in the case of schools. Secondly, that in other cases the policy should be adopted of gradually slackening the work of construction in good years, and thus accumulating arrears of work for bad years. No building need be put off for more than a moderate period; and this would meet the difficulty inherent in the conditions governing new construction. It would also to some extent meet the continual variations in the character of a cycle: and the shorter period during which work was prepared in advance would be less liable to miscalculation than the longer. Thirdly, work is often hurried on by a few months under present conditions to meet a severe depression, as indeed was the case in 1908. I would suggest that by preparing work a little in advance, it would be possible to carry this further, and when an emergency arises to accelerate more work in this way without waiting for it to mature. A few months may not sound much, but a few months at the height of a depression is often of great importance. These three lines of action all need careful consideration, the latter especially to avoid slackening off work too soon; but neither singly nor in combination are the objections to them insuperable.

There is one further suggestion. At every period of depression large sums of money are spent in carrying out works to meet unemployment. This consists of operations that are often useful in themselves, though not necessary, and would not otherwise be carried out. Undoubtedly there is much work which could thus be done with benefit to the locality and an addition to the amenities of life. It seems to me that such work could be utilised to supplement the reorganisation of ordinary work to meet periods of depression. Since it is work that would not have to be done at a particular time, and would probably consist of a few large and obvious improvements, plans could easily be prepared in advance, and it could await the need for it. It could be financed in the way proposed for the financing of the scheme of regulation, either by setting aside so much annually for the purpose or by loan, and carried out under ordinary conditions by the best men available. To a large extent this would be merely the systematisation of what is now done as relief work. If done in addition, it would be utilised simply to increase the demand for labour. Possibly to encourage local authorities to carry out such work, the Treasury grant of £200,000 under the Unemployment Workmen Act might be directed to assisting the local authorities who were prepared to carry out such works under such conditions. Such operations would probably be more suited for unskilled labour than for the building trades, but a systematic policy might enable some part of them to be devoted to the latter industry. I very much doubt whether such regulation of ordinary work as is possible would by itself be sufficient to meet cyclical fluctuations in the trade, and it would have a better chance of doing its work effectively if supplemented by some such policy as this, which therefore I suggest to be deserving of fuller consideration.

Discussion.

Professor BOWLEY said he was very anxious to take part in the discussion because it was his good fortune to propose in evidence before the Poor Law Commission the recommendation which the minority ultimately included for the regularisation of labour on a national policy. As he was unable to regularise his own labour, he had found it impossible to produce a paper several weeks ahead in order that it could be printed. He knew that was an insufficient apology for trespassing upon their time longer than others were allowed, but he hoped everybody would be able to get an opportunity during the discussion. His proposal was that there should be a national policy in connection with national expenditure by which work should be definitely postponed to a time when bad trade existed. This would make a considerable difference in the amount of unemployment, although, of course, it would not absorb all the unemployed. He wished to justify and explain that proposal, and also to meet one or two criticisms which had been made, although he was glad to say that there were not many destructive criticisms. In order to appreciate the nature of unemployment, they must appreciate the reason for employment. Obviously every child that came into the world brought wants and potentialities of supplying these wants, and that was the explanation of employment. Therefore population and employment were co-incident with each other. Employment, of course, meant only the manifestation of the chain of exchanges by which they all lived. They were all producing something, and somebody else produced something of another kind, which was exchanged. In order to get employment a person had to be fitted into that chain. When the chain of exchanges broke down and there was nobody to answer "the telephone call," then there was unemployment. The proposal he made dealt only with those capable of work and willing to do it; these were within the proper sphere of the Section on Unemployment; the residuum would be discussed by the educative and preventive sections. Labour Exchanges had decreased unemployment to the extent that they satisfied demands for labour, and where labour was wanted by somebody at a distance they were able to supply it. There was no doubt that there were unsatisfied demands for labour in various parts of the country, especially in good times, more especially when the labour required was of a skilled kind or of some definite kind which could not be supplied in the immediate locality. Those responsible for choosing occupations should be continuously looking forward for growing developments for the coming generation as well as the wants of the present generation, therefore the Advisory Committees of Labour Exchanges had to be prophetic. If people insisted upon staying in their own place they could only get on by means of low wages. Mobility of labour made it possible to obtain higher wages. There was a good deal to be done, but it would not be done by a stroke of the pen—it could only be done so long as there were unsatisfied wants and so long as there were potentialities for unused capital and unused labour. Every time they added a link to the chain they added to employment. The central authority could not increase work directly, and if they did it from the rates and taxes they were robbing Peter of more than they paid Paul, because less work was done that was wanted, and a good deal of work was done which was not wanted at all. If they had a universal eight hours day they would not affect unemployment. If a tramway worked their men eight hours a day and paid for ten hours, so as to spread out work, it came under the general heading of relief works. The chain of exchanges was broken by inventions in the development of industry, under which machinery was able to produce more work with less labour, and that fact must be thoroughly recognised. There was a cycle of bad trade which operated at different periods, and which might last five, seven, or eleven years, but it was quite certain that nearly every trade was subject to it. The question then arose as to how much difference there was between a good year and a bad year. There was a misprint in Mr. Wood's paper where he stated it was £10,000,000, whereas he thought the difference was £50,000,000, expended in wages between a good year and a bad year. Those persons belonging to the trades which suffered most, and the members of those trades who were not insured by trade unions might receive less wages to the extent of the £10,000,000 quoted. The uninsured men received £10,000,000 less in wages in a bad than in a good year, and the vacuum had to be filled somehow. If it was £10,000,000 between a good year and a bad, the average over ten years would be

£40,000,000, and could be dealt with on the principles he advocated. That sum was very large, but if it could be applied to an arrangement of work scheme which affected those classes, it would save them from becoming unemployed during bad times. It was very much better they should have 30s. at work than 7s. at play—(hear, hear)—but his scheme was strengthened by the proposed Insurance Bill, which he thoroughly approved of and appreciated. They could not equalise the whole trade cycle, but the local authorities and the Government authorities with a foresighted action could do a good deal towards it. Road-making and other work required by the local authorities or railways could be arranged to synchronise with the bad times. The important thing which he wished to emphasise most was that as soon as they got one man at work he spent his wages, with the result that somebody else got to work. It was like throwing a stone into a pond, which made the ripples spread all over it. As soon as they got them to work they got other people to work, and if they could do that when trade was bad, it would afford great encouragement. It would be a great thing if they could get rid of the cycle of depressed industry that had been talked about. Those cyclical periods were to a great extent psychological. People were afraid to use the advantages of cheap capital, and instead they waited till they had to pay higher rates for capital in inflated times in order to get the work rushed through and delivered in time. If they could relieve the time of inflation by doing things in depressed times they would in all sorts of ways avoid some part of the resulting depression. They should do their best to equalise the periods of inflation with the periods of depression, and that would in a great measure tend to remove the problem of unemployment among skilled workmen, and also the problem of periodical unemployment. It was a proposal he wanted them to examine; it had the approval of political economists, and he hoped it would appeal to other persons possessed of common sense. (Laughter.) He had only to say further that Mr. Wood's paper, which dealt with special applications, was well worth careful attention.

Mr. James Sexton (Liverpool Distress Committee) said the subject that morning had been the fluctuations of employment, but there was a class of casual labour, namely, dock labour, which had not been referred to, and which was not only a fluctuating trade, but one to which the surplus of all unemployed labour was directed. It was recruited from the building and engineering trades, and, in fact, every other trade where there was a tendency to crush out workmen by means of machinery. The Board of Trade unemployment figures were not to be relied upon, as it was absolutely impossible to obtain the figures from some trades of those who were out of work. For instance, it was impossible to obtain the figures of casual labourers who were unemployed. He did not believe there was a man physically capable of work who was unemployable, but the question arose as to whether it could be made to pay to find work for those who were unemployed. It would pay much better to find work for those who were unemployed. It would pay much better to find a man work to do than to leave him to be supported by the State under the cumbersome method of the Poor Law administration. He knew what he was talking about, because he spoke from experience and had been there and seen the men out of work. The casual labourer had to tramp all over London looking for a job. If he slept in a ditch he was arrested as a vagrant, and if he stole a turnip from a field he was arrested as a vagabond or a felon, therefore his only alternative was to go to the casual ward, where he was made to work in the morning when he should be looking for a job. The fact was that there was a residuum of men who could not get work all the year round, no matter what the state of trade was, with the result that after being out of work for a long time he was looked upon as being unemployable. Even if it was done at a small loss, it would be better to keep those men in employment and train them to do useful work. There were a lot of people about who were non-producers, and they ought to be made to do something useful. One gentleman had spoken about afforestation, which was very useful work, but it took time to do it. Trade unionism might be a bad economic policy, but it was the only weapon the men could use in order to get "their corner" in the present state of society. The hostility of the trade unions was nothing as compared with the hostility of the employers. There was some kind of hostility between the employer and the workman, but usually the employer was a huge trust that had no soul to be saved and no body to be kicked. They only wanted dividends, and did not care how they obtained them. He thought they ought to arrive at something at that conference which would have a good effect. The tendency of the modern day was to still further improve machinery in order to displace men. That was

progress, and no sensible man could object to it, but every man who wanted work ought to be given the opportunity of obtaining it, whenever he applied for it.

Councillor McCLURE (Glasgow) said the gentleman who read the paper on the Development Act laid great stress upon forestry. The Glasgow Corporation, in order to assist the unemployed, decided to plant 500 acres with trees as a beginning. The other point about forestry brought out was that if the owners of woodlands cut down trees they should plant others to take their place—in fact, they should plant a tree for every tree that was cut down. With reference to the reclamation of the land, he should like to know whose land they were going to reclaim. In Glasgow they searched around the city for land, and there was any amount of land available, and they asked the price of it. After a good deal of negotiation they obtained some land at 1s. per acre for thirty years. In the course of thirty years the Corporation had made that land worth £3 per acre, and then they had to hand it back to the landlord. When he looked over an estate for a labour colony in the vicinity of Glasgow he discovered that nobody would sell, but they would not mind giving it on a reclaiming lease, with the result that it would have to be handed back to them at the end of the lease. He did not think it was ever intended that the community should provide for the individual in a case like that. The Development Act should allow the local authorities to take over any land that was lying dormant, then they could improve it, but the community should have the benefit of the improvement, and not the landlord. In works of utility one of the gentlemen referred to a big scheme for building a canal across Scotland, but in big schemes of that kind one had to be cautious, and he was afraid they could not economically make use of a canal that was going to cost £30,000,000 sterling. The question would have to be shelved, because they would never get enough money from people unless they received some return for it. With regard to the general question, the City of Glasgow for the last two or three years had been able to deal with unemployment through the Corporation assisting the local Distress Committee. The Corporation of Glasgow had a lot of land ready for feuing, but nobody at present required it, but that did not prevent them from doing their duty towards the community in times of distress, and they always endeavoured to place as much work as possible when trade was slack, and hold over work when trade was brisk. The point he particularly wished to emphasise was in regard to the reclamation of land, that when the community reclaimed it they should receive the full benefit of the work done. (Applause.)

Mr. C. M. LLOYD said he should confine himself strictly to one point. He was sorry to notice that Mr. Hall had left, because he wanted to criticise the Development Commission. Dealing with the question of forestry, he should have liked to have asked him some questions and reminded him of what was being done in Denmark, Germany, and Belgium, and other countries in regard to afforestation. They would find in Mr. Hall's paper that he did not propose to plant new forests so much as to secure a proper development of those now existing. He thought this was not enough. Forestry was a very important industry, which ought to provide to a large extent against seasonal and cyclical fluctuations, and he thought the Development Commission ought to consider the question of new afforestation as well as the development of the old forests. If the Development Commission could not undertake the task, then somebody else ought to be appointed to do it—either the Board of Agriculture or some department of the Government connected with rural industries should take the matter up. In addition to those who were actually engaged in agricultural pursuits there was the much larger question to be dealt with, and that was the unemployed labour in the large towns. Mr. Hall did not see how that could be transferred from the towns and used in afforestation work. The proposals in the Minority Report did not deal with it in that aspect. As a matter of fact they did not want relief work; but they wanted properly trained men. But the experience of the Midland Re-afforesting Association showed that town labour could be used in afforestation. Much good work had been done with unemployed labourers from the towns in planting the pit-heaps, etc., in the Black Country. They had plenty of material in the towns, which would do good work in the country if they would only train it. He thought that remark applied to most of the large towns. There had been a lot of talk about men drifting from the country into the towns, but many of these did not want to remain in the towns. They had been trained as countrymen, and would prefer to remain as such. It was suggested, again, by Mr. Hall that the forests would absorb less men than ordinary agriculture, but the land required for

afforestation was not agricultural land, properly speaking. There were fifteen millions of acres of rough mountain, heath, and bog land in this country, and there were three and a half million acres of such land available which would require little or no preparation for forestry, and in addition to that, they would not be trying to drive agriculture off the land, but to use land that was not suitable for anything else. It was never intended to substitute woodlands for agricultural land, but woodlands were to be planted on land now used for nothing at all or for rough pasture. There was at present a large area of mountain pasture which, if turned into woodlands, might employ from ten to thirty individuals to every shepherd that was employed on those pastures. They would therefore be providing for a greater number of men than were at present employed on the land. It was a very important question, and had great possibilities before it, as many County Councils as well as the great municipalities could do something in the matter. Liverpool, Birmingham, and Manchester had already done something in planting their water catchment areas, and in Devonshire, Yorkshire, and other counties there were hundreds of thousands of acres suitable for afforestation. He thought the County Councils should be stimulated by some central authority to go into the matter. They wanted to make people think about the matter and show the Government and the Development Commission that something could be done if they would only make a start. Forestry was not only a great and important industry, but it was an industry that would help them to get men back from the towns to the country. He appealed to everybody who was keen in the matter to see that the Development Commission and other authorities appointed to deal with the question should be stimulated to move before very long.

Mr. Elvin (National Union of Clerks) said there was a point in Mr. Webb's paper in reference to the mobility of labour, and to a certain extent no doubt they all agreed with him. One thing which had struck him in the references made by the speakers in regard to the matter was that a good deal was expected from the workers, and not quite so much from the employing classes. He thought when platitudes were being used by gentlemen they should ask themselves why it was that trade unions were hostile to those who employed them, and also to the use of machinery. No doubt machinery was used by employers to decrease wages, which he thought knocked the bottom out of the professor's platitudes that the mobility of labour made for higher wages. Men were specially trained for special work. It was not everybody who was in the position of Mr. Lloyd, who could write articles and milk cows, but he thought the cowman would rightly object if Mr. Lloyd worked in competition with them at reduced prices. The chief difficulty which faced them with regard to the mobility of labour was that they had to eliminate competition. (Cries of "No, no.") In the competition that took place the employer did not suffer so much as the worker, and the worker always occupied second place. As long as they had production for profit they would have the evil of unemployment amongst them. According to Professor Bowley, in order to secure employment one had to get into the chain of Exchanges. That was a very difficult thing, however, for the unemployed to do, and the only remedy would be for Governmental or national control of industry.

Mr. A. A. Watts said he was hoping the Chairman would allow the discussion to take a wider range than he did. The discussion up to the present had had a good deal of unreality about it, and they had only been skirmishing round the real question at issue. With regard to the regularisation of labour, they could not do it under capitalism. If he was an employer he should object to their wanting to regularise his methods, and he thought the employers would be quite right in taking up that attitude, but he should like to know why they should not take control of industry, if the present system resulted in unemployment and destitution. Destitution was only one degree of poverty. There were plenty of people in work who were also in poverty. If the present condition of industry resulted in destitution and poverty, it should not be allowed to go on, but should be properly controlled. They should do their utmost to prevent the unemployment and destitution that was existing in the present state of society, and it could be done by simply changing the form of society. (Laughter.) They might not agree with Socialism, but he did not think they should laugh at it. Nobody had ever proved that the present state of things was the right system for people to live under. With regard to the building trade, what had happened there had also happened in other trades. An entirely new form of building construction had come into operation, and the bricklayer was now being eliminated. Buildings were now being put up of iron and concrete, consequently they did not want bricklayers, therefore it was nonsense to say that a man required training.

Here were men who had been trained to their work, but had been displaced by a new invention in building construction. There were plenty of skilled men in London and other large towns who could not get work. He was a plasterer, and there were 2,000 of his fellow-workmen wanting a job who could not get it. They were skirmishing all round the real point at issue, and were simply touching the fringe of the question. They had been told that the Development Act was not intended to solve the question of unemployment, and that Labour Exchanges were not intended to solve the question. He would recommend all the organisations to send delegates to the next conference in order that they might have a broader view of things. One or two of them had attended that conference to learn something, but they had not learned much. They ought to get down to the cause of destitution and then try to solve it, then they would be doing a bit of good to the community.

Mr. LAMBIE (Lanarkshire County Council) said that it seemed strange that on the previous afternoon and also that morning, it had not been suggested by any of the speakers that the one thing always available for the unemployed was the land of the country. Down in Kent some two or three of them working in a Guild of Help Society thought over the matter from time to time, and came to the conclusion that it was worth trying an experiment. They managed to obtain forty acres of land near Rochester in the neighbourhood of Hoo, and bought it for a little under £40 per acre, which included the farmhouse. They started with the idea that any man going on the land should have fixity of tenure, and fixity of rent, in order to prevent the land ever going back again, as it did in the case of Glasgow. It seemed a very funny thing for the Corporation of Glasgow to do when one thought of the characteristics of the Scot. (Laughter.) Having obtained the land, they decided that one acre should be the minimum and five acres the maximum for any man to have. There was no occasion for them to advertise, because the matter got abroad, with the result that they were inundated with applicants for the land in a very short space of time. They found that men working in the towns were only too glad of an opportunity of returning to the country. They had two bricklayers, two joiners, one plasterer, and three labourers, and paid one shilling per acre. Instead of selling the land freehold to them they gave them a lease so that they could exercise a parental control over them and prevent bankers and moneylenders having the land in the course of ten or twelve years. Eighteen months ago those families were in fear of the workhouse, but they had now found congenial occupation, and were in occupation of the land and had no fear of paying increased rent. The population had risen from eight souls to 56, most of them being employed under healthy conditions, without any fear of the workhouse. In addition to that they had taken eight men off the urban labour market. The plasterer had told him that he was having a very good time indeed, and that he never wished to go back to his old trade. He also said that he had quite as much as he could do on his own plot of land. If they could employ men on the land at a proper rent and under proper housing conditions he was sure that the unemployed problem would be solved within ten years.

Mr. WHEATLEY (Huddersfield Union) said he thought it was the way they had been governed in the past that had led them to be there to consider those important questions of unemployment and destitution. They could not keep out the economic side of the question. They would have to find some money for the purpose of attacking the evil, and the question was as to where it was to come from. It had been stated that the Government ought to find the money. They had found as much as £2,000,000 to hand over to the local authorities, and he thought it would be economy if the Government handed over to the local authorities £10,000,000 every year for the purpose of solving this problem and getting hold of the land.

The Rev. C. G. GARDNER (West Bromwich Union) stated that as one who came from the district to which Mr. Lloyd had referred, the district of the Black Country, he should like to say something with regard to the unemployed ironworker in the engineering shops in their district. To talk about the mobility of labour in connection with men who had been brought up in the engineering shops was to talk about something which could not be applied to their condition. For instance, if they took a man who was a skilled turner in steel, it was no good to ask him to become an agricultural labourer, and if he once returned to the land he would never be any more good for skilled labour. If they had a puddler or a roller and were to put him for one winter to work upon forests he would never do for a puddler or a roller again. He would lose that facility which was such an absolute condition to his earning his living. In his district they had a very large tract of country about

nine miles in length and ten in breadth which was about the most ugly country in England, but there was no reason why it should remain in that state. There were banks extending to thousands of acres which required attention, but they ought to be able to get some return for the money laid out. The land could be used for afforestation and agricultural purposes, once it was properly attended to, and if they could get a subvention from the Government they would be able to do something with it. In the town he came from a penny rate would raise £300, and neighbouring towns were very much about the same size, but if they were to undertake some of the things people asked for in order to deal with unemployment they would have to impose a rate of 3d. or 4d. in the £. The district he came from had played a very important part in the national prosperity, therefore he thought the nation should recognise, as he thought, that the Government were responsible for having allowed the colliery proprietors of former times to alter the face of the country in such a manner. What they wanted in the Black Country was that the men should be employed in levelling the banks, and even in the planting of trees. If that could be done it would confer a great benefit upon the district from which he came, and they would then be able to see something of those green fields that formerly existed there.

Mrs. TOWNSHEND said Professor Bowley had said that the advisory committees should be able to exercise a prophetic vision with regard to what labour in a particular district was going to be in the future. She should like him to explain how that could be done, because she was working on such a committee and it seemed quite impossible to do it.

Professor BOWLEY said they must take into consideration the economic conditions existing in their district, and it was always possible to look a little ahead and see what trades were growing and what trades were falling off.

Mrs. TOWNSHEND said she wanted to know how they could predict that there were likely to be places open for superior boot-finishers when they do not know whether the trade is going to be good or bad.

Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., at this stage entered and took the chair.

Councillor J. JONES (West Ham) said he had attended a number of the sections in that Conference and there seemed to be a sort of depressed idea in the mind of some people as to the state of the poor. "Train them up to be good workers. Train them to produce good work," said one speaker, "and then we will see if anything can be done out of the kindness of our hearts." As one of the poor he said, "Bad as we are, we are as good as you are bad." (Laughter.) The problem of destitution was only one of the results of poverty, and probably it was the worst result. Another gentleman had said that they must regularise industry, but he should like to know whether they were going to say to the employers that they must be regularised as well. He was afraid that the employers would not put off work that they could do now until another time in order to minimise the evils of unemployment. He was afraid that a good deal of unemployment was caused by reducing wages by the premium bonus system under which a man was speeded up, in order to get all the energy out of him, with the result that the maximum of yesterday is the minimum for to-morrow. They were told that a man was out of work because he was out of his place in the chain of exchanges, which was a very nice way to put it. But the truth was that people were not suffering from lack of employment but from too much employment, because they produced much more than they had the chance to consume. The members of their public institutions and the House of Commons ought to consider the matter very carefully. The people who produced the wealth were not able to purchase all the things they produced, consequently they were unable to consume all the commodities they had produced. Being working men, they could not discuss problems like those who had had a better education, but they had studied in the school of experience, viz., the gutter, whereas those of better education had not had those opportunities afforded them, because they had been educated in high-class schools. With regard to the industrial training, he should like to know whether they could make skilled mechanics out of casual labourers. He should also like to know if the employers would give them a job at the same wages, or would those men be used to cut down wages. He was afraid that it would be used for the latter purpose. The unemployed man was used as a "blackleg," and they had an organisation to provide "blacklegs." The reduction in the hours of labour was the only absolutely scientific method for preventing unemployment consequent upon the increased productivity of machinery. The reduction in the hours of labour

by all public authorities would cause a larger number of men to be employed, and 100,000 men would be taken off the labour market at once, which would mean a general improvement in the welfare of the whole community.

Mr. E. LAMBERT (Romford Union) said he was always called upon to speak after somebody had taken the wind out of his sails. The previous speaker had expressed his views exactly, and he had expressed them better than he could himself. They had heard a large number of papers read and discussed at that Conference for the purpose of preventing destitution. In his opinion the only way to prevent destitution was for the people to organise industry for their own use in a properly scientific way. Professor Bowley had said that every child born into the world had its own wants to be supplied, but there were many children in the poorer classes who did not get their wants supplied, because the parents had to contribute first of all in the shape of rent, and in the next in the shape of some profit or interest. Professor Bowley also spoke about the mobility of labour. He was a gardener's son employed by the rector of his village. At first he cleaned the rector's boots, and afterwards he scared the farmer's crows; from there he went to clean the boots for the better class boys at the grammar school. After that he was a servant in the houses of some of the aristocrats and saw there the amount of waste that went on. He then became gardener to another rector. He had been in the houses of the aristocracy and knew something of their excellencies and their defects. At the present time he was engaged in newspaper selling and fighting the battles of his fellow-men. Eight hours a day for the real workers in this country would immediately take off the labour market a tremendous number of persons, who could be occupied in all kinds of industry. In Germany the railways belonged to the State, and the hours of labour were reduced and the conditions of labour improved as soon as the State took the railways over. Wages rose, and a greater number of people were employed, in addition to which fares were cheaper, because they did not have to provide for the profits of the capitalist. In addition to that the State in Germany had paid out the previous owners and monopolists of the railways, and he thought the same thing ought to be done in England.

Mr. H. LEONARD HUMPHREYS (West Ham Distress Committee) said that a great many of his intended points had already been very forcibly put. The representative of Glasgow had spoken at some length as to what they had done up there, and he might mention that much the same thing had been done at West Ham. He might also mention that a good deal of condemnation had been passed on West Ham, because they had been very much more active than any of the other metropolitan boroughs. If they looked upon the amount of work West Ham had done in the consideration of the questions, people would not be so ready to condemn them. Time after time West Ham had made great efforts to deal with the unemployed problem, and had provided work in times of stress, but in spite of that they had not been able to solve it. One of the readers of the papers spoke of afforestation. He hoped that in the application of any such measures they would not be used as relief works, or under relief conditions, and he hoped that afforestation and the regularisation of work would become a national matter—that is to say that it would have to be taken up by the Government. If a number of workers could be taken off the labour market for the number of schemes that had been brought before them some good, he thought, would result, but the point he wished to emphasise was that afforestation and forestry work should not be under relief conditions.

Councillor JOHNSTON (Partick Distress Committee) said that he was a member of a Distress Committee, and they had tried to do their best for the unemployed during times of depression. If the Distress Committee could only get development work it would be very much better. He thought the Government ought to do something during times of great depression, whether it was afforestation or reclamation of the land. That would employ a large number of men, and they would be doing useful work and not merely relief work. He believed the people would tender their deepest thanks to the Government if they could solve the problem. It was worth a hundred years of consideration provided it could be done.

Miss K. BRUCE (Paddington Union) said she would like to put in a word for the women, who had not been mentioned at all. She should like to speak more particularly about the human problem, the untrained woman with dependent relatives suddenly placed in the position of being obliged to earn wages. What was to become of her? They all knew what she did. She went and swelled those unskilled trades such as charing, which, of course, meant sweating in order to get a footing, in addition to

increased hours of labour. She had one small solution to put forward herself. She should like to start local training centres for specially selected women who had dependent relatives. She should like to teach them upholstery, and skilled laundry work, and make them into self-reliant women in all rural centres and the small provincial towns, where, she understood, there was plenty of room for such workers. They would then have to pay smaller rents, and their children would be brought up under healthier conditions. It would also relieve the pressure to some extent on the overburdened labour market of London. (Applause.)

Councillor J. Cormie (Buckhaven) said it seemed to him that many attending that conference had merely brought forward schemes which would only touch the fringe of the matter. Technical education was all very well, and it might cause a man to become a better worker. What technical education could never do was to make two jobs suitable for three men. As long as they had only two jobs and three men out of work, one of the men must be out of employment, and they could not alter it. If they gave technical education to everyone it would not alter the state of affairs. If they were actually in earnest about the question, the only way to tackle it in a satisfactory manner would be to reduce the hours of labour all round. A large number of the gentlemen who had spoken in the conference had talked about the horrors of unemployment, destitution, and so on, but they did not really understand what destitution meant. He had been unemployed in two different senses. He had been unemployed without any money, and a bad job it was, and he was now unemployed with any amount of money, and he found that to be a very good job. (Laughter.) What they had to recognise was that to keep people healthy they must do a certain amount of work, and the hours of labour should be regulated so that everybody did his share. If ten hours' work every day was too much to go all round they should reduce the number to eight hours a day, and if eight hours was too much they should cut it down to four. In that way they would be able to eliminate destitution and unemployment at the same time. (Laughter and applause.) The people of this country at the present day were mainly made up of two classes—some had too much wealth, and others had none, whilst they were producing more wealth than they had ever done before. Therefore he was confident there was something wrong in things. As far as he could see, the only way to alter it would be to organise industry on a national basis, so that wealth production and wealth distribution would be a national matter. Personally he did not want a job, but there was something wrong with society which allowed him to remain unemployed. In place of passing resolutions about making technical education compulsory, all they had to do was to recognise that there simply wanted to be regularisation, and then the whole thing would very soon right itself. There should be a general reduction in the hours of labour, and it should also be made compulsory that children under 16 years of age should not be allowed to work. Boys and girls should be kept at home until they were 16. At the present day children were turned out at the earliest possible age, because the parents wanted their assistance in meeting the expenses of the house, but it should be made compulsory that parents should keep their children at home until they were 16 years of age. He thought 16 was quite early enough to start work. What they ought to do was to recognise that they could easily stop unemployment if they chose, on the lines he had suggested.

Professor H. Stanley Jevons said that the keynote of the Minority Report was organisation, and the application of regularisation to industry. He should just like to call their attention for a few moments to the striking parallelism between the United States and our own country with regard to this proposal for the deliberate regularisation of the demand for labour. They had no doubt read about last Christmas time of the movement for the scientific management of business. It was brought about in connection with the management of the large firms in America. The plan of scientific management was to think out the organisation and to work it out in greater detail than was customary in ordinary business. For instance, in the engineering business, the managers in the United States had found that there was an enormous saving in cost if they employed three or four times as many persons in the office, planning out the routine of particular work from the time it entered the factory until it left in the finished article. They eliminated all unnecessary fluctuation, and they knew exactly how the cost was going on every day. Carrying it out further, they now plan the whole season's work in detail in advance, with the result that there are about three times as many men employed in the office, and about half the number of workmen in the shops. He could not see why industries

as a whole could not be planned upon a national basis. They would be bound to come to it in time, owing to the competition of America and Germany, where they were well organised. He thought the keynote was more scientific thought in organisation, and he should like to see the Government step in and take the initiative.

Sir ALFRED MOND said that as Chairman of the Section he should like to extend his thanks to the members present for the great interest they had taken in the discussion. They had had a larger and more lively Section than any other portion of the conference, and personally he was pleased that such was the case. Although they differed on many points, yet they were all doing their best to try and solve the problem. The problem was such a complicated one that the time allowed them had been quite inadequate to touch more than the fringe, still he hoped that it would not be the last conference, but that it would go on. He was greatly interested in the remarks of the gentleman who said that if the hours of work were reduced to four hours a day they would all be employed, as it seemed to be such a happy method of solving the problem. He thought it would be a good suggestion to make to the House of Commons that if eight hours' work was too much it should be reduced to four, and if four was too much they should not work at all. (Laughter.) His own personal practical experience had led him to believe that the reduction in the hours of labour would not solve the problem of unemployment. In the whole of their works they had nothing but eight hours per day, yet they had scarcely increased the number of men. They simply re-organised the men or made improvements in the machinery. They had also eliminated the breafast hour so that people did not have to work before breakfast, but they had their breakfast at home, because people could not very well use their best efforts before breakfast. He might mention that Sir William Mather had introduced the eight hours a day into his engineering works, and he had had very much the same experience. He found that people who worked before breakfast had no energy, but that they reached their employment, perhaps wet, cold, and miserable. Reducing the hours of labour as had been suggested would not, therefore, in his opinion, be a panacea for unemployment. He should like to say a word with regard to the German State railways, as he happened to know a good deal about that matter. The German State railways worked their men longer hours and gave them lower wages than the English railways did. They were also paying interest on larger capital, and if the Government wanted more money to build Dreadnoughts they raised fares and reduced the wages of their workmen. He was not going to touch upon the nationalisation of railways in this country, because there was plenty to be said for and against it. The State should be a model employer, but he did not think at the present time the State was a model employer. When they looked at the Post Office and the condition of labour in the Government workshops they would soon find that the State was anything but a model employer. In fact, in his opinion the State was by no means as good an employer as it should be, but it was only after public opinion had been formed on the matter that the Government would take action and become a better employer. He was sorry to bring the meeting to a close, because they had had some very interesting discussions, and no doubt some further light could be thrown upon the subject; however, he hoped they would be able to continue their labours on another occasion and that they would have the same kind of varied discussion.

MENTAL DEFICIENCY SECTION.

Prefatory Statement.

THE PRESENT POSITION.

It was to relieve the Parish Overseers of a duty that they could not well perform that the Local Lunacy Authority was established. Prior to 1808, when the County Justices were first empowered to establish County Lunatic Asylums, the only institutions available for the care and custody of the mentally defective, other than the Poorhouses of the time, were a few endowed or voluntary "Madhouses." Apart from the inmates of these charities, all that was done for the mentally defective was to "relieve" them, when destitute, by the Parish Overseer. Only very slowly and gradually was any general institutional provision made, even for dangerous lunatics; and not until 1845 did it become obligatory on the Local Lunacy Authority to make the necessary provision for all persons certified as of unsound mind, and unable to pay for the necessary care.

(i) The Law.

By the Lunacy Act of 1890 (a convenient codification), which applies only to England and Wales as amended by the Lunacy Act of 1891, it is the duty of the Local Lunacy Authority, acting through the Visiting Committee (of its own members), which that Authority must appoint, and either alone or by arrangement with some other Lunacy Authority, to provide and maintain asylum accommodation for all the persons of unsound mind belonging to its area who, by reason of being unable, by themselves or their legally liable relatives, to provide for their full maintenance and necessary care, are wholly or partly chargeable to public funds, whether or not they are chargeable as paupers to any Poor Law Authority. These are termed pauper lunatics. If the Commissioners of Lunacy report any Local Lunacy Authority to be in default, the Home Secretary can peremptorily require it to provide what he directs. The Local Lunacy Authority may also, if it chooses, provide (*a*) separate asylums for patients on whose behalf the full cost is paid, or admit such "private patients" to the general asylum; and (*b*) separate asylums for idiots or patients suffering from any particular class of mental disorder. The Local Lunacy Authority may make provision for "boarding out" with relatives or friends on payment not exceeding the institutional cost. But though the Local Lunacy Authority may make provision in separate asylums for "patients suffering from any particular class of mental

disorder," this is subject to the limitation that all such persons must be certifiable and certified as of unsound mind. No person not so certified can lawfully be received even as a voluntary inmate entitled to leave at will, in any institution of the Local Lunacy Authority; and no person not so certified can lawfully be in any way provided for at its expense. Hence, whilst certified lunatics, idiots, and imbeciles are provided for, no provision is or can be made by the Local Lunacy Authority for persons outside the class of those who are deemed insane, notably for (*a*) sane epileptics, (*b*) feeble-minded persons who cannot be certified as imbecile, or (*c*) persons classed as morally deficient who cannot be certified as of unsound mind.

The law in Scotland is essentially similar to that of England and Wales, and has practically the same limitations.

It should be added that the Idiots Act, 1886, makes separate provision for idiots and imbeciles; who are also specially dealt with as regards London by the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867. With regard to children between 3 and 16, who, without being certified as of unsound mind, are found to be mentally defective, provision is made by the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899, for enabling Local Authorities, if they think fit, to establish and maintain special schools for such children and to enforce attendance up to 16. Provision is also made by the Inebriates Acts for certified institutions for the reception and detention of inebriates, who may either be committed by a Magistrate, or voluntarily agree to their own detention.

(ii) The Authorities.

The Local Administrative body with regard to persons certified as of unsound mind (the Local Lunacy Authority) is, in England and Wales, everywhere the County Council or County Borough Council acting through its Asylums Committee, to which (appointed annually by the Council exclusively from its own members) the statutes give great executive powers, independent of the Council, with regard both to asylum administration and asylum provision. The Council may, however, give directions to the Committee as to which method of providing asylum accommodation it shall adopt; and the Council must itself provide the necessary funds by loan or rate. The Corporation of the City of London and the Councils of some other Cities or Boroughs (in 1890 thirty in number, but now reduced to a very few), though not County Boroughs, still retain their old rights as independent Local Lunacy Authorities; but tend more and more to merge in the County. In Lancashire all the County Boroughs have united with the County Council to form a single Lunacy Authority for the geographical County, under a federal "Lancashire Lunacy Board." London has two such Authorities: the London County Council, dealing under the Lunacy Act, with 20,000 lunatics and imbeciles; and the Metropolitan Asylums Board, under the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867, with about 7,000 imbeciles and idiots; whilst the statistical returns indicate that the practice differs widely in the different parts of the Metropolis as to which classes of patients are remitted to these two Authorities.

In Scotland the Local Lunacy Authorities are the twenty-two District Boards of Lunacy, which are in fourteen cases committees of persons nominated by the various County Councils in the Lunacy District for which the Board acts; and in the eight largest towns the members of the Parish Councils.

The duty of taking charge, of getting certified and conveying to asylum all

lunatics, idiots, and imbeciles who are certifiable as of unsound mind, and who are not being properly provided for, is, however, placed, not on the Local Lunacy Authority, but on the Local Poor Law Authority. Thus, in practice, it is, in England and Wales, the Relieving Officer of the Board of Guardians who is called in to a lunatic or who discovers his need of food or care. It is the Relieving Officer who, in practice, gets the patient certified, removes him temporarily to the Workhouse, arranges for a reception order, and conveys him to the County Asylum. In Scotland the Inspector of Poor and the Parish Council have similar duties.

On the other hand, the Local Administrative body with regard to epileptic and mentally defective children between 3 and 16, not being certified as of unsound mind, is, in Scotland, the School Board, and in England and Wales the Local Education Authority, for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902—that is to say, in rural and small urban districts, the County Council; in urban districts over 20,000, and in non-county boroughs over 10,000 (except in seven, which have ceded their powers to the County Council), the District or Borough Council; and in County Boroughs the County Borough Council. In London some of these children are in the special schools of the London County Council as Local Education Authority, and others in the Metropolitan Asylums Board's homes for feeble-minded children.

The Local Authority for the administration of the Inebriates Act is the County or County Borough Council; and as the subject does not fall within the statutory sphere of either the Asylums Committee or the Education Committee, it is usually dealt with by a separate committee for the purpose.

The cost of maintenance of the lunatic asylums is curiously shared. The Local Lunacy Authority determines annually the average cost of maintenance of the patients in its asylums, other than the paying patients, and apart from loan interest and repayments, and levies this sum per patient per week upon the Poor Law Authorities of the Unions in which the patients have respectively their settlements. Where no settlement can be established, no charge can be made on any Union, and the Local Lunacy Authority charges the cost of such patients, together with loan interest and repayments, and other charges incidental to asylum provision, to the County Rate. A similar procedure is followed by the Metropolitan Asylums Board in the asylums of which there are no patients who are not chargeable to any Union. The Poor Law Union then obtains from the County Council out of the Exchequer Grant a sum equal to half the net cost to the Union of each person so provided for, after deducting the sums recovered from the patient or his relatives, but in no case exceeding four shillings per head per week, the balance becoming a charge on the Poor Rate. In London, moreover, the balance left to fall on the Union funds is recouped from the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund raised by an equal rate throughout London. The result is that, as each Metropolitan Board of Guardians pays in effect the same proportion of the total cost of Metropolitan lunacy whether it sends few or many patients, either to the London County Council Asylums or to Metropolitan Asylums Board Asylums, or to both, it has the utmost pecuniary inducement to transfer from the Out-relief lists to these asylums as many mentally defective persons as possible. As between the London County Council Asylums and the Metropolitan Asylums Board Asylums, it is to be noted that a fee is legally payable to the certifying Medical Officer and Relieving Officer in respect of patients sent by Poor Law Authorities to the London County Council institutions, whereas no fee is payable in respect of patients sent to the Metropolitan

Asylums Board institutions, which are technically those of another Poor Law Authority. On the other hand, outside the Metropolis, the Poor Law Authority incurs additional expense for most of the patients sent to the County Asylums, as the charge per week, even after deducting the four shillings Government Grant, usually exceeds the cost of maintenance either in the Workhouse or the amount allowed in Outdoor Relief.

The cost of maintenance of the Local Education Authorities' Schools for Mentally Defective and Epileptic Children is borne by the Education Rate, which is assisted by extensive Grants in Aid. In London, however, the cost of the mentally defective children in the Metropolitan Asylums Board homes (equalised for all London) falls on the Poor Rate. That of inebriate asylums is partly provided by the Government by a special Grant in Aid, the balance falling on the County or Borough Rate.

(iii) The Facts.

The investigations of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded led them to the conclusion that, in England and Wales, there were about 271,000 mentally defective persons, or 0.83 per cent. of the whole population. This total includes (i) lunatics; (ii) persons mentally infirm through age or decay; (iii) idiots; (iv) imbeciles; (v) feeble-minded; (vi) moral imbeciles; (vii) mentally defective epileptics; (viii) mentally defective inebriates; and (ix) mentally defective deaf and dumb, or blind. There exists, at present, adequate public provision for the 122,000 certified lunatics of class (i), who (apart from a very small number suitably looked after at home, and a dwindling little minority in a few certified private asylums) are maintained in the County or County Borough Asylums, some as private patients refunding directly to the Asylums Committee the charge for maintenance. For the 150,000 persons of classes (ii) to (ix) no systematic provision is made—that is to say, they come under public control, if at all, only in some other connection than their mental deficiency; for instance, as paupers, criminals, inebriates, or children at school. In Scotland the position is much the same as in England and Wales. Thus, the Commission reported that mentally defective persons (probably over 60,000 in number) were to be found in Poor Law institutions, including workhouses, casual wards and infirmaries, and some even in the special homes for children and the aged. Others are chronically in and out of prison for petty offences. Others, again, are living in the slums upon pittances of Out-relief, often under grossly insanitary and demoralising conditions. It is said that no small proportion of the 15,000 births that take place annually in the workhouses of the United Kingdom are cases in which distinctly feeble-minded mothers come into the institution almost every year to be delivered of a (frequently) feeble-minded child.

In connection with the Local Authorities there are various voluntary agencies, such as "After-care" Committees, acting with the Asylums Committees, special committees under the Local Education Authority for "mentally defective" schools, and bodies of governors or managers of homes for inebriates under the committees of Councils administering such homes. A few endowed or voluntary institutions or homes receive idiots, inebriates, or feeble-minded women, some of whom are paid for by Public Authorities. The National Association for Promoting the Welfare of the Feeble-minded and the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-minded are prominent examples of such voluntary bodies, and have acquired valuable experience as to what is needed.

First Day, Tuesday, May 30th.

MORNING SESSION.

The chair was taken by Sir William Chance, the President of the Section. The subject discussed was THE PROBLEM OF DEFINING MENTAL DEFICIENCY. The following paper was taken :—

Nomenclature and Classification.
By Dr. R. LANGDON DOWN.

Nomenclature and Classification.

By R. LANGDON DOWN, M.B., M.R.C.P.

THE object of a name is, or should be, to describe the thing named truly and briefly, to be as far as possible self-explanatory and to carry with it a clear understanding of what it is intended to refer to.

It does not so much matter what names we select as that we shall all know what is the thing or category meant, so that we shall all mean the same thing by the same name.

Unfortunately, some of these considerations have been neglected in the nomenclature of mental defect.

Different names should only be used when different things are to be described, and the same name should not be applied to different categories. Disregard to these principles is sure to lead to confusion. Thus we have "mentally defective" used sometimes for a whole class, and sometimes for one section of that class. The term "feeble-minded," again, is used indiscriminately for the group comprising "idiots," "imbeciles," and "weak-minded," and for the latter subdivision alone. It is clear that if we are to apply the term mentally defective to the whole class of the mentally unsound, including lunatics, we ought to have a new term to apply either to the whole group, or to the sub-division. In England the term feeble-minded has become so closely identified with the highest subdivision of the group, viz., that which is neither idiotic nor imbecile, a usage which has further been endorsed by the Royal Commission, that it may be simplest to adhere to this custom. In that case it would be desirable for clearness and convenience that we should have a separate name for the combined group.

In the United States a similar difficulty has been felt, but there the custom has been rather different; the term feeble-minded being used both generally for the whole group and specifically for the sub-division to which we in England

apply the term. The inconvenience of this has been felt and the desire to get rid of it and at the same time to secure uniformity of usage led recently to the appointment of a "Classification Committee" by the Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded, with a view to arriving at a common understanding on this matter. The proposal made by this committee is to reserve the term feeble-minded for the whole group as heretofore and to give a new name to the sub-division. For this purpose the term "moron" (plural "morons") for the individual and "moria" for the class have been suggested by the committee. The word is derived from a Greek root meaning "foolish." Thus it will be seen a rather harsher word than "idiot" is proposed as the name for the slightest degree of defect; nevertheless, it is difficult to find a better term.

Though it might be desirable for the English speaking world to adopt the same nomenclature, that is of less importance than that, whatever terms may be selected we should all understand what we mean by them, and use them in the same sense.

If we can also make the sense given to our different terms the same both in England and America and the Colonies, so much the better, as it makes the experience of one much more available and intelligible to the other.

In order to arrive at such a result it is necessary that there should be some agreement as to classification and definitions. All clear description and definition depends on the recognition of differences, the more accurate the estimation of the differences, the better the description and the more precise the definition.

Classification depends on the existence and recognition of differences and a good classification is one which depends on differences of a fundamental and essential nature and not on merely superficial and accidental diversities. Classification may be made on various principles or bases, and the kind of difference that may be selected in any case will depend on the point of view of the classifier, and the objects for which the classification is desired.

If you ask a medical man to classify the mentally defective from his own standpoint, he may choose several bases for his purpose. Séguin, for example, claimed to have established a physiological classification; others may choose the ground of causation or origin; others, again, may divide the group into its pathological sub-divisions, such as hydrocephalic, mongolian, cretinous, paralytic, etc., but from the standpoint of mental incapacity, which is the fundamental condition which characterises the whole group, he would admit that the foregoing classifications would form no guide or criterion. That, for example, the paralytic group includes cases from the most extreme grade of mental incapacity to the slightest degree of feeble-mindedness, and that similar inequalities would be found in the Mongol and other groups. Moreover, he would admit that his classifications would leave the great majority of cases in a large heterogeneous group for the sub-division of which they afforded no assistance.

On the other hand, he would point out that the criterion of mental incapacity provides a very poor basis for classification on its own account, because the whole group forms a natural continuous series with no well defined difference of kind but only of degree, and that on the whole sub-division would be artificial because the fundamental similarities of the group are greater than the fundamental differences in this respect.

If that be so it may be asked why attempt any sub-division or classification?

The answer is that apart altogether from the medical and scientific aspect of the matter, there is the practical question of what is the best way to deal with the members of this group, partly from the point of view of the individuals concerned

themselves and partly in the interests of the community at large, now and in the future. These questions have their legal, educational, social, and in particular their eugenic aspect.

As long as the provision for such cases was undifferentiated and uniform classification was of secondary consideration, for definition and description go hand in hand with classification, and little stress had been laid on these.

With the separation of the lower strata of mental capacity from the ordinary school and special provision proposed for defective and for merely backward children in special and intermediate schools, and with a further separation of the higher strata from the lower grades of defect for whom colonies and other homes are being provided, a new need has arisen for greater precision in our descriptions and definitions.

The Royal Commission, recognising that for practical purposes classification must depend rather on social than on medical grounds, adopted definitions of the different grades and types of defect which, so far as they go, are admirable. But when it is stated that the sole *differentia* between the imbecile and the feeble-minded person is that whereas the former is incapable of earning his own living, the latter may be capable of earning a living under favourable circumstances, it will be admitted that the definitions do not go very far and that they give no indication as to how the definition is to be applied to individual cases.

It may reasonably be assumed that the object of the definitions was rather to show what different sorts of provision were desirable and to leave the classification of the individual to be governed by the sort of treatment which was thought to be most suitable.

That would be the natural and proper line on which to attack the problem. But something more is wanted. The rough and ready methods of guess work or of trial and error must, in due time, be superseded by methodical investigation and estimation, if not measurement, of the individual's mental capacity. This is desirable not only from the point of view of diagnosing the mental status of the individual and his requirements in the way of special treatment, but also from that of gauging the result of treatment and forming a judgment as to the relative and absolute merits of different systems of education and management.

Considerable work along these lines has been done in recent years both in France and the United States, and recently also in England.

Much of the work has been of the nature of precise psychological experiment which seeks by suitable tests to isolate particular mental traits, and by appropriate methods and repeated trials to give a numerical value to each trait for each individual, and by applying the same tests to numerous individuals to find the average value of each trait for sex, age, or any special type; and finally to work out the correlations of one trait with other traits or with other conditions, and so to establish certain broad generalisations. No doubt such methods might be applied in a few individual cases for diagnostic purposes, but such tests take a great deal of time, and are liable to inaccuracy if not skilfully performed, and the numerical values are troublesome to handle for every day purposes. Moreover, none of these schemes has yet been reduced to a form adapted for practical use in ordinary work.

Binet and Simon have produced what they call "a measuring scale for intelligence," which, while aiming at less precision, requires only about half an hour to apply to an individual and could probably be improved and simplified so as to occupy only twenty minutes. The standard of measurement adopted by these writers is the capacity of normal children to accomplish certain tests (about five)

at each year of age between three and thirteen. It will be observed that the principal difference between this method and that described above is that whereas in that case a precise value or measurement had to be found for each trait, in this case, as a rule, all that has to be decided is whether the person tested can or cannot achieve a certain, usually rather low, standard for five or six tests at each age level for which he is examined.

Binet's scale has been drawn up as the result of very numerous experiments on normal children of the working class in or near Paris.

Nevertheless, his work has sprung out of his intimate knowledge and elaborate studies on the mentally deficient from the point of view of their intelligence, and he lays down the principles which he thinks should be adopted in applying his scale to the estimation of the intelligence of the mentally deficient, whether adults or young persons.

He mentions six tests in particular, which in his opinion will define the boundary line between feeble-mindedness and normal intelligence. These are:—

(1) The ability to arrange in order of their weight five similar boxes weighing three, six, nine, twelve, and fifteen grammes respectively in three minutes, twice correctly out of three attempts.

(2) Ability to answer intelligently eight questions which are rather difficult to understand.

(3) Making a sentence containing three given words.

(4) Defining abstract terms.

(5) Interpreting certain pictures.

(6) Finding a certain number of rhymes to given words in a fixed time.

He claims that no feeble-minded person succeeds with all these tests or even with three of them. He truly says that it is not a particular localised success that is of importance in the diagnosis of intellectual level, but that intelligence must be measured by a synthesis of results. He gives two tests which will show whether the individual falls on one side or the other of the line which he draws between idiocy and imbecility.

The line he draws between the imbecile and the feeble-minded is that the former is incapable of communicating with his fellows by written language; he can therefore neither read and understand what he reads, nor write from dictation or spontaneously in an intelligible way. He gives certain tests to apply to such a case, with supplementary ones in case the individual has had no opportunity of learning to read and write.

These comprise describing pictures, in doing which a certain standard has to be reached; reckoning the value of a number of pence and halfpence mixed; and comparing two objects from memory.

For the rest, by applying the tests which form the scale in the ordinary way, one is able to say of any child whether he is two, three, four, five, or more years below the level of intelligence normal for his age; this will provide a very good indication as to whether the child is merely backward or is abnormal. The latter is probably the case if he is three or four years below his proper level, especially if the tests he fails in are mainly those dependent on natural aptitude and not on scholastic acquirements, and *vice-versâ*.

It is not maintained that the scheme is perfect, and it is probable that experience will show that it can be improved in various particulars; nor are we bound to accept the lines which Binet prefers to draw between the normal and the abnormal, and between the various grades of defect; but at least we can form a

clear conception of where in the intellectual hierarchy they are drawn, and henceforth by using such a scheme it will be possible to tell whether or not we are speaking of the same level of intelligence.

At present it is best to follow the scheme without alteration, in order to form a fair judgment of its accuracy, and so as to be able to compare one's own results with those of others.

For my part, I am satisfied that after a little preliminary experience it is not difficult for a properly qualified person to apply them, and that in the hands of different observers this method would yield approximately the same results. I would maintain that the methodical application of these tests gives a fuller insight into the individual's capacity in half an hour than one would believe possible, and probably things will be revealed by the examination about the child's mental working which had not been discovered before, even though the child had been known to the examiner for a long time. From such experience as I have had in using Binet's tests in examining the mental capacity of candidates for a Colony for the Feeble-minded, I would say that though the examination takes some time, it enables one to speak with much greater confidence as to the intellectual status of the candidate, and to say definitely whether in regard to intelligence he does or does not come within the category for which the Colony is intended. Moreover, it throws such light on his special weaknesses and aptitudes that it helps one to judge of the sort of training and occupation that will probably be desirable.

It may be argued that as the imbecile and feeble-minded are defined in accordance with their capacity or incapacity to earn a living, the tests should be of a more practical kind, and deal rather with motor activities, etc. It is possible that research may show that motor ability and mental ability are so closely correlated that a measure of the motor ability would also give a good indication of mental capacity, and some simple motor tests might be added; but the real reason for incapacity to earn a living is mainly an incapacity in mental adaptability and common sense; for the feeble-minded are unable from mental defect to compete on equal terms with their normal fellows or to manage themselves with common prudence. Surely it is best to secure direct evidence of these intellectual disabilities by appropriate tests such as those I have described.

There is a group of cases in which, coupled with a very moderate degree of intellectual defect, there is want of moral sense and capacity for self-control, etc. Unfortunately no simple tests have been devised which will measure these qualities; but these defects show themselves by conduct, which can be recorded and brought in evidence. This, together with Binet's intellectual test, will suffice to place such an individual in his proper class.

The question of the effect of increasing years on the application of these tests is one that needs and has received consideration both by Binet and Dr. Goddard.

In the *Journal for Psycho-Asthenics,* Vol. XV., Nos. 1 and 2, Dr. Goddard (the Psychologist attached to the Vineland Training School, New Jersey) reports the results so far as he and his fellow workers had gone in applying these tests to classify the four hundred inmates of the Vineland institution.

He says: "I believe it is true that no one can use the tests on any fair number of children without becoming convinced that the tests do come amazingly near what we feel to be the truth in regard to the mental status of any child tested," and he believes "that the classification as we have made it in accordance with these tests is entirely satisfactory to all the people in our institution to whom the result has been submitted."

He also submits the following scheme based upon these tests:—

Feeble-Minded Children.			Mental age as determined by Binet's tests.
Morons.	High Grade	9	8-12.
	Middle Grade	8	
	Low Grade	7	
Imbeciles.	High Grade	6	3-7.
	Middle Grade	5	
	Low Grade	4	
Idiots.	High Grade	3	0-2
	Middle Grade	2	
	Low Grade	1	

This is the scheme adopted by the Committee on classification above referred to. It is at present tentative, and Dr. Goddard desires the subject to be agitated until all institutions are ready to adopt some uniform system.

The use of some such mode of estimating the mental capacity as is provided by the Binet Tests can readily be seen from the political and legal point of view. This resolves itself just now mainly into the question how permanent detention can be applied to some of the feeble-minded, for the protection of themselves and the community, without incurring the danger of such powers being applied in improper cases. The law does not, and is not likely in the future, to define what it means by "lunatic," "unsound mind," "imbecile," "idiot," or "feeble-minded." It leaves it to the medical man certifying to give the evidence on which he grounds his opinion that the individual is of unsound mind, etc., and requires a certain form of detention. The slighter the degree of defect the more important that this evidence should be full, clear, and precise.

The practical result of this is that the standard of what involves mental unsoundness varies from time to time in accordance partly with public opinion on these matters, partly with the state of medical knowledge, the views held by the profession of the benefit likely to accrue to the patient as a consequence of the certificate and the risk he himself runs in signing it. The view of the public is voiced mainly by the justice of the peace who signs the order, and the Commissioners in Lunacy who inspect the patients so detained.

Public opinion on the question of the feeble-minded has changed greatly during the last ten years, and has become more enlightened; it is now probably fully prepared to sanction the detention under adequate safeguards. But it will demand that the evidence shall be clear and convincing, so that mere lapses from conventional morality, or backwardness resulting from unfortunate upbringing or from other non-mental defects should not be treated as feeble-mindedness. Hitherto it has been a matter of some difficulty to describe with adequate precision the grounds for the belief that an individual is mentally defective. The work of Binet has undoubtedly reduced this difficulty. The provision of colonies and homes of various kinds has removed the other obstacle in the minds of medical men that the arrangements for their being dealt with were ill-adapted for the purpose.

Had it not been for these hindrances it is quite possible that the term "of unsound mind" might have come to be extended to all cases requiring detention, as, indeed, it might easily have been. As it is, there is likely to be fresh legislation,

and this will require the most modern methods of description of the cases and classification in accordance with the provision required in the interest of the individual.

Discussion.

In opening the discussion, Dr. R. Langdon Down said it did not require a great deal of knowledge of scientific work to realise that before they could handle the subject satisfactorily it was of the greatest importance to get their ideas well arranged and clear in their own minds. At the outset of that conference one should endeavour to get a clear opinion of the various terms in use, and discuss the manner by which those clear opinions could be obtained. It was impossible to put on paper all that one would like to say on the subject. A great change has taken place in public opinion with regard to life-long detention of people of unsound mind. That was of greater importance to the slighter cases than with regard to the grave cases. When Members of Parliament were confronted with the subject they wanted to know how to distinguish between the feeble-minded and the merely backward. The tests of Binet and Simon had been standardised on normal children, and when the tests were applied to the weak-minded child it was requisite that the child should be alone, in order to make him quite at his ease, and encourage him in every possible way. The first test was to show that the child understood words in the mother tongue, so they asked him to point to some common object by name, such as his nose, his eye, his book, or mouth. Children of three could not as a rule point to their eyes or nose. A child of three could not always repeat words, but as a rule it could, although it could not pronounce it upon its own initiative. Where a child could repeat six words, it could only repeat two figures, which could be readily understood when he pointed out that the child obtained no help from the association of ideas. To ask a child to say seven, two, or seven, two, five, was much harder than asking it to repeat words. They gave a child three trials, and one success out of three trials was sufficient for the test. Then there was the picture test. A child was given a picture like those produced. He had brought those pictures with him in order that they could see the actual kind of pictures used. It was better to have the pictures coloured, and he usually selected a child's picture book, as the pictures in them were quite clear and told their own story. The pictures should contain persons and objects, and some kind of action going on. Pictures were of more interest to a child than words, because they left more impression upon the child's mind. The child would be asked to name the common objects in the picture, such as a child, dog, cat, etc. Another stage of the process was a more complicated one, and that was to ask the child to interpret the picture. The child would have to give some explanation for the reason of the action going on. Binet had stated that if he had to decide upon a single test, he would choose that one. At the age of three a child would be expected to enumerate the objects, but it could not be expected to describe the action going on. At the age of six the first test was to ask the child to show his right hand or his left ear, which was a very simple test, and would pick out a low grade of intelligence very quickly. Another test was to show the child pictures of two heads, one of which was grotesquely ugly, and the other a normal face, and the child was supposed to know that he preferred the one which was the nicest looking. The next test was to define fork or table, and the child may say "fork to eat with," "table, to have dinner on." That stage should be reached at the age of six at least. At the age of nine the child was expected to do something more than describe the mere utility of the object, and he was expected to say that the horse was not simply to ride on, but was an animal with four legs and a tail. The next test was a very useful one, as the child was required to perform three commissions. He was told to put things on a chair, shut the door, and bring a box. The child had to perform without hesitation and without mistake those three commissions in the order given. It was a very valuable test and a valuable mode of instruction for the mentally defective. He thought he had said enough to explain the way in which those tests were used. Having gone through the tests they would be able to ascertain the grade of intelligence, and to say whether the child had the intelligence of a child of 3, 4, 5, and 6, and so on. Professor Goddard

had found that 78 per cent. of the children work out at their own age, or one year above or below their age, 15 per cent. were two or three years below their age, and 4 per cent. were three or more years above their age, and there was a small minority of 3 per cent. who were three years or more below their age. If a child exceeded that it was of course mentally deficient. Binet had devoted a lot of time to the question of the defective child, and to ascertaining the difference between feeble-mindedness and normal intelligence in the adult. There was the box-test, in which a child was handed three boxes of the same size, but all of them of different weights, and he had to put the boxes in order of weight. That involved not only the sensation of the difference in weight, but it involved a problem. Many children could say which was the heaviest, but it was more difficult to put them in the different order. With regard to ability to answer questions intelligently for children aged 10, the child was asked what he would do if he lost the train, and was expected to give a reasonable answer. He was also asked what he would do if he had been struck by a friend who did not do it on purpose, and the question was also put to him as to what he would do if he had broken something which did not belong to him. The next question was to make up a sentence containing three given words, like Bristol, money, river. If a child simply made a sentence which was nonsense it would be mentally deficient. It could either make one sentence of the three words, or three sentences containing each of the words. The child might also be asked to define certain abstract terms, such as "What is justice?" "What is charity?" (Laughter.) That was a fairly high test, but nevertheless children of 12 were quite able to give a good answer and show that they understood the abstract idea underlying those terms. A child might be asked "if he knew what a rhyme meant?" and he would then be asked to make one word rhyme with another. He had not found that a very useful test, because children of most unequal intelligence would accomplish it or fail in it. His object in bringing the matter before them was to recommend Binet's scheme as a convenient method in estimating the level of the mentally deficient, and to point out that by adopting some such plan they might give uniformity to their descriptive terms.

Dr. T. B. Hyslop (Society for the Study of Inebriety) said that those who worked constantly among people of defective mind must appreciate the great difficulty of distinguishing between those who were normal and those who were slightly mentally defective. He recollected an examination of children of 6, 10, and 13 years of age, when the children answered questions which he certainly thought nine-tenths of them could not possibly have answered. There was often a difficulty in drawing the line between sanity and insanity. There were a number of people who were considered to be sane, but yet at the same time had all kinds of quips and cranks. They met those people in everyday life, so that they would appreciate the great difficulty that was experienced in trying to draw the dividing line between feeble-mindedness and normal mindedness. They might have a person who was affected in one direction and not in another. Everyone was apt to be defective in one direction—(laughter)—and it was almost impossible to draw the border line. They might have an artist who was an excellent painter, but in other respects he might be a fit and proper subject for an asylum; and often a clever man was found in an asylum. There were cases in which a person was known to be insane, and under the official cognisance of the commissioners in lunacy, but yet at the same time was doing good work. In imbeciles there was often distinct evidence of genius in some direction. We must recognise the fact that in instances where training is given, individuals, however feeble-minded, are able to do something, and many of them can go out into the world and earn a moderate living; but they must not overlook the fact that these feeble-minded individuals get married, and beget imbecile children. That was perhaps the most difficult part of the question. However, it was a subject that they would have an opportunity of discussing later on in the conference. He was afraid that many normal people could not answer the tests put forward by Dr. Down, but he appreciated very much the work Dr. Down had done, and for the manner in which he had put that matter before the conference. He had marshalled his facts in a scientific and accurate manner, and he hoped it would be productive of good results.

Dr. Harry Corner said there were two things he should like to deal with, but he was not quite sure whether he was in order; however, if not, the chairman would pull him up. They were there to discuss classification, which was a most important point. Dr. Down had given them one side of the question, which would in the future be of great use to them. Whether it was in order to refer to other classifications he did not know, and probably time would not permit. However, he would briefly

say they had the pathological side of the disease, and also the physiological side. In the pathological cases they had the congenital cases and the acquired cases, due to errors of development. They were a very distinct class of cases, and their classification was very useful, because it was a great help in diagnosis. In the congenital cases they got various defects, physical and mental, and often the physical preponderated. They got misshapen heads, features, or bodies, and so on. In acquired cases, as a rule, the children looked infinitely better: in fact, they looked almost normal, and as if they had been meant for something better. Either before or after birth there had been accident or disease, and development had been retarded or arrested. Pathologically it was useful to speak of cases such as water on the brain, that being the classification most used. With regard to the physiological cases he would not go into details at that stage, but would refer to it in discussing the tests that had been brought before them that day. His experience of Binet tests was limited, but his first experience was in the case of a certain client in London, who had been through the Binet tests and was pronounced not to be feeble-minded. The tests were shown to him, and he was asked some of the questions, and was afraid he could not have readily replied to some of them himself. He was quite sure that many of the questions would be wrongly answered by normal people. In the case under consideration the patient had passed the tests brilliantly, but after further examination he pronounced him to be feeble-minded. Although he would not discourage any experiments on those lines from the scientific point of view, yet the question as to whether they would be of any practical assistance to them seemed doubtful. He thought they should be careful when applying the results at present. Dr. Down had pointed out the advantages of repeating, and he had himself sometimes found it an advantage. It was quite simple in imbeciles, and it was also quite simple in other cases, and helpful to them in difficult cases, which were the cases in which help was needed. But with the most important class that they as public officials or members of societies had to deal with, viz., the simple, weak-minded, repeating was out of the question, and where that failed they adopted the practice under the Lunacy Act. One of Binet's tests was to ask the child words in the mother tongue, and another to point to its nose or mouth; but he would guarantee that the majority of imbeciles in asylums could do that. With regard to the mother tongue questions, the mother tongue in one class was not the mother tongue in another, and if a lot of those questions were put to the ordinary Board School child he was afraid they would be Greek to them, as they would not look upon it as the mother tongue. It would be necessary to adapt oneself to the various mother tongues of this country for the purpose of investigation. Dr. Down had told them that pictures were the best test; he could not, however, entirely concur. It was only what they could expect from children and weak-minded adults, to visualise the pictures; whereas those who were badly developed had to largely depend upon auditory impressions. The Binet tests only took one aspect of the case, and if they used them as a guide they would cut out a very large number of cases, and they would be just the cases that gave them most trouble at the outset. They usually found that the nearer the normal, the less the balance was as a rule; therefore they got mental instability, and a tendency to mental unsoundness. Mental unsoundness always showed itself in children by disorderly conduct. What was disorderly conduct in a child who had been brought up in a refined home might not be disorderly conduct in a child that had a very bad home. When they got to the poor unfortunate children who lived in the gutter they had to be careful in judging bad conduct, because they were living in an environment where all those things were far too common. Binet's tests, however, were very helpful in assisting them to estimate the amount of development that had already gone on in the child, as it would enable them to say that the child had developed to the standard of a child of 2, 3, 4, or 6 years of age; but he must confess that he was not so hopeful in applying it to an adult. However, the tests were extremely useful when they had other guides.

Mr. F. G. Mackereth, of the National Temperance League, said he wanted to consider the classification of the adult who was feeble-minded through drink, and who were usually called drunkards. Jane Austen's heroines were often apt to go off in a decline, because it was the fashion then to talk about people going off in a decline; but times had changed since then, and they called it consumption instead. It seemed to him there were two kinds of drunkard, viz., the vicious drunkard and the insane drunkard. When a man was sufficiently over the line they should not call him an ordinary vicious drunkard, but something different. There was also

a difference between the inebriate and the person who was simply inebriated. He thought the inebriate should be carefully looked after.

Miss DENDY (Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-minded) said the Binet tests were not new to her, and the only special contribution she wished to make was that so far as her experience went they took so long that she did not see how they could get through their work if they had to apply the Binet test to every child. She had been present at examinations of 3,000 children, and had found that one could examine a child quite efficiently in from twenty to twenty-five minutes; but they could not conduct the Binet tests in twenty minutes. Then again those tests did not make any allowance for the nervous disposition of the child. They could not treat all children who were mentally defective in the same manner. Children could not be classified like animals, and in examining them one had to allow for the personal equation of every child. That was the only method by which they could get results worthy of the name. Ordinary children had all something in common, but feeble-minded children had not got those things in common that ordinary children had. Then again, so much depended upon the environment, and what the environment had been in the past. If they took a normal child in a sadly neglected home, where it had had nothing to help it, had not had enough sleep, bad food, and bad clothing, they would not find the same grade of child as they would in a higher station of life. In the feeble-minded child they had to make allowances for all that, and those who were thoroughly accustomed to children accordingly made those allowances. One of the simplest questions put to the mother was whether the child could go for a message, and could it bring two things. Nine times out of ten the mother would say that she would have to write it down if she sent the child for two things. If a child could go for three things it was now a low grade case. A normal child should be able to distinguish between two and three, but a feeble-minded child could not. Dr. Goddard's experiments were extremely interesting, but they wanted some rough kind of information as to whether they were suitable for feeble-minded children or imbeciles. She would not for one moment discourage the use of such tests, because in some cases they were extremely useful; but they had to deal with such a variety of cases that it was quite a problem to know how to satisfactorily deal with them. (Applause.)

Mr. W. HOLMAN (Child Study Society) said Miss Dendy had mentioned about message-bearing capacity, that one child could carry two or three messages. That was one of the tests of Binet. But they must recollect that one could not always rely upon the parent, therefore Binet tested the child himself. With regard to the time taken to make the tests, Dr. Down had assured them that he could make the tests in half-an-hour, so that there was not much difference between that and Miss Dendy's time of about twenty-five minutes. He had one or two criticisms of his own against Binet's method. It was a mistake to attach so much importance to the numbering business, because fundamentally the child was doing no more in correctly using a number than in anything else, such as, for instance, attaching a label; there need be very little behind it all. On the other hand, a child was not so familiar with numbers as he was with ordinary words of every-day life. Such words as "Lock the door and put the key on a chair," were words that entered into a child's daily life, whereas numbers were seldom used. He thought it a very important point for them to consider. Another criticism he had to make against Binet was that he forgot to estimate the child's capacity for language; he thought that should be ascertained first. Some children that were quite normal, and of ordinary intelligence, did not develop their speech until a year or two later than others. Some children took very little interest in learning the language, and yet showed activity in other ways. Activity was, he thought, the first form of expression. Of course, they must improve upon Binet, and it was only by practice they could do so. He did not think they could do without the motor test, as that was the supreme test in all forms of development, and was one of the best tests to put to the low grade patient. Suppose, for instance, they had a pot of jam on a shelf and a chair or some steps, and asked the child if it liked jam. No doubt it would reply in the affirmative. If the child was then told, "There is a pot of jam, you may have some," the action of the child in regard to the matter is the test, as it had to correlate a series of actions. He thought it most essential they should have that test. The first form of expression was activity, and the first form of intelligence was activity, but Binet apparently did not notice that. If Binet failed in that, they must also expect him to fail in other respects. He should like to draw their attention to one of Binet's questions, which was "How

old are you?" He thought a question of that kind was of the least possible value. A child did not know its age, unless it was told, and even then it might not remember it. Again, a child might not know what a year meant, and he could not see the utility of putting the question. He thought all the questions should be put in the form of a problem. Anything that was at all parrot-like should be eliminated from the test, and they should add whatever they thought was most practicable according to their own experience.

The CHAIRMAN said he should like to call the attention of the conference to the fact that they were there to discuss the classification of these unfortunate people. The question was whether they were to be classified according to name, and what name was to be given to them. He should like to point out that Dr. Down had given the name of " Morons " to the mentally defective, and proposed that the term should be adopted. He should like to hear it argued as to whether it would be better to use the term " Morons " when they were speaking of the feeble-minded, or whether they should continue to follow the old nomenclature.

Captain ST. JOHN (Penal Reform League) said he had had a good deal of experience in America, where they used the Binet tests combined with the Seymour tests. They did not use them, however, as covering the whole field, but for the purpose of ascertaining which class the child should be put into at school. The character of the child was also considered. The doctor, having obtained its history from the parents and friends, made friends with the child, and found out various things connected with it that could not be obtained by any other means. In most cases Binet's system was used combined with another. It seemed to him that morons, imbeciles, and idiots was a very good classification, but he should like to know what they were to call the higher class of feeble-minded people. The word simpleton was an old-fashioned word, and was applied to all feeble-minded people as contrasted with other mentally defectives. They could not be called mentally defective, but they were all feeble-minded inasmuch as they could not look after themselves properly. It seemed to him to be a very fair and useful classification on the whole.

Miss DENDY said she did not lose sight of motor activity in her tests, but she had seen idiots wandering up and down a room quite active, but without any sense behind their activity, yet they had begun to be active from the first. Sometimes it took the form of doing something mechanically, so that a strange doctor could see that the child was active. The kind of motor test they gave was to get the child to take off its jacket, unbutton it, and put it on and button it again. Then the doctor took the jacket, turned the sleeves inside out, and for a high grade child he would turn the pockets inside out as well. The medium grade child would turn the sleeves the right side out, but the low grade child would not do so. They always asked if the child could wash and dress itself, and in testing a child they always tested its motor power. Motor activity without any sense behind it was a most distressing thing, and she did not think that motor activity tests without anything behind them were of much value. With regard to the pot of jam, she had in her mind the shy and nervous child, afraid of the doctor, whom he has never seen before, and very anxious not to do wrong, and afraid of being corrected. She did not think a child of that kind would take active steps to obtain possession of the pot of jam. It would be very much better to put some sweets on a table where the child could easily see them. They must always consider the personal factor, as no doubt a forward child would answer that test easily, whereas a shy child would not do so. With regard to the mother tongue test, she remembered a case in which a school inspector asked a class of children if they had ever seen a daffodil, and failed to get a satisfactory answer. He was, however, a South country man, and the children were born in the North of England. The inspector in his report stated that the children had never seen a daffodil, whereas the children did not understand the word, but thought he said a " daft girl." In the case of feeble-minded children, it often happened that they did not understand the questions put to them.

Alderman R. ROGER (Durham County Asylum) said he should like to say a few words from the point of view of the Visiting Committee as to classification and tests. When patients had been discharged from the asylums it was necessary that they should have some useful test that they could look upon with confidence, as there were times when they acted against the opinions of the medical officer. It only happened occasionally, and was done with a certain amount of diffidence, with the result that they frequently found they had acted wrongly. But they met as business

men once a month and gave their minds seriously to the work. It was not easy to put tests, especially when friends were making applications that the patient should be sent home. Every member of their committee would welcome any easy, useful test which might be devised. There was one thing that struck him, speaking as an engineer. When men in his profession spoke about tests they were always applied to material. He had had a good deal of experience of making tests in that respect, and he always found that everything depended upon the piece tested. They might take a piece of cast-iron with no defect that was apparent, but yet it might be defective. It seemed to him that a good deal depended also upon the person who applied the test. In cast-iron they had a stiffer material to deal with than the material in their asylums; but still the principle was the same in each, and he hoped it would be possible to devise a simple series of tests to assist them in their work on the Visiting Committee.

Alderman DAVIS (West Ham Borough Council) said he should like to ask how it was that the mental capacity of the individual depended upon his brain. Dr. Down said the brain was the seat of mental action, but as to how far the brain when not diseased accounted for mental defectives was a more difficult question. It was a question as to whether it was a case of brain capacity, or the underlying processes going on in the brain. He thought some knowledge of the action between the brain and the manifestations of intelligence were necessary.

Councillor H. B. BRACKENBURY (Hornsey) said it was very important to know whether a child was feeble-minded, and the question arose as to how long it was going to take before they could arrive at their conclusion. He thought feeble-minded children should be placed in a special school as early as possible in order that they might be under proper observation, before they made their final test. If one authority had charge of all persons that were mentally deficient from the time of their birth, he thought it would be a good thing for the community, and no doubt the matter could be taken in hand by the present education authority.

Dr. DOWN said with regard to the application of the Binet tests, it must not be supposed that an individual should be judged by one or two of the tests; he should be judged on an average of the whole number. He agreed almost entirely with what Miss Dendy had said with regard to the difficulty of classifying children. They could not be classified by intelligence alone, and the personal factor would always crop up; but if they exaggerated the personal factor too much, they did away with the possibility of testing at all. In presenting the paper he did not deal with his own criticisims of the tests, but his duty was to put forward the merits of the tests, and he quite appreciated and agreed with many of the criticisms that had been passed by the various speakers. He quite admitted that some of the tests were of no value, and might be cut out. With regard to the motor tests, he thought something must be done in that line to make the scheme satisfactory. The taking off of the coat and the pot of jam on the shelf, and things similar to that, were useful tests. The motor activity that Miss Dendy referred to would be in the case of a low grade child, who would wander about aimlessly. When one talked about motor activity they did not, of course, include such a crude form of activity. Dr. Brackenbury's question was a most fundamental one, as to how long they should take to decide upon a child. If they could get the whole of the feeble-minded children of the country under observation and training, it would be a good thing, and much better than any kind of spasmodic testing. They, however, had to get hold of the children, and in order to do that they would have to establish an *à priori* case in each instance, and the same remark would apply to adults. He quite agreed with what had been said about mental instability and vicious conduct, but in order to say that a person was morally defective rather than criminal it was necessary to pay attention not only to his conduct but also to his history and his mental capacity. There were cases of defective intelligence, and there were persons who were simply vicious in conduct, and not mentally defective, and who therefore of course were criminals. They have to bear in mind that it was necessary to approach that matter in an intelligent manner because it dealt with the liberty of the subject; consequently they ought to know what they were talking about, and be sure they were justified in the statements they were making. He should like to refer to the classification recommended by the Royal Commission before he sat down. On the whole it was a very good and practicable scheme, but it lacked any suggestion as to how it should be applied. He suggested, however, that they might be able to apply the scheme by tests of this kind.

The Section then adjourned.

First Day, Tuesday, May 30th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was taken by Sir William Chance, and the subject discussed was HEREDITY IN RELATION TO MENTAL DEFICIENCY. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Relation of Heredity and Insanity to Destitution.*
By Dr. F. W. MOTT, F.R.S.

2.—*Heredity as a Factor in Mental Defect, with special reference to the Feeble-minded.*
By Dr. A. F. TREDGOLD.

The Relation of Heredity and Insanity to Destitution.

By FREDERICK W MOTT, M.D, F.R.S., F.R.C.P.

(Pathologist to the London County Asylums, Physician to Charing Cross Hospital).

THERE are several aspects in which insanity and its inheritance can be considered in relation to destitution. It is both a cause and result of destitution. It is especially in respect to the former relation I wish to call your attention; but it is common knowledge that profound grief and worry caused by loss of employment, breaking up of the home through monetary losses, drunkenness, and vicious habits of a husband, and consequent " destitution " in the wife and children, may be the only causes traceable in a considerable number of cases admitted to the asylums. But in a large majority of these cases an inborn tendency is really an important factor. For among certain prosperous sections of the community " insanity " is met with as frequently as among the poor and destitute. The correlation of pauperism and insanity which undoubtedly exists is due rather to the fact that insanity, and particularly feeble-mindedness, is a cause of pauperism and destitution.

With the view of studying the influence of heredity in the production of certain forms of insanity, I instituted three years ago a card system of relations in all the London County Asylums. Records have now been obtained of 2,246 individuals who are related, and who are either at the present time inmates of the London County Asylums or who have died or been discharged. Many of those discharged as cured have been re-admitted sometimes several or more times. I have collected a large number of pedigrees of insane patients, and at the present time a few of the relieving officers are co-operating in ascertaining what becomes of the patients after leaving the asylums, also facts concerning the relatives of the

patients and the incidence of pauperism among them. Many of the pedigrees I have obtained are very interesting as showing the manifold forms of family degeneracy. Some interesting pedigrees also have been obtained showing that individuals are discharged from asylums have children (born in the workhouse) and later the individual is removed into the asylum again, and these children have to be maintained by the ratepayer.

The following are examples:—

(1) Female, mother insane in London County Asylum. The patient an inmate of Bexley Asylum October 24th, 1902, to April 4th, 1903. Previous to admission had one child born in 1902; subsequent to admission had five children (born 1904, 1906, 1907, twins 1910). Again admitted to asylum June 5th, 1910. All these children are now chargeable to the parish.

The following case also illustrates the same point. It is a typical case of periodic or recurrent insanity, and my observations show that this form of insanity is especially liable to be associated with a transmission of an hereditary taint to the offspring.

(2) Male, first attack at age 15.
In asylums:—
In 1888, Bethlem and Ayrshire.
24/12/88 to 4/5/89, Grove Hall.
3/11/90 to 6/2/91, Banstead.
21/11/91 to 2/4/92, Barming Heath.
1/9/93 to 18/12/93, Hanwell.
27/1/98 to 13/8/98, Banstead.
22/12/99 to 7/4/00, Banstead.
7/12/01 to 24/3/02, Banstead.
(First child born 29/4/04.)
5/10/03 to 19/9/04, Banstead.
(Second child born 2/7/06.)
25/1/06 to 25/6/06, Banstead.
(Third child born 24/1/08.)
6/11/09 to 23/5/10, Banstead.
(Fourth and fifth children (twins) born 24/1/10.)
13/2/11 ———— Banstead.

The whole of the family have been on and off indoor and outdoor relief since 1906, and all the children are now chargeable to the rates.

Study of Pedigrees.

I have compared the pedigrees of at least three generations in forty of my hospital cases with those obtained in the asylums. In the forty pedigrees of three generations, maternal and paternal, there were only eight in which there was insanity or epilepsy, imbecility or idiocy, and not in one instance were the parents insane. In most of the pedigrees in which there were cases of insanity or epilepsy the patients were suffering from some form of neurosis. This illustrates the truth of the law that "like tends to beget like." It is not necessarily insanity that is inherited, but a neuropathic tendency in the stock which manifests itself in many forms; *e.g.*, epilepsy, asthma, migraine, chorea, diabetes, exophthalmic goitre, neurasthenia, eccentricity, hysteria, criminality, fanaticism, suicide, genius of a certain type, and insanity. A large number of pedigrees which I have collected show the truth of this statement. One pedigree is of such importance as to deserve special mention, as it was almost of the nature of an experiment. A woman married to two husbands by the first had a family of children sound in mind and body; likewise grandchildren. By the second husband, a chronic drunkard, she had three sons; the first suffered with muscular dystrophy, the second, apparently healthy, was a soldier, and the third was an epileptic imbecile. This may be a coincidence, but a sufficient number of such pedigrees would support the view so widely maintained by temperance advocates that alcoholism in the parents has a devitalising action on the germ cells (vide diagram).

Through the kindness of Dr. Elkins, Superintendent of Leavesden Asylum, I was able to compare a large number of pedigrees of chronic imbeciles with the hospital and asylum pedigrees, and it appeared that the stocks were prolific but the death-rate was higher than in the families of the latter.

Statistical Data relating to Inheritance and Insanity.

On February 18th, 1911, as the result of inquiries of about three years duration, particulars had been obtained of 2,246 cases who have or have had one or more relatives in the London County Asylums; at least one-third of the cases are now resident. These 2,246 cases represent 1,043 families in the following combinations:—

Instances of two of a family insane in London County Asylums:—

Mother and daughter ...	111 pairs	222 cases
Mother and son	64 „	128 „
Father and daughter	72 „	144 „
Father and son	52 „	104 „
Brothers and sister	163 „	326 „
Two sisters	159 „	318 „
Two brothers	105 „	210 „
Husband and wife	49 „	98 „
Other relationships, collaterals, etc.	138 „	276 „
Total	913	

108	instances of	3	of a family insane,	324	cases
17	„	4	„ „	68	„
3	„	5	„ „	15	„
1	„	6	„ „	6	„
1	„	7	„ „	7	„
130					

Total, 2,246 cases made up from 1,043 families.

These cases refer *only* to patients resident in the London County Asylums whose relatives are or have been also inmates of the London County Asylums. If precise data of all other insane relatives in our county asylums and the institutions of the Metropolitan Asylums Board could be obtained the number would be greatly increased. These figures show *a priori* the importance of hereditary predisposition as a cause of insanity.

It will be noticed that the incidence of the combination of *mother* and offspring is much greater than that of father and offspring, and that in all combinations the incidence of insanity amongst the *female* offspring is the greatest. There are *at the present time* over 700 patients in the London County Asylums so nearly related as parents and offspring, brothers and sisters. This of itself is a significant fact; for it is not probable that a similar number of near relatives could occur in 20,000 people brought together from the 6,000,000 of the population of London for some random non-inheritable cause. Moreover, it does not take into account relatives in other asylums or who have been discharged. The figures are, to my mind, eloquent in favour of the importance of heredity as a cause of insanity.

Tendency to Inheritance of the Same Type of Insanity.

Dr. Edgar Schuster has made a biometric investigation of the above material, and his results have been published in the Annual Report of the Asylums Committee for the year ending March 31st, 1910. His conclusions are as follows:—

1. A periodically insane son or daughter is more likely to be be associated with a periodically insane mother or father than with one differently affected, and in the case of two offspring being insane, there is even a greater tendency for a periodically insane male or female to be associated with a periodically insane brother or sister than with one differently affected.

2. In the case of delusional insanity the tendency for the affection to run in families is very strongly marked, and the correlation between members of the same cofraternity is more strongly marked than between parents and offspring.

3. In the incidence of primary dementia of adolescence there is a strong correlation between members of the same cofraternity; there is also a decided tendency indicated for the brothers and sisters of imbeciles to be also imbeciles.

4. There is no indication of general paralysis running in families. This is not surprising, as it is now recognised to be an acquired disease due to syphilitic infection

Racial Inheritance.

It has always struck me that Jews were, on account of their neurotic temperament, more liable to insanity than Christians. The following statistics seem to support this inference.

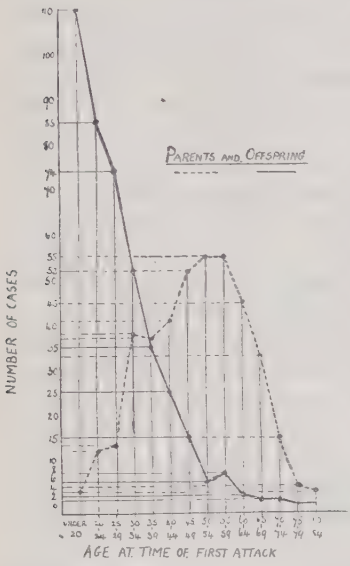
All the insane Jews are admitted to Colney Hatch Asylum. The number of cards belonging to the Jews in this asylum is eighty; the number belonging to the non-Jewish inmates is 254. The total number of inmates is 2,450, and of these 459 are Jews, so that less than one-fifth of the total population is Jewish. A little more than one-fourth of the relative cards belong to Jews, so that the incidence of ascertained relationship among the Jewish inmates is considerably more than among the non-Jewish. No doubt the temperament of the Jews renders them as a race more liable to the neuropathic tendency, but the greater incidence of ascertained relationship among the Jews is partly due to the following facts:—They are more often visited by their friends, they have more pride of family, and as a rule are more intelligent and anxious to afford information. But to counterbalance this it must be remembered that the greater number of these Jews are aliens who have come from Russia and know nothing about the relatives who may be there or who have emigrated to the United States. Probably, therefore, this rather underestimates than overestimates the proportion of Jews with insane relatives as compared with Christians.

The Law of Anticipation.

From the study of pedigrees I have often observed that there was a general tendency for insanity not to proceed beyond three generations. There is frequently either a regression to the normal type or the stock dies out. Not infrequently the stock dies out by the inborn tendency to insanity manifesting itself in the form of congenital imbecility or in the insanity of adolescence. Such patients, especially paupers, are prone to die of tuberculosis; thus rotten twigs are continually dropping off the tree of life. Morel, in 1859, pointed out that progressive uninterrupted transmission leads finally to special degenerative forms, to imbecility and idiocy, and with the diminished capability of propagation of the latter kind the stock therefore gradually becomes extinct.

Statistics Proving the Law of Anticipation or Antedating.

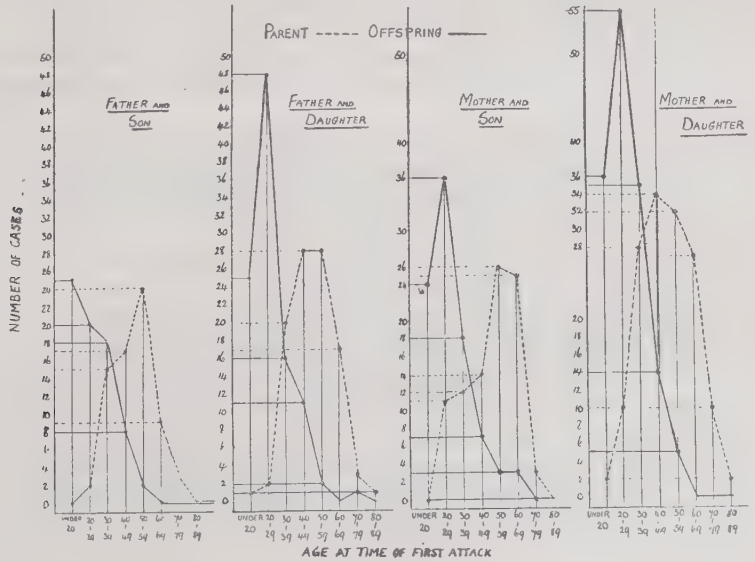
I have investigated the age at the time of first attack in 413 instances of offspring whose father or mother has been resident in a London County Asylum, and have found that 212 (51 per cent.) had their first attack at or before the age of 25. Many of the insane offspring were congenital imbeciles, others became insane at puberty or adolescence; in only one instance did the first attack in the offspring commence at a later age than in the insane parent. Moreover, many of these cases beginning in adolescence terminate in an incurable and total primary dementia.



The first diagram shows the relative number of cases in the combination of insane parents with insane children whose ages at the time of the first attack fall in the given decades. Altogether 420 pairs (one parent with one offspring) have been investigated. It will be observed that at adolescence and below the parent curve stands at its lowest point and the offspring curve at its highest, at the prime of life the curves almost intersect, but beyond, the parent curve rises rapidly to its maximum, while the offspring curve drops nearly to zero.

The second diagram shows the curves traced for the same cases in the separate combinations of mother and daughter, mother and son, father and daughter, and father and son and brother and sister. They all show the same feature—the great incidence of insanity in these cases at adolescence. These facts illustrate the law of antedating or anticipation remarkably well.

This law of anticipation is met with in other diseases, *e.g.*, diabetes, etc. Thus nature is always striving to return to the normal.



Conclusions.

(1) Hereditary predisposition is the most important factor in the production of insanity, imbecility, and epilepsy. It is the *tendency* to nervous and mental disease, generally speaking, which is inherited. This may be termed the neuropathic taint.

(2) Education, sanitation, and the rest, as Bateson has stated, are only the giving or withholding of opportunity

(3) Alcohol is a powerful co-efficient, but not of itself the main cause in the production of insanity, except in the rather infrequent cases of alcoholic dementia. The proposition that alcohol is the principal extrinsic cause of admissions to asylums I would not dispute, but there are many facts which show that the high percentage (20 to 30 per cent.) given by some authorities, based upon collective statistics of alcohol as the effective cause of insanity, is erroneous. Alcohol, in the majority of cases, is only a co-efficient and an inherited predisposition to insanity in these cases is the efficient cause. In support of my argument I would refer (*a*) to the results of my post mortem investigations. Comparing the records of 2,000 autopsies on persons dying in Charing Cross Hospital with the records of 2,000 autopsies on lunatics dying in Claybury Asylum it was found that 110 (66 per cent. of these with dropsy) of the hospital cases showed advanced cirrhosis of the liver, whilst only *very few* of the asylum cases showed cirrhosis, and only one (Jane Cakebread) had cirrhosis with ascites; (*b*) to the fact that Dr. Bevan Lewis, Dr. MacDonald, and Dr. Sullivan have each independently shown that there is more insanity, more pauperism, less crime and less drink in rural districts than in industrial centres and maritime populations, where there is more drunkenness, more crime (60 per cent. due to drink), less pauperism, and less insanity. This is due to the migration of the mentally fit to the industrial centres, leaving the poorer stocks behind to propagate; (*c*) insanity is prevalent among such abstemious and clean-living people as Quakers and Jews. In fact, my statistics show a higher percentage of relatives in the Jewish population of Colney Hatch Asylum than among the Christians; (*d*) repeatedly have I observed that a quantity of alcohol which may be consumed daily by a man of inherited sound mind without apparent harm is sufficient to make a potential lunatic anti-social and certifiable.

For many years past alcoholism and tuberculosis have been greatly on the decline, yet the insanity incidence curve, as shown by the last commissioners' report, is still ascending.

(4) Certain types of insanity may be transmitted with greater frequency than others. This has been termed similar heredity. The types are:—Recurrent insanity (also termed manic-depressive), delusional insanity, and epilepsy. The general rule, however, is for a different type to appear.

(5) Mothers transmit insanity and epilepsy with greater frequency than fathers, and the transmission is especially to the daughters.

(6) Anticipation or antedating is the rule whereby the offspring suffers at a much earlier age and frequently in a more intense form than the parent. More than one-half of the insane offspring of insane parents are congenital imbeciles or have their first attack in the period of adolescence. This may take an incurable form of dementia in a large number of cases; in others it is usually mania, melancholia, or periodic insanity, and not infrequently epilepsy with or without imbecility. Rarely does the parent become insane before the offspring. This is a strong argument of hereditary transmission, possibly hereditary transmission of an acquired character.

(7) Regression to the normal average may be (1) by marriage into sound stocks, or (2) by anticipation or antedating leading to congenital or adolescent mental disease terminating the perpetuation of the unsound elements of the stock.

(8) High grade imbeciles who are not at present in any way checked in procreating owing to social conditions interfering with the survival of the fittest, together with chronic drunkards, neurasthenics, and neuropaths are continually reinforcing and providing fresh tainted stocks.

Mr. E. J. Lidbetter's carefully collected pedigrees of pauper families are of great interest, and show in many instances that not only do the descendants of the insane poor become inmates of our asylums, but also the remainder who are not deemed anti-social help to swell the large number of paupers that fill our workhouses and infirmaries. The insane instances he has investigated are well known to me, and so far the pedigrees he has obtained, although not numerous enough to base conclusions thereon, tend to support my opinion that the recurrent types of insanity during lucid intervals may breed a stock of potential lunatics and paupers.

(9) The relation of insanity to "destitution" is twofold: (*a*) insanity is the cause of "destitution" from the fact that feeble-minded and epileptic as well as insane children are liable to be born of parents who are either insane themselves or come from a neuropathic stock; (*b*) "destitution" may induce insanity in temperamental conditions that favour its development.

(10) The form of insanity which is most likely to lead to an increase of the insane and destitute is the "recurrent" form, because during the sane periods there is at present no hindrance to propagation, and facts prove that numbers of the offspring of such mental sufferers are born feeble-minded or develop insanity in after life. Again, while the parent or parents are in the asylum their children have frequently to be maintained by the rates.

(11) In former times conditions were such that "the struggle for existence" tended to eliminate the feeble-minded by disease and other causes. This may account for the apparent rapid increase of certified lunatics. Probably, however, the increase is more apparent than real, for the standard of sanity has been raised and far less objection is shown by the public to asylum treatment owing to the humane way in which lunatics are treated now as compared with former times; therefore a much larger number of the insane are admitted to asylums. In the last fifteen years the asylum accommodation for the County of London has nearly doubled.

(12) The question of negative eugenics is one of national importance, and some measures will have to be adopted to curtail the propagation of the feeble-minded and pauper insane.

Heredity as a factor in Mental Defect, with special Reference to the Feeble-minded.

By A. F. Tredgold, l.r.c.p., Lond., m.r.c.s., Eng.
(Consulting Physician to the National Association for the Feeble-minded; Medical Expert to the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded, etc., etc.)

Considered from the aspect of immediate treatment, this question may be regarded as of no importance. The condition of the mentally defective is one which of itself renders care and control imperative, and no State can be considered well organised which does not provide this care for its mentally deficient members. But immediate care is not everything. It is always better to prevent than to cure, and of no disease is this more true than of mental defect, which cannot be cured. From this aspect the questions as to whether this condition is due to heredity or environment, and whether it is transmissible or non-transmissible, are obviously of fundamental importance.

There is so much confusion and misunderstanding as to the meaning of the words "mental defect" and "heredity" that a brief account of these seems to be essential.

Mental defect, or as it is scientifically termed amentia, is a state of inadequacy of mind due to arrested or imperfect development of the brain. The degree of imperfection varies within wide limits, and hence it is convenient to divide aments into three groups. It is important to note, however, that these groups merely represent differences of degree and not of kind. There is no essential difference and no clear line of demarcation between them, and the one merges imperceptibly into the other. These three degrees of defect are idiocy, imbecility, and feeble-mindedness.

The feeble-minded approach most nearly to the normal and are defined as capable of earning their living under favourable circumstances, but incapable of competing on equal terms with their normal fellows or of managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence. Imbeciles are unable to earn their living under any circumstances, whilst idiots, in addition to this incapacity, are devoid of the power of self-preservation.

It is sometimes thought that the feeble-minded merge into the normal. Theoretically it may be hard to draw the line, and there are undoubtedly many grades even of feeble-mindedness. Practically, however, the medical expert rarely has much real difficulty in coming to a decision. The difficulty is perhaps at its greatest in differentiating feeble-minded children from others whose development has been retarded, but not permanently arrested, by disease or other conditions. Every special school contains a varying proportion of these, as well as of the ordinary dull and backward children. But sooner or later the point is cleared up. The cases of delayed development recover under proper treatment, and become able to take their place in the world. The mentally defective, on the other hand, although improving, always retain some defect which necessitates supervision. It is this permanence and incurability which is the essential feature of true mental defect.

Heredity is commonly defined as the transmission of like qualities from parent to offspring. It is not necessary, and I do not propose, to enter into any discussion of the various theories and laws regarding this transmission. But it is

necessary that we should clearly understand what is meant by "like qualities," hence a few elementary facts must be stated.

The vehicle of transmission is the germ cell. The biologists of the seventeenth and eighteen centuries looked upon this as containing a minute image of the full-grown individual, and they regarded the development of the offspring as merely a process of the growth and expansion of parts already existing in miniature. This view is now known to have been erroneous. The germ cell is a single cell. It has no morphological resemblance whatever to the complicated being of which it is the precursor, and the change which takes place is not merely one of growth but of evolution.

At the same time, although the organs and tissues of the body do not exist in the germ cell *in esse*, it is quite clear that they must exist *in posse*. On no other supposition can the undoubted facts of hereditary transmission be accounted for. We may therefore conclude with Weismann that each variable part of the body, each special organ and tissue, is represented in the germ cell by a "determinant." We may regard each of these determinants as the bearer of a specific energy which controls and directs the anatomical development, the physiological function, the susceptibility and immunity to disease, and, in short, the whole vitality of the organ of which it is the representative, and which therefore tends to the evolution of qualities similar to those of the ancestors. It is this specific energy of the germ plasm, which controls the degree and direction of development, that I desire to emphasise.

We see this when we consider the question of qualities. "Qualities" are of many kinds. They include malformations and deformities as well as physiognomical features and gross peculiarities of anatomical structure; they embrace diseases like hœmophilia, night blindness, and some forms of paralysis; they also include marked talent or the reverse, often even a particular kind of talent; also longevity or the opposite condition of premature decay; also the predisposition to insanity, consumption, and other special diseases. All these, and many other anatomical, physiological, and pathological peculiarities, may be spoken of as "qualities" which have been shown to run in families for many generations.

It is quite obvious, however, that very few of these qualities as we see them are transmitted in a ready-made condition. They may not even be present at birth, and they only come into existence with a particular phase in the evolution, or, it may be, dissolution, of the individual organism. For instance, during the years of childhood a boy may have no resemblance whatever to his father; he may pass his life amid totally different surroundings, even in a foreign country, and yet, at middle age, he will often present exactly the same physiognomy, build, and general appearance that his father did at the same age. Or again, a child is born neither talented nor insane. As a matter of fact, he is born without any appreciable mental qualities or even any mind at all. But as his mind evolves it tends inevitably to run in the family groove, often in spite of its surroundings, and to develop on the one hand marked vigour and ability, or, on the other hand, marked instability and feeble resistance. And the ability may even be of the same nature as that of the parent. Lastly, the children born of long-lived families present at birth no characteristic by which they may be distinguished from the offspring of short-lived families, but the course of time inevitably shows that the one is made up of very much more durable material than the other.

It is quite clear that in many of these cases what is transmitted is not the actual quality, but a tendency to the development of that quality—in other words, a specific

energy—and the question arises whether, and to what extent, this tendency may be influenced by the environment. There can be no doubt that the environment does have a considerable effect—in fact, it is a truism that every individual is the product of these two factors, heredity and environment. But the effect which the environment is capable of producing is limited. The predisposition to a certain line of development may be so deeply ingrained that no condition of the surroundings will avail to change its direction; in other cases this tendency may be modified or thwarted by external factors. Without entering any more deeply into this question, it may be said that on the whole heredity would seem to be much more potent than environment, and that the effect of the latter is chiefly in the direction of affording or withholding the opportunity for the evolution of hereditary tendencies. Like education, it leads out and develops, or checks or modifies the development of, such capacity and talent as is innate; but it cannot create that capacity, and if any germinal defect is present it cannot supply the deficiency.

One other point must be mentioned, namely, what is known as "breeding out" and "breeding in." The constant mating and mingling which takes place amongst the members of a community may dilute certain peculiarities to such an extent that they cease to appear. There is a tendency to reduce the population to a uniform level and to bring about what has been called a "regression to mediocrity." The quality has been bred out. But in other cases the reverse may occur. As is well known to stock breeders, the mating of similarly constituted individuals serves to fix a peculiarity and even to accentuate it, and then we have in-breeding. This is true also of human beings and is of considerable importance in regard to the transmisson of disease.

To sum up this question of qualities: we may say that they are of the most diverse kind and include anatomical, physiological, and pathological peculiarities; they may be modified to a certain extent by the environment; they may be lessened by out-breeding and accentuated by in-breeding; whilst finally, and most important of all, many of them are not transmitted in a ready-made condition but in the form of a specific vitality of the germ determinant. It is this specific energy which must be regarded as the hereditary quality.

The quality with which we are particularly concerned is nervous abnormality, and there is probably no condition which better illustrates the points just mentioned. In the first place its hereditary nature is well established. We find many families which are absolutely free from any tendency to mental or nervous affections; on the contrary, we find others in which a pronounced proneness to disorder or disease of mind runs from generation to generation. In spite of differences of environment, of alteration in the mode of life, one member after another furnishes undoubted evidence of a peculiar nervous system which can only be inborn. The hereditary nature of the neuropathic diathesis is, in fact, one of the best established truths in medicine. Secondly, the manifestations of this inborn tendency differ. One individual will suffer from hysteria, another from neurasthenia, epilepsy, insanity, or early dementia. Or the abnormality may take the form of gross immorality, of a want of self-control leading to alcoholism and crime, or a defect of moral and mental grit which causes him to become a chronic pauper or ne'er-do-weel. It may even appear as some particular form of genius, accompanied, however, by mental instability and incapacity for the ordinary affairs of life. We find all these varieties of weakness or instability of mind in members of the same neuropathic stock. It would, of course, be absurd to contend that the quality inherited was the particular

manifestation which we see. This manifestation is dependent to a very great extent upon the nature of the upbringing and surroundings of life—upon the environment; the quality which all these persons have in common and which is inherited is a nervous system defective in durability and in the power of adapting itself to its environment, or of resisting the vicissitudes of that environment. It is an inherited weakness and instability of nervous tissue. Thirdly, the neuropathic diathesis exemplifies the effects of in- and out-breeding. If the tendency to nervous instability is only slight I believe there is little doubt that the admixture of healthy blood may, in a few generations, eradicate it. If pronounced, however, this does not happen. It is to be remembered that the quality which is transmitted is not, like many family peculiarities, merely a tendency to a particular anatomical arrangement. It is a defective vitality and diminished power of resistance of the most important tissue in the whole body, and although the admixture of healthy germ plasm may render the failing latent in the offspring, it is still there, and it may assert itself should the stress of life be too great or the environment too adverse. This condition of latency is one of very considerable importance, and explains many curious clinical cases which at first sight would appear to be inexplicable.

It is with regard to in-breeding, however, that we see the most dire effects of the neuropathic diathesis. Under such circumstances there is a reinforcement of the neuropathic tendency with the result that the nervous breakdown in the offspring tends to be antedated in point of time or accentuated in point of severity.

In this way the milder conditions of hysteria or chronic migraine become transformed, in the offspring, into epilepsy or insanity; whilst children born of two insane parents will often become insane at an earlier age and the insanity will tend to be of a more serious and intractable nature. This is not mere theory: it is a fact which I have noticed again and again in investigating family histories, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that the union of two persons who come of a neuropathic stock will result in the transmission of this diathesis in a more aggravated form. Moreover, the same result often follows the admixture of a neurotic stock with one which is tainted with some other form of germinal imperfection; in this case also there is very frequently an accentuation of the neuropathic state. Such progressive germinal deterioration is true degeneracy.

We have seen, then, that whilst the clinical manifestations of this neuropathic diathesis may vary considerably, the essential underlying condition is the same in all, namely, a weakness of nerve tissue. It is this which is the "quality" which is inherited, and it is plainly due to some abnormality, some want of vital force, in what we may term the nervous determinant. The term "vital force" is vague, profoundly unscientific, and anathema to the professor of the science of life—the biologist; but in spite of all this, it remains the most suitable, and I do not hesitate to use it. It is this vitality of a specific portion of the germ plasm which determines the development and durability of the neurones, and it is a defect in this vital force which causes the metabolism of the nerve cells to break down under the stress and strain of life. But suppose that this germinal defect is still more pronounced; it may then give rise to nervous tissue which is not merely less durable, but which is not even capable of attaining full development. The foundations and the outer shell and coarse superstructure are erected, but the finer details of the temple of mind remain incomplete. It is this which happens in mental deficiency.

I have thought it necessary to make this explanation because there is an idea in some quarters that mental deficiency can only be regarded as hereditary if it is preceded by a similar condition in the ancestors. Heredity, it is said, is the transmission of like qualities. I venture to think that this notion can only arise from ignorance of the true nature of both heredity and mental defect. The quality whose transmission we have to determine is not actual defect of structure but the tendency to this defect; in other word, the neuropathic diathesis. Is the defect of brain development which is the essential basis of amentia caused by the environment, is the growth of the brain cells arrested by an external force, or is it due to their inherent inability to develop? In other words, is the fault in the soil or in the seed?

It is obvious that the answer to this question can only be supplied by genealogical inquiries. Fortunately, a sufficient number of family histories have now been investigated to enable the answer to be given.

It is found that sufferers from mental deficiency fall into two groups. In the first group the family history is good, and there is no evidence whatever of any predisposition to mental, nervous, or any other special form of disease. In these cases, therefore, we must assume that the seed is perfectly healthy, and that the cause of the defect lies in the soil in which it is grown—in the environment. The history shows that this is the case; and careful inquiry will always reveal some adverse conditions before, during, or shortly after birth, which have been sufficient to arrest cerebral development. I need not describe these more particularly; it will be sufficient to say that the commonest causes acting before birth are physical ill-health of the mother; during birth, direct injury to the brain; after birth, localised injury or disease.

But although there cannot be the slightest doubt that mental defect may be brought about by these means, it is important to note that the proportion of cases so caused is a small one. My own conclusion, based upon the examination of many hundreds of cases, is that, on the whole, this proportion is only from 10 to 20 per cent. of all cases of mental defect. I have defined this variety as Secondary Amentia, and it may be stated that in addition to the family history there are usually present certain clinical and pathological features by which it may also be identified.

It is necessary to remark that a history of one or other of these factors of the environment will be found in a much greater proportion of cases than that just stated. In the great majority of these, however, the family history shows the presence of a germinal imperfection, and the local injury or disease of the brain is but an exciting or concomitant factor. It is to be remembered that abnormalities of child-birth are much commoner in the degenerate than non-degenerate, whilst the brain which is of inherently defective vitality is naturally more prone to disease than the one which is intrinsically healthy.

It has been stated by some persons that the undoubtedly pernicious environment which obtains in the slums of many of our large towns is a potent cause of mental defect. Against this view I must enter an emphatic protest. I fully admit the evil effect of such surroundings and I am quite convinced that they often retard both mental and physical growth. They may cause disease of body and they may delay the development of mind; but, in my experience, slum life very rarely indeed produces that permanent arrest of development which is the essence of mental defect. The two conditions of amentia and dulness are sometimes very difficult to differentiate at first, especially by the unskilled, and I think there is little doubt that it is the inclusion of these cases of retarded development, which

recover under appropriate treatment, which has led to the mistake. When we are told that from 40 to 50 per cent. of "feeble-minded" persons "recover" under care and training it is quite obvious that extensive errors of diagnosis have been made. That slum life has really very little, if anything, to do with the causation of mental defect is shown by the facts that defect is quite as common amongst the well-to-do living in good surroundings as amongst the poor, and that, taking all the grades together, mental defect is actually more prevalent in rural than it is in urban districts.

We now come to the second great group of these cases. These I have designated Primary Amentia, for the reason that in them the condition is not due to extrinsic but to intrinsic causes. I say this because careful investigation of these cases shows that there are no faults in the environment sufficient to account for the effect, whilst there is abundant evidence of the existence of a germinal imperfection, in consequence of which the cells of the brain are incapable of attaining normal development. All cases of this kind may therefore be looked upon as the result of inherited defect—of morbid heredity—but since we are dealing with a particular form of inheritance—the neuropathic diathesis—I shall refer to this only. To what extent are mental defectives the product of the neuropathic diathesis? If we find marked evidence of this diathesis, we are justified in concluding, from what we know of its nature, that any adverse conditions of the environment which may be present are merely concomitant or determining.

On this point the evidence does not admit of the slightest doubt. Every expert who has studied the question of the causation of mental defect, whether in this country, in America, or on the Continent, has come to the conclusion that the most prevalent cause is heredity in the form of the neuropathic diathesis. By the neuropathic diathesis I mean that marked inherent family weakness of the nervous system which may manifest itself in any of the varying ways already described.

The following table shows the extent to which this has been ascertained by different observers:—

Observer.	Percentage of cases showing Neuropathic Diathesis.
Ashby (Manchester)	75 per cent.
Beach and Shuttleworth (Darenth and Lancaster)	42 ,,
Butler (Indiana, U.S.A.)	54 ,,
Caldecott (Earlswood)	70 to 75 ,,
Canton of Berne (Switzerland)	55 ,,
Connecticut Legislature (U.S.A.)	43 ,,
Dahl (Norway)	50 ,,
Koch (Germany)	60 ,,
Lapage (Manchester)	48 ,,
Potts (Birmingham)	45 ,,
Tredgold (London)	82 ,,

It is apparent from this table that the percentages vary considerably; this, however, is accounted for by the fact that in many instances they are compiled from case records, admittedly often incomplete, and not from personal investigations. The more thorough and personal the inquiry the greater has been found

to be the prevalence of heredity.* I may supplement these figures by two extracts from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded:—

"Amongst thirty-five witnesses who have expressed opinions on the part played by heredity in the production of mentally defective individuals, twenty-five attach supreme importance to the fact that in a very large proportion of cases of mental defect there is a history of mental defect in the parents or near ancestors. . . . Most of them explicitly state their conviction that congenital mental defect is largely transmitted from parent to child; and many give large numbers of detailed and striking instances in support of this conviction."

Again: "We have now to consider briefly whether the balance of evidence is in favour of hereditary transmission of mental incapacity as an important factor in the causation of feeble-mindedness. In support of the importance of heredity, there is such evidence as this:—

(*a*) A large majority of experienced witnesses who hold this view and cite, many of them, a large number of weighty instances in support of it. This evidence of itself establishes a strong *prima facie* case, and evidence which may traverse it is still to seek.

(*b*) The wide prevalence of this view among numerous observant individuals, other than medical, who visit the homes of the feeble-minded.

(*c*) The almost overwhelming probability, from the biological standpoint, of this view being true."

It seems useless to labour the question any further. The evidence of all those who have paid special attention to the matter, and it is very considerable and comes from a variety of sources, demonstrates the fact that in the great majority of cases mental defect is the product of the neuropathic diathesis; in other words, that it is due to the transmission of a family tendency to neuronic degeneration—that it is hereditary.

There cannot, in fact, be the slightest doubt that primary mental defect is a condition of degeneracy. It is the final manifestation of a defective durability of the whole or a special portion of the germ plasm, which, first showing itself as hysteria, neurasthenia, and the milder neuroses, passes on if unchecked to epilepsy, insanity, and the graver abnormalities of mind, to culminate in actual defect of brain structure, as seen in the conditions of feeble-mindedness, imbecility, and idiocy. This is shown by the varying extent to which evidence of the neuropathic diathesis is found in these different conditions. It is least of all in the milder departures, it is greatest of all in mental defect. As a matter of fact, I have records of many families in which this downward march and the accentuation of the morbid heredity can be distinctly traced.

One other point requires explanation. It is often asked, if mental defect is due to heredity, how does it happen that only some and not all of the offspring are affected? The answer is simple. As I have pointed out, what is transmitted is a *tendency* to instability and imperfect structure. If this tendency is slight and the environment is no way adverse, it may remain latent; on the other hand, should there occur any grave fault in the surroundings, any marked ill-health of the mother during pregnancy, any birth injury, or any serious disease during the early months of life, then even a slight tendency may be sufficient to determine a profound degree of defect. In this way it occasionally happens that one member of the generation is an idiot, whilst the others are very slightly neurotic or even apparently normal. With a still more pronounced neuropathic inherit-

* Further corroboration of this is supplied by a recent article by Dr. Goddard in the *Eugenics Review* for April, 1911.

ance we still get differences in the offspring; in such cases, however, although there may be only one or two children suffering from marked defect, the remainder are very seldom normal. They usually suffer from some one or other of the conditions I have described.

When the progenitors are themselves mentally defective the results are even still more pronounced. I have never yet seen the offspring of a single defective parent who was up to the normal standard of mental vigour, whilst the children resulting from two defective parents are, in my experience, always markedly abnormal and often idiotic. In fact, mental defect is not only inherited, it is transmissible.

There are many other interesting points concerning the relationship of mental defect to heredity which might be dealt with did space permit. Unfortunately it does not, and I must end by briefly drawing attention to the practical bearing of this matter.

All the signs of the times point to the fact that we have amongst us to-day an increasing number of individuals who are not up to the average standard of moral, mental, and physical vigour. Individuals who are not only utterly incapable of furthering human progress, but are even incapable of subsisting by their own efforts; who must be helped by the Poor Law, by old age pensions, by State insurance, or by private philanthropy. The very existence of this Conference is a proof that the presence of this class is beginning to be seriously felt. To some extent the cause may be external and economic, but we have to remember that on the whole the economic conditions are no worse but better to-day than at many former periods, so that this cannot be the chief cause. I believe the real cause of the presence of this parasitic class is not external, but internal, that it is due to a germinal impairment, and that no little of it springs from the manner in which the hereditarily tainted, the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptic, the habitual criminals, and paupers, and other degenerate creatures are allowed to propagate without let or hindrance. The vigour of the nation is being gradually undermined, its character in the aggregate is falling to a lower plane, and its strength is being sapped at its very root by admixture with these degenerate stocks. If national degeneracy is to be averted the breeding of the degenerate must cease; if national progress is to take place we must go even further and do more to encourage the breeding of our best. It is this which is the object of Eugenics.

Discussion.

Dr. SALEEBY said nothing had been mentioned in the papers with regard to Mendelism, but no doubt it would occur to many that in some of its aspects Mendelism had certain suggestions that could be applied to mental deficiency. People brought either normal or abnormal offspring into the world, and if it could be shown that the Mendelian law applied to those cases, they would be on the high road to dealing with those members of the insane stock which at present caused them so much trouble. With regard to drink he thought the excessive drinking of alcohol played a very important part. The minutest modifications in nutriment might produce the greatest changes in plant life; therefore, they must not overlook the importance of nutriment

on the individual, which made one rather protest against Dr. Mott's line of argument. He said that alcohol was a co-efficient, but he (the speaker) thought it was rather more than that. He thought due attention should be given to women who became mothers when sent out of the asylum, but in going to the legislature they would have to be very careful in the matter, otherwise they would be accused of confining sane people in an asylum.

Miss DENDY said she should like to ask Dr. Mott whether his figures applied to insanity only, or to insanity and weakness of mind, which, as she understood it, were distinct diseases. Dr. Mott had said that insanity was transmitted to a greater extent through women than through men, and especially to girls rather than to boys. In dealing with the children in masses, however, they found they had to deal with three boys to every two girls. If they were to consider Dr. Mott's figures as applying to the feeble-minded, they did not seem to hold good. In her experience a large proportion of the feeble-minded children were the children of people who had once been in an asylum, or even more than once, for acute attacks of lunacy; and that no doubt was the experience of everybody who largely worked amongst children. The only other point she wished to call attention to was that Dr. Mott had pointed out that there was no chance of killing off the weaklings. Formerly, of course, in the ordinary course of nature, the weakest suffered and were exterminated, but for generations they have been trying to do better than nature, and a large proportion of those people were kept alive as the result of what one might perhaps call mistaken charitable effort. That was the point that should be largely borne in mind, and in fact in a civilised country they were bound to bear it in mind, as it was their duty to endeavour to keep everybody alive. It was pitiful to see among the poor, a feeble-minded child was left to take care of itself whilst the mother attended to those who were normal. She had seen a feeble-minded girl with an infant in her arms, and it had caused her to think how unutterable foolish it was to allow such a girl to continue breeding chronic invalids and chronic mentally defectives. She could not say much about insanity and tuberculosis, but she was very much interested when in America to find a very large proportion of tuberculosis patients in some institutions, whereas in others there were scarcely any. In one institution, out of 1,440 people there were only fourteen patients in the hospital, and only one tuberculosis patient ill enough to be nursed. In that case the people were not kept in one huge building, but were separated by being housed in a number of comparatively small buildings somewhat widely apart, and everybody was made to go out of doors two or three times a day. In another institution in Pennsylvania she found a very marked difference, and a doctor there told her that feeble-minded people were always tubercular. She was beginnig to think that it was not necessary for feeble-minded people to suffer from tuberculosis. She had been extremely interested in listening to the two papers, because it was always advisable to have some definite facts to refer to.

Alderman B. CROWTHER (West Riding County Council) said the papers had been of the greatest interest to him, and if he heard nothing else at the conference he should think himself amply repaid for his time and trouble in attending. He had had a long experience in dealing with the matters under consideration. For many years he had been a Guardian of the poor, and he soon found out very early in his experience that alcoholic indulgence was an important factor in the production of feeble-mindedness and imbecility in the homes of the people. In his experience as a magistrate he soon found that the same factor had a great deal to do with cruelty and neglect of children. He had also had a long experience in connection with lunacy in the West Riding, and he could tell them a good deal about it. Some years ago in going through their asylums they found they had quite a number of boys mixed among elderly men who were thoroughly imbued with the vicious habits of the older people. He then went to Lancaster and saw their method of procedure, with the result that they decided to separate the boys from the men and employ a teacher to educate them. It was indeed marvellous to see the great improvement that had been effected with regard to the boys who had seemed to be quite unteachable. They had been taught to read and write and do certain classes of work. The difficulty was, however, that they could not keep them there. They could teach them to earn some portion of their own living, but if they sent them out into the world, although they were feeble-minded, yet they could not be prevented from procreating their species. Then they had direct alcoholic effects in direct alcoholic lunacy. He had repeatedly, on discharging such cases, warned them to avoid all alcoholic stimulants, because he often noticed that if they returned to the asylum three times through

alcoholic indulgence the probability was that they would become chronic. He should like to touch on another point, and that was their inebriate reformatory. They had an inebriate reformatory in the West Riding, and, as Dr. Mott had pointed out, the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children to the third and fourth generations. They found in that asylum the parents, grandparents, and great grandparents had given way to alcoholic indulgence, hence they had weak-minded and weak-willed people that they had to maintain for varying periods. Sometimes they retained them for three years, when they seemed to have reformed, but when they went out to their old surroundings, their weakness of mind and will could not keep them in the straight path for long, with the result that in very few cases was the reformation a complete success. Under all the circumstances he could not help thinking that alcoholic indulgence could not be looked upon as a mere co-efficient, but as an important factor. He should like to ask Dr. Mott whether it was a common thing to find that alcoholic indulgence was conduced to by a man's ancestors. With regard to Dr. Tredgold's paper, it would be interesting to know how many of the 2,246 persons went out and procreated their species. They were very careful in the breeding of their animals, by selecting the best stock for the purpose, but human beings procreated at random; and he hoped their experts would take the hint and seriously consider as to whether it would not be better in those cases to sterilise them, so as to afford them no opportunity of producing degenerates. He was quite satisfied himself that the nation at large was being held in check very considerably by the propagation of such people. The question was how to check national degeneracy. It would be interesting to know what the various scientific gentlemen and experts who were present had to say about the matter. He admitted that there were several causes in addition to alcoholic indulgence, and he had long held the opinion that the varied causes of insanity were of such importance as to require a Royal Commission to inquire into them, and suggest some means whereby lunacy, imbecility, and poverty could be prevented. If that were done, he was sure a very considerable amount of lunacy in this country could be cured, and that being so, he thought it was the duty of the Government to find out the means of doing it.

Dr. Bygott said the question Dr. Mott had raised with regard to breeding was a very important one. In his own district they had a birth-rate of about 40 per 1,000, and the people residing there were a very low class of agricultural labourer, whereas in the average district of the country the birth-rate was only 20 per 1,000. In the districts occupied by London clerks and professional men, it went down to 16; so that the question of the stock they were breeding the nation from was of the greatest importance, and he hoped it would receive earnest attention. He was of opinion that unless they wanted to be killed by their own children it was necessary to go thoroughly into the matter. An interesting point that struck him when examining rural schools was the proportion of feeble-minded amongst the rural population. Some of the schoolmasters who had been at work in town used to deplore the fact that the rural children were so stupid. One did see in those schools a very low type, and a very objectionable type, of the feeble-minded child. The worst type he had ever seen was a child whose mother was about 14 years old when the child was born, and the father, aged 16, was the mother's brother. The question of course arose as to what was best to be done. One gentleman had suggested sterilisation; but if they brought that forward as a legislative measure it would not pass through Parliament for a good many years. Therefore it would be better to proceed by steps, and the first step would be to segregate these people. It was no use trying to put forward too much at first, otherwise the people would think that they were going to gather all the feeble-minded together into large institutions. They had the ratepayers' pockets to consider. What they must do was to cause an agitation with regard to these things and get the Legislature to take it up. The reason it had not been done in the past was because it was nobody's business to do so. He was afraid there were too many costly institutions about at the present day. Gentlemen liked to see their names inscribed on a beautiful marble tablet, showing that they were connected with the institution being built; and of course they liked the institution to look as fine and as imposing as possible. They must try to get official administrators whose business it would be to study the question carefully and see that useful but inexpensive buildings were erected. Some years ago at an examination of medical students the candidates were asked to discuss the following question, "That the tubercular germ is the friend of the race, inasmuch as it clears off bad stock, and therefore we should not devote our energies to combating it?"

(Laughter.) One of the arguments they were frequently met with was that the feeble-minded people were better dead than alive, and if they could take those unfortunate individuals and put them into a lethal chamber, a great many people would offer no objection to it. That was not legislatively possible, therefore they had to do their best to keep them alive, but they should go about it cheaply.

Dr. HARRY CORNER said the finest stock in their colonies at the present day was descended from the stock England had sent there, and he thought it would be a good thing if we could send many of our town-dwellers into the country to work upon the land. It had often been stated that people after living for two or three generations in a town returned to the land to regenerate the stock, but of course that would only be in limited numbers. Mr. Balfour, in the course of an interesting speech, had said that town surroundings and the stress of life in our cities did tend to produce degeneracy. Mr. Balfour also went on to state that if they took all the most eminent men in letters, science, art, or politics, or in any of the great professions, it would be found that they were the sons or grandsons of dwellers in the country. It had always been a great surprise to him that the education authorities had not grasped the situation. There were large numbers of boys in our cities who would be a success in the country, but were never a success in the towns. He was connected with a charity school where they did farm work, and had found from his experience there that they got a certain number of boys who could not pass the second or third standard, but when they left school and were put upon the land they were able to earn a modest living. He thought there were hundreds of children in our large towns who would be very successful on the land. Alcohol as a rule did not produce insanity or imbecility in the offspring, but according to his experience it produced instability. It started with what had been fairly pure stock, and then degeneracy went on very rapidly. At the present day people were no doubt more nervous and perhaps a little more neurotic, and probably they got neurotic elements on both sides. If the husband and wife were related, it would produce a larger number of degenerates than any other union. When old men married young wives he had seen three or four children in the family go insane at an early age. He had seen a good many instances of that, and also in instances of union of unlike races. They might have specimens apparently perfect, but unlike, and when they were united they were apt to degenerate, and he was constantly seeing instances of that sort at the present day. He had seen it in cases where there was an English father married to a West Indian mother, and also in the case of a Jewish father with an Assyrian mother. Although their sons were healthy, they were apt to throw back, and that was a well-recognised thing in all kinds of stock breeding. They might have two animals apparently perfect, but if they were united these two perfect specimens would give a result absolutely different to either of them. Statistics were very uncertain things, but degeneracy was being recognised now much more than it was years ago. No doubt Dr. Mott would correct him, but he believed that for some years there had been an increase in insanity in the upper classes, whereas in the lower classes it had been diminishing rapidly. He would be glad if Dr. Mott gave them a little information on that point.

Dr. F. W. MOTT said he would speak first in answer to Dr. Corner, because he attached great importance to what he had stated with regard to the increase of insanity. In former times conditions were such that they tended to eliminate the feeble-minded, and that was the cause for the apparent increase in certified lunatics. At all events that would account for a great deal of the increase. No doubt many cases in the upper classes were of an hereditary character, probably caused by one family marrying into another, without making careful inquiries. He had often been consulted in that respect during the past few years, as to whether it was wise for one family to marry into another. The other day a poor woman told him she had ascertained that the father of the man she was engaged to had died in a lunatic asylum, one of his uncles was in a lunatic asylum, and another uncle was an imbecile; therefore she asked him whether he considered it was wise for her to marry him. In the course of further investigation he found out that the young man had a bad temper, and he advised her that there would be danger in marrying him. With regard to Mendelism, he thoroughly agreed with Dr. Saleeby, although of course they could not expect to get the same results from human beings that Mendel did from peas. With regard to recurrent insanity he did not think any legislation could be expected until they could place their facts upon such a sound basis that it must come home to everybody. He could not say that those people

admitted into asylums with recurrent insanity should be kept there indefinitely, but there was great danger in allowing those people to be discharged. They must recollect that many of those people have healthy offspring, so that if they were all segregated they would have in an asylum those who could produce healthy offspring. The only way to get the Legislature to take up the matter was to collect facts. A great difficulty was that there was a want of touch between all the different institutions in this country. They had no facilities for finding out what became of patients after leaving their asylums. On the Continent it was entirely different; but in England the patient leaving an asylum reminded him of the little poem :—

> "Whither he went, and how he fared,
> Nobody knew and nobody cared."

He had written to a number of people asking them if they had found cases of recurrent insanity showing in the offspring, but the information he had obtained was not of much value. He hoped, however, to get more reliable information, as he looked upon the subject as a very important one. Miss Dendy had had a large experience, and no doubt he would be able to learn something from her. In the London County asylums they did not take in imbeciles or idiots, nor any children, consequently statistics were very difficult to obtain. There were far more females in asylums than males, and the proportion of females afflicted with those types of insanity was much larger than in males. With regard to tuberculosis, he had had some experience with it in connection with the London County asylums. Eight years ago he recognised the importance of the question of tuberculosis, and instituted a system of notification, under which each case was notified with the idea of finding out something about it, and also for the purpose of ascertaining whether those people acquired tuberculosis in the asylums or outside; but he had invariably found that it had been acquired before they entered the asylum. Another reason for his thinking it was not acquired in the asylums, was that he had 1,800 attendants in the London asylums, but very few of them were ever affected. Latterly there had been a considerable drop in the number of deaths from tuberculosis, as compared with the previous five years. In fact, there was a steady drop going on throughout the whole country. Ever since they adopted proper regulations for improving sanitation and the conditions of the working classes, there had been a drop in the number of deaths from tuberculosis. Dr. Bygott had mentioned a case of consanguinity of a brother and sister of 14 and 16. He had a similar case, and he must say it was the worst type of case he had ever seen. He had also seen cases where two cousins had married, and although there was no insanity in them, yet their children were imbeciles; but a sister who married into sound stock had perfect children.

Second Day, Wednesday, May 31st.

MORNING SESSION.

The chair was occupied by Sir William Chance, who delivered his Presidential Address. The subject discussed was SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EVILS RESULTING FROM MENTAL DEFICIENCY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITIES OF ACTION BY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES DEALING WITH THEM. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Feeble-minded in Prisons.*
By Dr. C. H. MELLAND.

2.—*Crime and Mental Defect.*
By Mr. THOMAS HOLMES, Secretary to the Howard Association.

3.—*Feeble-mindedness, Destitution, and Crime.*
By Miss MARY DENDY.

Presidential Address.

SIR WILLIAM CHANCE, in opening the proceedings on May 31st, delivered his presidential address, in which he said : In the presence of so many medical experts on the subject which is being discussed in its different phases in this section I am going to avoid the danger of trespassing on ground which is really their property. The useful preface to the work of this section relieves me also from going into the history of the subject. I propose to draw your attention to the state of things which our fathers may have witnessed, and, when we compare them with the state of things prevailing now, we must feel that very little remains to be done to complete the work begun some eighty years ago. For we are only removed by that space of time from the period when lunatics and insane persons could be chained in some "secure" place. That was the convenient method of securing segregation. Here is a scene (one by no means uncommon at that time) which the late Mr. Albert Pell describes in his reminiscences : At the bottom of the street where his father then lived, running at right angles to the street, was a slow, muddy stream, on the other side of which was the workhouse, approached by a plank bridge on its gloomy north side. Thither I was taken on many a Sunday morning by my indignant father, who immediately hastened through the hall to a door on the south side opening on to a walk that bordered the whole length of the building. Along this walk stretched for some yards an iron rod, fastened to the rod ran an iron ring, with a short chain and shackle. To this shackle the village idiot was fastened by his ankle, and so, passing from right to left and left to right in the blazing sun or the bitter wind, took his

exercise and wore away his life. Placing me for a minute or so in front of this exhibition, my father, in a very solemn tone, said, "This sort of thing must be altered. If it is not done in my lifetime, mind you help to do it in yours." Mr. Pell continues: "I lived to be for seventeen years a member of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, when we had these miseries in our humane charge. My father had been for some time exerting himself as an active Middlesex magistrate on behalf of lunatics; their treatment at that time was simply horrible. He lived to see his views carried out and to take a leading part in the establishment of the asylum at Hanwell, the first public asylum, I imagine, in which the unhappy inmates were treated with human consideration." The early Reports of the Assistant Poor Commissioners describe the horrors of the old days very vividly. Thus Mr. Mott, writing in June, 1835, tells us what he saw in a workhouse of a parish containing 17,000 inhabitants and expending annually £6,000 on the support of the poor, immediately adjoining one of the most cleanly and well-regulated establishments in England (St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol). He says: "The state of the workhouse was filthy in the extreme, the appearance of the inmates dirty and wretched. There was no classification whatever, men, women, and children being promiscuously huddled together. In one corner of the building I discovered a most dismal, filthy-looking room, which altogether presented such a sombre, wretched appearance that curiosity prompted me to explore it. I entered it, and the scene which I witnessed in it is almost impossible to forget. Judging from the appearance of the room I should think that water must have been excluded from it for years. In short, it reminded me of a coal cellar or any place rather than the residence of a human being. The sole tenant of this miserable abode was a poor distressed lunatic. His appearance was pitiable in the extreme; his clothing was extremely ragged; his flesh literally as dirty as the floor; his head and face were much bruised, apparently from repeated falls. Shoes he had been furnished with at some time or other, but they had done their duty, and his feet protruded through them. He sat listless and alone without any human being to attend upon or to take care of him, staring vacantly round, insensible even to the calls of nature, and apparently unmindful of anything that was passing in the room. He was endeavouring to avail himself of the only comfort allowed him from the few embers which were yet burning in the grate, for he had thrust his arms through an iron grating which was placed before the fire, intended doubtless to prevent the poor creature from burning himself; but as it was, his hands just reached the embers. I endeavoured to amuse this poor, pitiable fellow-creature, but the attempt was useless; all sensibility had forsaken him. To the very great shame of the parish officers I found he had been in this disgusting state for years. In another room in the same building, not equally deplorable with the one I have just described, but still a wretched tenement, I found another poor lunatic, aged 17 years, who, I was informed, had been in this miserable situation nearly four years. He was almost in a state of nudity, having nothing on but a coarse shirt. Upon my asking why the parish officers allowed him to be in this deplorable condition, the answer was, 'Because he tears his clothes.'" The attention of the magistrates was called to the matter, and they are described as being astounded at what they saw, and an investigation was promised, but we are not told what was the result.

Mr. Gilbert, another Poor Law Assistant Commissioner, reporting on Devon in June, 1836, said that "various lunatics and idiots were in the workhouse who had been there twenty-eight years. One was confined in a small room, having neither furniture, fireplace, nor bed; there was not anything in the room but a

bundle of straw. She was without a single piece of clothing, perfectly naked, and had been confined in that state during winter and summer for the last twenty-eight years. On expostulating with the parties they said that she could not be prevailed upon to wear clothes, and tore them off immediately they attempted to dress her." We are glad to hear that on the formation of the union she was immediately removed to an asylum. "At South Molton I found a male lunatic, about 28 years of age, in a state of nudity in a miserable outhouse. There was no fireplace, the aperture that had been a window was stopped up with straw, keeping the room in total darkness. He was fastened by the leg to the wall by a chain, not a foot in length; he had been eight years in that state. I am led to believe, by information I have received, that it was common practice for the girls as well as the boys of South Molton on the Sunday afternoon to go to the workhouse to indulge the indecent curiosity of seeing this naked maniac. I immediately communicated with the mayor of the town and parish officers, and insisted on his immediate removal to an asylum." "At Bradford I found two lunatics, a male and a female, confined in dens exactly like those used for wild beats and equally offensive. These I had immediately released. The female was sent to an asylum and put under a curative system, and is expected to recover; and the male is now at work in the house quite sensible of the benefits conferred on him by the change." Mr. Gilbert says that he merely mentioned these cases as instances, and that there were few or no poorhouses in which there were not some idiots for whose welfare a lunatic asylum was much wanted.

Mr. Weale, another Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, writing in 1836, refers to the case of a female pauper lunatic in the parish of Norton, Gloucestershire, who had been placed by the parish officers under the care of her mother, an aged woman of 70, at an allowance of 5s. per week for the support of herself and her daughter. For greater security the parish officers had provided a wooden cage or case, in which during and for weeks after her paroxysm of frenzy, they had been accustomed to confine this poor lunatic, although the size of the case was so small as not to allow her to sit or lie down in it, and this scandalous treatment had been exercised for five or six years. The medical officer, of course, reported the case to the Board, who promptly ordered the lunatic to be taken to the asylum.

I think you are now able to appreciate the extraordinary change for the better which has taken place. The statistical increase of lunacy during the last fifty years (from 18.7 to 36.1 per 10,000 population) is evidence of the change. The increase does not necessarily imply an absolute increase of lunacy in proportion to population. It is probably almost entirely owing to the increasing use made of admirable institutions that provide for these people, and a decreasing disinclination to take advantage of it. Lunatics are now well cared for in properly equipped asylums, and are only in workhouses temporarily until they are certified. In most cases the examination takes place at the home, and when a magistrate has certified a person as insane he is moved from there direct to the asylum. A considerable number of idiots and imbeciles, perfectly harmless, are still relieved in the workhouses, and if there were any real abuses in connection with their treatment these would have been discovered by the recent Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded. There is no reason to doubt they are kindly and considerately treated by the Guardians and the workhouse officers, and for most of them their lives are as happy as they could be in any institution. This statement is supported by paragraph (p. 64) in the last Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy. They say: "We are well satisfied on the whole with the condition

of the ordinary workhouses visited by us during the year under review (1910). Whatever views may be held as to the advisability or propriety of detaining persons of unsound mind in workhouses, at the present time, apart from the lunatic institutions, there is no kind of establishment in which insane paupers can be received; and we consider that in many of the workhouses very suitable accommodation is provided, with obvious limitations, for patients who are not suffering from acute insanity. The accommodation as well as the administration of the workhouses vary considerably in different parts of the country, but speaking generally the imbecile patients are suitably and comfortably housed and are treated with much kindness and consideration." But in spite of this, there is a practical agreement, whatever views may be held on the question of Poor Law reform, that the large majority of them, along with the comparatively new class of mental defectives who are commonly known as "feeble-minded," require special treatment in special institutions. There is no need for interfering with the present Poor Law machinery, so far as the pauper insane are concerned, and as you know, I am not among those people who wish to see our existing Poor Law system broken down. It has worked very well so far as the present certifiable cases of mental defect are concerned, and all that is wanted seems to me to be to make "feeble-mindedness" (probably the most dangerous kind of mental defect) equally certifiable also. In the Report of the Commissioners on Lunacy from which I have already quoted, a statement is made which must have come as a surprise to many of those who have interested themselves in the welfare of this class. The Commissioners say (p. 65) that it is their confident opinion that those of the class "who live an in-and-out existence at workhouses, returning more or less frequently to be confined of illegitimate children," and "who are quite incapable of looking after themselves, are certifiable under the Lunacy Acts," and could be detained. "We cannot help thinking," they say, "that the reluctance to certify cases of this class arises largely from the inexperience of the local medical officers as to the requirements of certifiability, and also from what we consider mistaken actions of kindness in the wish to avoid the stigma of insanity.

"To a less extent the same conditions apply to the young imbecile men, many of whom we find living uncertified in the workhouses, and who, though conducting themselves properly while under supervision, are often liable to outbursts during which, if allowed full liberty, they may constitute a real danger to the community. We are of opinion that the powers of certification given by the Lunacy Acts are sufficient to justify all such cases as we have mentioned being placed under certificates and detained."

This opinion is very useful, but it does not meet the views of those who hold that the classes referred to ought not to be in workhouses at all.

I would, in conclusion—and I am afraid I have already detained you too long—make a few remarks on how far the term "Prevention of Destitution" can be applied to the subject of this section. The main object of legislation in regard to it has been to secure the safety of the sane portion of the community against the irresponsible and dangerous actions of mental defectives, and to protect them against themselves while at the same time making them as far as possible useful workers. It is their mental condition and not their poverty or crime which is the real ground of their claim for help, and by taking proper charge of them, we secure at the same time benefits of preventing crime, immorality, and the propagation and extension of their disease. In this way we are undoubtedly preventing destitution.

Whether destitution can or cannot be prevented by an increase of State interference with the lives and liberties of the sane population and the responsibilities of parents is a very arguable matter in which I am not going to enter. On this point we may be allowed to disagree; but we shall, I think, all agree that the State—or, in other words, the whole community—may justifiably interfere to prevent the increase of dependence which the neglect of the classes under consideration must bring about. Whatever the price be which may have to be paid for their protection, we shall get full value for it, and the sooner the whole subject is dealt with effectively the better, in my opinion, it will be for the nation. (Applause.)

The Feeble-minded in Prisons.

By Charles H. Melland, m.d. (Lond.), m.r.c.p., b.sc.
(Sen. Hon. Physician, The Ancoats Hospital, Manchester; Medical Investigator for the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded.)

One of the most striking facts that was brought out by the Inquiry of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded was the large proportion of feeble-minded persons in the prisons. The results arrived at by the medical investigators showed that about 10 per cent. of those seen and examined in the various prisons were feeble-minded. Earlier statistics, based upon the returns of the medical officers to the prisons, had indicated not more than 1 per 1,000 as mentally defective. But on further investigation of these latter figures it was found that this represented only a portion—indeed, a small portion—of all those present. It is the duty of the medical officer, when any such case is brought to his notice, to examine the prisoner and determine whether he is weak-minded and also whether he is or is not suitable for the ordinary penal discipline.* It was therefore only the most obvious and most marked cases that came under observation and were reported as requiring special relaxation of discipline. When, however, the attention of the medical officers of several of our largest prisons was specially drawn to the question, it at once became evident to them that, leaving out any question of penal discipline, a very much larger proportion were feeble-minded than had ever been returned, and various estimates of from 4 or 5 to 15 or even 20 or more per cent. were arrived at.

During the time that I was making my investigation in Strangeways Gaol at Manchester, I saw 1,048 prisoners, and amongst these I came across 139 who were mentally affected, equal to 13 per cent. Included in this total of 139, however, were twenty-eight cases of dementia from alcohol, all in women. It was impossible, owing to their acquired defect, to say what their original mental standing had been; many of them probably were originally feeble-minded, and

* "When a prisoner in a local prison is considered by the medical officer to be mentally defective without being certifiably insane, and unfit for penal discipline, he reports the fact in writing to the Governor and the prisoner comes under the regulations affecting such persons." "Those included were not *all* who were feeble-minded, but only those who were feeble-minded *and* unfit for penal discipline." Dr. Herbert Smalley in his evidence before the Royal Commission.—Vol. 1 of the Blue Book.

the alcoholism was only secondary; but even if we exclude the whole of these the proportion of prisoners seen who were mentally defective comes to just over 10 per cent. The figures reached by the other medical investigators were similar: Birmingham gave 10.9 per cent., and Stoke-upon-Trent 18.9 per cent.; and the average for all the urban areas examined was 10.7 per cent.

I found that the majority of these were in prison for trivial offences, small thefts, drunkenness, begging, or sleeping out, with, in addition, in the case of the women, offences against morality as accosting or brothel keeping. But though their offences were trivial, many of them had a long series of convictions against them; they tend to return time after time for short periods until prison-going becomes almost a habit among them. The conditions of their life in prison are generally much preferable to those of their outside life. In the one case they are comfortably clothed, warmly housed, and sufficiently fed, with exercise enough to keep them in health; whilst outside they are Ishmaels, and every man's hand is against them.

It is, however, a mistake, to look upon the mentally defective as criminally-minded. Some small proportion truly shows a marked impulse towards crimes of passion, cruelty, and violence, which no punishment can restrain, but the vast majority find themselves in prison not as the result of any criminal tendency, but merely from the pressure of circumstances, and being facile and easily impelled they follow the line of least resistance.

In an official return of 345 mentally defective prisoners reported in the year ending March, 1904, their offences were classified as follows:—

Begging	75	Assault	18
Drunkenness	53	Sleeping out	11
Stealing	34	Indecency	14
Vagrancy	20	Wilful damage ...	10

and other offences in smaller numbers.

More than two-thirds of the total were thus classed under the above heads. Their appearance and re-appearance in prison is not, indeed, a sign of inborn depravity, but a logical sequence of the fact that, being feeble-minded, they are incapable of competing on equal terms with their normal fellows. They get squeezed out of every occupation, they are the last to be taken on to a job and the first to lose it, and unless they are under constant care and supervision the first temptation that is thrown in their way they succumb to.*

What now is to be done with these cases? That, as at present dealt with, they are a great stumbling-block to the administration of justice, any magistrate of experience can testify. The general principle underlying the Report of the Royal Commission is that all feeble-minded persons not under proper control should be permanently segregated and taken care of. The main difficulty that I see ahead is that of establishing what is and what is not proper control. The Lord Chancellor and others have expressed the need for going carefully in the application of the power of compulsory control, and for due education of public opinion on the subject. If it could be said that it had been conclusively proved that feeble-mindedness was mainly or largely the result of direct inheritance from a feeble-minded parent, those who advocate that every case

* I find after writing this that, by a curious coincidence Dr. Smalley to whom I have already referred expressed this in almost identical words in his evidence before the Royal Commission. He said—"they are easily led either into good or evil ways. They are less able to earn their own living both from physical and mental reasons. They are the least efficient in every trade or workshop, consequently they are the first to be discharged when work is slack."

should be completely segregated so that further propagation of the defect be wholly prevented would have an unanswerable case. But scientific opinion is still deeply divided on this point, and this being so public opinion can hardly be expected to be further advanced, and in point of fact I found in my inquiry, and have found since, a very strong prejudice on the part of many parents or those having charge of feeble-minded folk against compulsory segregation. So long as they believe themselves capable of looking after them properly, even if their control is not as satisfactory as it might be, they wish to retain charge of them.

But I hold very strongly that the fact that a feeble-minded individual has been allowed to drift into prison (and, though it is beside the immediate question, I would include the workhouse, the tramp wards, and the common lodging-house in the same category) should be taken as *prima facie* evidence of the absence of effective control. This is the view which is taken by the Commission in their Report, and I am of opinion that pressure for legislation along the lines they recommend would be most advantageously applied, and, if it can be secured, that a most valuable step forward in the dealing with such cases will have been effected. The detention in Labour Colonies—or institutions on similar lines—will probably be distinctly cheaper in the long run than the in and out prison life which they naturally tend to fall into. It is probable that at first they would require to be put into a separate class from the others in the Colony who had not had the same prison associations, since in the case of those at any rate who have had repeated convictions the tainted atmosphere in which they have necessarily been living has made them unsuitable associates for those who have been more carefully brought up. It is, of course, a very strong argument for the detention and permanent segregation of all cases from an early age that if they are taken young the great majority of feeble-minded are docile and easily lead along the right path, whereas if they are not secured until they have already fallen into an irregular mode of life it is necessary to educate out, with no little difficulty, at an age when they are less susceptible to good influences than when younger, the vicious tendencies they have acquired. It is all the more essential therefore that we should insist that the detention should start at the earliest moment that the feeble-mindedness is discovered—that is to say, if it is satisfactorily established, at the first conviction.

Crime and Mental Defect.

By Thomas Holmes
(Secretary of the Howard Association).

Few questions demand a more instant attention than the connection between prison population and mental and physical defect. I couple the two because my experience has shown me that very often they are closely allied. But no pressing question is more persistently avoided or shelved by responsible authorities, for no means of dealing with the mentally defective when they commit offences

against the law, other than by short terms of useless imprisonment, have at present been attempted.

It seems strange that in Christianised, humanised, scientised England such procedure should continue even for a day, but continue it does, and to-day it seems as little likely to be altered as it was twenty years ago.

Let me charge it upon our authorities that they are responsible for perpetuating a great scandal and a cruel wrong; they are not in ignorance, for our highest authorities know perfectly well that every year many hundreds of helpless and hopeless dements are committed to prison and tabulated as either habitual criminals or recidivists.

Our authorities even keep a list on which is placed the names of those unfortunates who, after prolonged experience and careful medical examination, are found to be irresponsible for their actions and unfit for prison discipline. This list is of portentious length, and to it four hundred more names are added every year. This is of itself an acknowledgment by the State that every year four hundred unfortunate human beings who cannot appreciate the nature and quality of the acts they have committed are treated, punished, and degraded as criminals, when the State itself knows that what these unfortunates need and demand is pity, not punishment; the doctor, not the warder; and some place where mild, sensible, and permanent restraint should take the place of endless, senseless, brutal, and continual rounds of short imprisonments, and an equally senseless and brutal series of short spells of freedom.

Nay! not freedom, but a choice between starvation, prison, or workhouse, where they are not welcomed. Now this list would soon become so large and the burden it imposes would become intolerable were it not that kindly death has mercy upon a large number and puts an end to the vicious circle of their lives. But the list grows, and it will continue to grow just so long as the present disastrous methods are persisted in, for these unfortunates beget after their kind. But there is another prolonged and cruel procedure which helps largely to fill our gaols and to secure a definite prison population—I refer to the absolute neglect of criminally inclined boys and girls, when these boys and girls suffer from mental weakness or from any physical disease, deprivation, or defect. It seems incredible, but it is a fact, that neither Industrial nor Reformatory Schools will receive any boy or girl who suffers from either mental or physical defect. Such children may be, and often are, the despair of their parents; they may be the pests of the neighbours, and the corrupters of other children; they may be young thieves; the police may arrest them; dishonesty may often be proved against them; it may be desirable for their own good and for the protection of others that they should be committed to some Industrial or Reformatory School. The magistrates know all this, but they are powerless, for not one of these institutions will open its doors to receive any child till that child is proved by medical examination to be mentally and physically sound. And, mind you, the magistrate has no power, neither has the Home Secretary any power, to compel them: and, further, the magistrate has no power to order the detention of the smitten and afflicted in any place other than prison.

So ultimately to prison they go, and the interminable round of small sentences begin. But even in prison they are punished because of their afflictions, for they are not allowed the privileges of the Borstal training, for again only the sound in mind and body are given the benefit of that healthy life and sensible training. Consequently, they are taught little that can be of service to them: they graduate in idleness; prison has comforts but no terrors; they join the ranks of

the habitues, and, when too late, they are "listed" as not suitable for prison treatment.

Year by year, in a country of presumably sane people, this deplorable condition of things continues, and I am bold to say that there will be no reduction in the number of our prison population till proper treatment, training, and, if need be, detention, is provided in places other than prison for our afflicted youthful population.

Feeble-mindedness, Destitution, and Crime.

By Mary Dendy, M.A.

(Hon. Secretary of the Incorporated Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-minded; Member of Manchester Education Committee.)

I am, as you may suppose, very anxious to make the most of the opportunity you have given me. I have taken it, knowing well that many people here to-day are able to deal with it far more fully than I can in the short time at my disposal, but hoping that what I say may reach someone amongst those present.

We are to-day suffering from an evil which will, if unchecked, bring ruin upon our nation, and that before very long. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and the weakest link in the chain of our social life is the mass of mentally feeble persons who live amongst us, unguarded and unguided, suffering and helpless, a danger to themselves and to society, and perpetually propagating their species. It is not the extreme and easily recognisable cases of imbecility that constitute our greatest danger—it is the thousands of slightly defective people, those who are not so bad but that they can be trained to look something like a low grade of normal human being, but who never can be given that will-power which is the only safeguard of any one of us. Where danger is clearly marked—where Nature has set her warning signals so that all who run may read—there is little risk; our risk lies in concealed, or nearly concealed, evils, and in our habit of trying to cloak those evils and pretend that they do not exist.

The time has come when this special evil must be dealt with, very tenderly, very kind so far as individuals are concerned, but very plainly, very scientifically, so far as the society at large is concerned. As, years ago, our nation realised that we had no right to populate a new country with criminals and ceased to send its convicts abroad, so now we should realise that we have no right to provide for our own future a feeble, helpless, half-witted population. That this is what we are now doing is evident, seeing that the main cause of feebleness of mind is heredity and that we are taking infinite pains to keep our feeble-minded alive without taking any pains at all to see that they are kept alive in conditions which render them harmless and happy.

The time is come when we should ask for scientific morality, should question what is morality worth which is not scientific, and should demand that the transmission to the future of a terrible evil shall be stopped, an evil which brings all other evils in its train. It is not only that our weaker brethren are themselves

prone to become criminals; they afford the opportunity for crime in others. It is probable that two-thirds of the crime of our nation might be stopped by a scientific method of dealing with the feeble-minded. And we must remember that it is futile to talk of weak-minded criminals as sinners. Sin there must be where so much crime and misery are, but the sin lies where the responsibility lies, and that is with the sane and not with the insane.

So much has been written and said about feeble-minded children during the last six or seven years—so many experts have described them and their various peculiarities, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon that side of the question. The special peculiarity that I would emphasise is their lack of will-power, their lack of self-direction; this is common, so far as my experience goes, to all feeble-minded persons, no matter what the degree of their mental defect; naturally it is much more dangerous in the high-grade defective than in the low-grade; naturally, also, it needs to be looked for in the child, whilst in the adult it is very observable. In children we are apt to note extreme obedience as a virtue, without considering of what cause it is the consequence. A child was brought to me who was always in difficulties because of this failing; he had recently put a stone through a plate-glass window because another boy had told him to do it; and he would do nothing that he was not told to do; his own mother was dead, but his father had married again and his step-mother had spent a part of every day for nine months teaching him to put his shirt on. He was nine years old, and he still had to be told to do it every morning. Yet that boy had escaped notice in an elementary school; he was backward—but so are many children, and school routine gave no opportunity for the display of his special eccentricities. He never attempted to break through school routine; he just did whatever he was told to do without any thought as to why he was doing it, or as to what would happen as a result of his action. As this lad grew older he would be subject not only to evil influences from without, but also to the promptings of his own animal passions. He would have no power of inhibition. This is the case with all the feeble-minded; this it is which makes them such a curse to themselves and to everybody else when they are at large; it is in this that lies our hope for them if we would only rightly regard it. At present our system is entirely to disregard these unfortunates after they have arrived at the age of 16 until they come under notice as paupers or criminals. Then we deal with them because of their poverty or crime, and totally disregard the mental condition which made them inevitably what they are. It is natural that a great number of these people should be considered as totally lacking in the moral sense; but it appears to me that we must set aside with regard to them all idea of morality; what we must consider is their responsibility or irresponsibility. It is of such people as these that Huxley wrote: "As there are men born physically cripples and intellectually idiots, so there are some who are morally cripples and idiots and can be kept straight not even by punishment. For these people there is nothing but shutting up or extirpation."

Wendell Holmes, too, most cute and tender of observers, said of these more than fifty years ago: "The English law never began to get hold of the idea that a crime was not necessarily a sin till Hadfield, who thought he was the saviour of the world, was tried for shooting at George the Fourth. It is very odd that we recognise all the defects that unfit a man for military service and all the intellectual ones that limit his range of thought, but always talk at him as if all his moral powers were perfect." Since Wendell Holmes wrote that the English law has made very little progress in dealing with its moral imbeciles. It seems

to be agreed that people who assassinate royal personages, and those who commit suicide, must be treated as insane, but that those whose taste and opportunity lead them to commit other crimes shall be considered as wilfully depraved.

Children who are generally classed as morally defective appear to be more robust than the average deficient child; also they are frequently fairly acute in some directions; but they have no feeling of right as right or wrong as wrong. Sometimes they can learn to abstain from acts which bring upon them immediately painful consequences, but they are always without shame and without concern for any wrongdoing which does not involve five shillings and costs or its equivalent. It seems to be quite natural that the morally defective should be found amongst the more robust. Their animal passions are stronger because their bodies are stronger; the power of inhibition is as lacking in the case of the lower grade and more weakly ones. One result of twelve years' experience of defective children is that I know now that the morally defective are a very small minority; it happens frequently that children are sent to us at Sandlebridge with a character for moral defect which they do not merit in the least. They and their crimes are simply the result of their environment, which they reflect with absolute certainty. Put them into a good environment, and they reflect that. It is as easy to teach them good habits and manners as to teach them bad ones. It is astounding that we should still be so stupid as to make sure that the great majority of the feeble-minded shall have no opportunity of learning anything but bad ways. When we do come across a case of absolute moral imbecility it is generally very marked. I well remember the first I ever had to do with: she was a girl of 17, who was living an absolutely immoral life. I talked to her, tried to persuade her; her only answer was a silly laugh, and "The police cannot get me for anything I do." I could not help knowing that my words did not touch her anywhere. I went to see her mother, but I did not take much by that; she was a deaf mute.

It is not wise to gather such moral defectives as do exist into homes specially set aside for them as a class. Brought together, they will make each other worse, and will, of course, make hopeless any pseudo-moral defectives who may be classed with them by error. Moreover, it is always a mistake to label anyone as morally below par; we are all apt to live up to or down to the characters that are given us; this is specially the case with the mentally weak. On the other hand such cases are quite manageable if scattered through homes for defectives of the ordinary type. They have not stronger wills than other defectives, and mixed in with them, will succumb to a general rule of good conduct.

It has been said that the ability to earn a living is the dividing line between imbecility and its milder forms, dulness and deficiency. I do not think this quite holds good; the ability to earn a living depends partly upon circumstances extraneous to the individual. Many persons who are, when left to their unassisted efforts, quite helpless, can earn, or partly earn, a living when under constant supervision. The lacking will-power can be supplied from without. Thus a boy leaving a special school went to work with his father, who was a cabinet-maker and had a little business of his own; the boy was quite worth his salt, though he did not earn wages. This, of course, would last only so long as the favourable circumstances lasted.

In any case it is a grave mistake to make wage-earning the test of fitness to be at large. Prompted by hunger, many of the feeble-minded will earn just enough money to keep them from starving; working for a few days and then idling for a few days. Year by year we are more and more removing the stimulus of hunger; should the Report of the Minority of the Royal Commission ever become

law it will be fatally easy for the unfit to survive and multiply. It behoves us the more to secure some counteracting influence and to provide for the segregation of the incapable.

The late Sir Douglas Galton said that the feeble-minded man could never be worth more than three-fourths of a man; that three-fourths, at least, can be arrived at in proper conditions. His weakness of will makes him obedient to any suggestions; he can be trained to make use of all the faculties he possesses, and those faculties, though they can never be made normal, can be greatly strengthened. Thus in good hands he may become nearly self-supporting, whilst in bad hands he is self-destroying. In the better cases, the difference between self-support and dependence will be represented by the cost of supervision. Year by year experience is showing that we have, in the past, greatly underrated the capacity for work of the feeble-minded; there are very many even of the lowest grade cases, who have been taken care of as helpless when they ought to have been trained from childhood to a life of usefulness; their work is slow, it is true, unintelligent, unreliable; but in good circumstances it *is* work and not waste. Most important of all, it means happiness and health for the workers themselves instead of the terrible degradation which is too generally the lot of the weak in intellect.

In order to arrive at the greatest economic value of the feeble-minded we must find out the best and most rational way of treating them. It is very fortunate that the system which makes for their greatest happiness and contentment, for their highest moral welfare, also makes for their greatest efficiency. It is necessary to begin their training quite early in life. It is unutterably absurd to wait until these poor weaklings have absorbed all the poison of other neglected and dangerous existences before we begin to deal with them. It is easy now to find out in early childhood whether any person is mentally sound or no; our day special schools give an opportunity for observation in the case of those concerning whom uncertainty might exist. When it is quite sure that a boy or girl is weak of intellect, no matter what the degree of defect, the child should be provided for for life. It is very generally, I repeat, the highest grade of defectives who are the most dangerous. They are those who are the most capable of being veneered so as to look, for a time at any rate, almost like normal people. A thoroughly thought-out scheme ought to be put in force for every case. In such a scheme we must take account of three principal matters—first, of the happiness and general welfare of those for whom we are caring. We have no right to interfere with the life of any, even of the lowest of human beings, unless we have reasonable expectation of bettering it. Secondly, our scheme must make such provision that any chance of our wards ever having children must be done away with; to care for the feeble-minded for a time only and then turn them out, trained and improved, but on that account the more likely to hand on their defect to another generation, is the height of folly. Thirdly, we must arrange our scheme so as to secure that we get the best possible return for the money we expend in order to secure our ends. Up to the present time, in England at any rate, the care of the feeble-minded has been carried on, with few exceptions, in too costly a manner. This is chiefly because it has not been continuous. Most of our work in this direction has been very scrappy. We have cared for these waifs first in special schools; then they are cared for in workhouses or in prisons; perhaps they have degenerated and land finally in lunatic asylums. Or perhaps they begin their careers in asylums; then they are turned out, really very highly polished feeble-minded persons; but their next steps to the workhouse or prison

are just as sure as if they had been left at home. All the money that has been spent on them is wasted. In the case of those who stay in asylums until they are 21 there is some gain, because the day of their parenthood is postponed, but it follows with terrible certainty, and each generation of defectives left at large makes it quite sure that we shall have another to care for.

We made up our minds in Manchester to try what a life-long continuous system of care would do for these poor brethren of ours. We considered their condition very carefully before we began, and came to the conclusion that since weakness of will-power was the defect that was common to all feeble-minded persons, that since it is because of this defect that they are always in trouble, always suffering themselves and a cause of suffering in others, the only rational plan was to place them in such circumstances that all the influences to which they are subject are good, instead of leaving them in circumstances which ensure that all the influences about them are evil. It seemed to us that, since it is so easy to persuade the feeble-minded to anything, we might as well persuade him to enjoy life in an industrial colony where everything should be arranged for his happiness and well-being. We were quite determined that we would have no loafers in our colony; except a boy or girl was ill, he or she must be occupied every day and all day long. With such people, it is only by a continuance of wholesome occupation that bad habits can be avoided. We knew beforehand that it is very difficult to reclaim people who have become the victims of evil circumstances, and therefore, as it was only possible to care for a limited number, we determined to begin with children and grow our colonists up. So we began with fifteen little boys. It meant a long and patient waiting; but, from the beginning, we never let our children or ourselves lose sight of what was to be the ultimate reward of their labour and ours. It was to be that they should stay on as workers where they had been trained as school children. That was held out to them until it became an ambition with them to be allowed to leave school and go to work. It is really surprising how well our theories have worked out; acting upon the supposition that the feeble-minded have no plans but such as are made for them, and that they are exceedingly susceptible to their surroundings, we have succeeded in building up a colony of 230 boys and girls and men and women, not one of whom would leave us of their own choice. Not many do leave us, as will be seen when it is remembered that all must come to us before the age of 13, and that we now have seventy over the age of 16, thirty of whom are between the ages of 18 and 23. Our school still goes on, of course, preparing our scholars for the after-care which we provide for them. With the utmost contentment they pass from the schoolroom to the farmer or the gardener, the plumber or the carpenter, to the sewing teacher or the laundry matron, all of whom patiently carry on the teaching which has been well begun. The result is that our colonists do a good deal towards their own support. Each year sees them more capable because each year adds to their litle store of experience. It is very slow work; the inefficient muscles must be trained; the wandering eye learn to dwell upon its work; the slow, inert body must be strengthened and made more active. It can be done. Boys and girls now bring in a substantial sum towards their own maintenance. It is, however, to the other side of the picture that we must turn in order to realise the whole of what we are doing. Where would our children be were they not with us? Almost all would be in the hands of the law, as paupers or criminals; not one could have a full and happy life. Almost all of those who have reached early manhood and womanhood would be parents, and we should be building special schools to accommodate their offspring.

To conclude. Prudence, economy, and humanity demand that we shall deal with this question rationally. It is possible at an early age to detect the unsound brain. Scientific morality demands that we shall take care that our weak-minded children are always protected, so as to render them harmless to themselves and to society.

I would ask you to dwell on these facts:—

Our workhouses and lunatic asylums cannot provide for our derelict population; our prisons also are filled with criminals who are not responsible for their crimes.

Imbecility and pauperism are largely on the increase owing to the efforts made by various charitable institutions to keep all weaklings alive.

From 1 to 2 per cent. of our school-going population are in some degree weak of intellect.

Feebleness of mind is hereditary, often with an increasing intensity. Almost all feeble-minded persons are at large and most of them become parents.

The most marked characteristic of the weak-minded is want of will-power. It is perfectly easy to keep such persons happy and good and industrious if detention be commenced in early youth, and they can be detained, contented, harmless, and partially self-supporting for their whole lives.

Discussion.

Dr. HYSLOP paid a tribute to the chairman for his interesting address. He thought he had done well to point out the terrible treatment that was meted out to the feeble-minded in days gone by, and he had given them a harrowing description of the treatment of lunatics in this country in the old days. He had afterwards shown that there was a very different state of things at present, and that they must not be discouraged in their efforts to do still better. It was no use to sit down and contemplate that things were now much better than they had been in the past. The papers read by the three previous speakers were all exceedingly practical, and very suggestive in many respects. Long ago he came to the conclusion, as many others have done, that the law was an ass; but latterly he had changed his views somewhat, and had come to the conclusion that the law was not unlike a mule—(laughter)—and a very obstinate one at that. He had had a good experience in the law courts in dealing with mentally deficient and morally deficient criminals, and he found that the law was extremely reluctant to accept the evidence of medical men with regard to crimes, especially crimes of the minor degree; but when they were dealing with crimes of the major degree, like murder, then the law was inclined to be more lenient, and would listen to the medical evidence. One knew that there were many instances in which defendant suffered from a minor form of insanity in which there was an inversion of the moral faculties. He had been in many cases in which it had been recognised that murders had been committed under an abnormal condition which was analogous to the minor forms of epilepsy, and they had great difficulty in dealing with those cases. The friends of the defendant often went to him, and poured out a long detail of the moral delinquencies of the individual. Many families had stated that other members of the family were mentally deficient, and the result was that he was faced with extreme difficulty. Owing to the strictness of the Commissioners in Lunacy he was unable to furnish a certificate which would be accepted. The Commissioners were very strict in refusing to accept certificates which they considered were not quite sufficient to conclude insanity at the time of examination of the persons. The tendency to recurrence of these moral delinquents made it impossible for a medical man to observe for himself. He thought that some

central authority should be constituted to look after such cases. He would start by giving the individual, say, six months modified quarantine. In this country parental responsibility was in some respects increasing, but in other directions we were removing responsibilty from the parents by clothing, feeding, and educating the children; and then on top of that we had old age pensions and the like, which had the tendency to cause irresponsibility in the individual. They must be very careful not to encourage the moral irresponsibility of the parents. He did not say that the proportion was great of those who were irresponsible of their children, but it had been to a certain extent open to abuse in the individuals and parents not doing what they could do. If the parents were led to think that when their children were found guilty of committing crimes the onus and trouble of keeping them would be taken over by the State, they would not exercise over them the same control as they did at the present time. Before long, however, they would have to propound amongst themselves some way of presenting to the people a suggestion that there should be some modified supervision of these defectives.

Dr. Douglas Turner said he should like to thank the president for his interesting account of what used to happen years ago. Within the last five years he had found a feeble-minded girl who was confined in a garden by day and at night was put in a bed with no clothing. With regard to the two papers of Dr. Melland and Mr. Holmes, he had no personal experience in that direction, but the picture they had drawn ought to promote legislation of some sort or other, and do away with the terrible stories that had been told them. With regard to Miss Dendy, one scarcely knew which to admire most, the vastness of her experience on this matter, or the ability and charm with which she presented the argument and marshalled her facts, so as to make them quite plain to everybody. He should like to congratulate her upon the success which had attended her efforts at her colony. With regard to the general trend of her paper, he had nothing to say against it whatever, but entirely agreed with it. It was only on one or two matters of minor detail he should like to say something. All of them who were connected with the great voluntary institutions for the care of imbeciles and the feeble-minded had had considerable experience in their own particular spheres. His first point was with regard to moral imbeciles. He was not quite clear whether she was only referring to children or whether she included adults. If it was merely a matter of children, he could not understand it, because imbecile children had no great idea of either right or wrong.

Miss Dendy: My point is that the children become criminals because of their circumstances. The majority of them are young children who come to us under the age of 10; but we have some who have been with us several years, and who are now over 20. Whilst they are with us we can control and protect them.

Dr. Douglas Turner said he hoped, if legislation came, and no doubt it would, that something would be done for those immoral women who were mentally deficient. He did not think that class of woman should be brought into an institution and placed among ordinary children. He had had a certain amount of experience in that respect, and had found that one woman or one immoral girl of that description would contaminate the whole block. Some time ago they had a woman in their institution who took a delight in describing all the horrible details of her immorality to the children. If they put such women among a lower grade of cripple children, they would not do much harm there. Another point Miss Dendy made was that the inmates had no desire to go away. Miss Dendy took them from 10 to 12 years of age, and they grew up in an atmosphere in which they wished them to be, and they had no desire to do anything else. In nine cases out of ten those children had no idea of what the outside world was like, and if they were going to ask for legislation they ought to get some sort of legislation to deal with the grown-up cases, because no doubt Miss Dendy would find a few of those cases would want to get away. It would be the highest grade of all who would want to get away, and those cases were the most difficult to deal with. The danger would be greater with the girls than with the boys.

Councillor J. Pybus (Hull) said they had had some very valuable papers which gave them some idea of the difficulties they had to contend with. He should also like to point out some of the difficulties they had to contend with on the Boards of Guardians and Town Councils. They had people brought to them whose lunacy was not sufficiently developed to enable a medical man to certify them to be removed to an asylum, therefore they had to find accommodation for them in the workhouse, and they were a source of considerable trouble, much more trouble than all the other

inmates of the workhouse put together. They had to keep them in a separate department, and it was pitiful to see them walking round the yard looking at each other and laughing and talking. There seemed to be no remedy whatever, and the Guardians were absolutely helpless, as they did not know what to do with them. He was also hon. secretary of a society for the prevention of cruelty to children, and in connection with that society he had the same difficulty that Mr. Holmes had experienced—they did not know what to do with them. He had a case in his mind in which the husband was scarcely responsible for his actions. The wife was given to drinking, and periodically went into the workhouse to be confined. As soon as she had sufficiently recovered the child was brought to their society by an officer, and they did not really know what to do with the case. On four occasions they had to take out summonses to bring the woman before the magistrates, as that was all they could do, and on the last occasion the magistrate sentenced her to three months' imprisonment. The child was then taken to the workhouse, and afterwards taken to some children's home. On four occasions had they removed that woman's children. The woman was now in the workhouse, and they would have to go through the same wretched routine; and it was a difficult problem to know what to do with a woman of that description. He was quite in accord with the speaker's views regarding those morally defective people, and he should be glad indeed to hear that the result of that conference had been to cause the Government to take some action whereby they could remove those people to some home, properly controlled, and provided by the State. The ratepayers should not be mulcted in a large expense every year through the State providing no remedy for this class of people, and he hoped they would be able to bring about an end to that state of affairs.

Mrs. Cobden Sanderson (Hammersmith Borough Council) said she should like to say a few words as a Poor Law Guardian especially connected with those mentally deficient girls, because she would not have been a Guardian that day had it not been for a case which came under her notice of a mentally deficient girl who was epileptic, and who was sent before the magistrates and condemned to a month's hard labour. She wrote to the magistrate, and asked him if he was aware that the girl was mentally deficient, and whether under those conditions she could be responsible for her actions. The magistrate said there was nobody there to acquaint him of the fact, and he treated her in the ordinary course. He also informed her that he could do nothing further in the matter, and referred her to the Home Office. At the present time everything possible was being done for that class of girl in the workhouse, and they were being taught to do something. The had formed a ladies' committee which endeavoured to get these girls out of the workhouse and find them situations. With regard to the immoral girls, she thought some home should be instituted where they could be sent. The usual homes had not proved quite satisfactory, and the Board of Guardians with which she was connected were in communication with other Boards of Guardians to see if they could combine together and form a home for that purpose. If there were any Guardians present who took an interest in the matter, she should be pleased to go into further details with them.

Mrs. Basil Price (West Ham Union) said she represented one of the largest Boards of Guardians in the United Kingdom, and much appreciated the papers read that morning, because of their great practical interest. Mr. Holmes had referred to children who were discharged from reformatory homes, and wondered where they had gone to. Those who represented Boards of Guardians could no doubt say where a great many of them were. In their big union in West Ham they had numbers of those poor unfortunate boys and girls, young men and young women, who had been sent away, but afterwards returned to them. Some time ago the Local Government Board inspector went down and asked to see all of the young fellows in the workhouse under the age of 25. They were marched into the Board Room, and there were probably forty of them; but when one looked into their faces they could realise that hardly one of them was perfectly normal. Practically all of them had the stamp of feeble-mindedness on their faces. They went into the workhouse because they had not the power to do consecutive work. Yet none of those men could be certified as being insane, and they could take their discharge at any time they wished. Some of them did take their discharge occasionally, but returned again to the workhouse with an increased family. They had no power to do anything for them, but they were just the class of people that should be kept in detention and taught something useful. There was a certain amount of work done in that great workhouse, but it was perfectly useless. A certain number of those young men spent

about a month in the workhouse and then took their discharge, with the result that they got landed into prison during the following month. They had nine who spent their lives between the prison and the workhouse. All of them were mentally deficient, but they could not be certified. There was something wrong with them, they were not normal, but in the ordinary way they were not vicious. If they could get hold of them in the right way and keep them apart from their fellows and friends they would do fairly well. They could not earn their own living, because they could not stick at it. The conference would be doing a useful work if they could solve that problem. They had in their workhouse also numbers of young women who migrated between the workhouse and the prison, the prison and the workhouse. Their own doctor would certify them because he had watched them, but no outside doctor would do so, because they were intelligent enough to answer all of his questions. They could take their discharge at any time and live the most dreadful lives. They mostly did that, and went in and out of the workhouse and prison, and prison and the workhouse. Something ought to be done to deal with those cases, which were the most distressing of all.

Mrs. MAITLAND (National Education Association) stated that she was formerly on the London School Board and the Industrial Schools Committee. She was one of the first members of the committee which started the special schools, and therefore was greatly interested. They were very hopeful when they first started that they would meet with more success in the education of that class of child than had formerly been the case. They trained the children carefully by selecting specially qualified teachers, and hoped by that means to get them to a fairly normal condition. But, as they knew, unfortunately they were unduly optimistic, and it turned out to be quite hopeless, and a useless effort on their part. One thing, however, was the great importance of getting the life history of those children when they left the schools, and it was astounding to find out what a large amount of information the teachers obtained. They were instructed to see the parents and get as much information as possible about them, about the condition of life of the parents, the grandparents, and the various relatives of the families. It was extremely interesting to find that in the majority of cases there was some family taint of insanity or idiocy or tendency to weak-mindedness or gross immorality, and that no doubt was the cause of the children's condition. She still thought, if it was compulsory on the school authorities to take charge of those children or to have them under their control for a certain number of years, it would be better for them. The children did well whilst under control, but as soon as they left they gradually degenerated. She had always been in favour of a system of segregation, and was delighted to see that at last public opinion was beginning to consider this difficulty. She could not help thinking that if they wished to do away with the majority of these imbeciles they must prevent their propagation; therefore segregation was the only means of curing them. She also thought that notification should be made compulsory in these cases of weak-minded children, and their life history should be obtained before entering the school and after leaving the school.

The Rev. W. BAKER (West Derby Union) said he should like to ask a question arising out of the subjects they had heard discussed, and that was with regard to the relationship between the special classes and the Board of Guardians. He should like to know whether any pressure could be put on the educational authority to enable the Boards of Guardians to take any feeble-minded children, teach them, instruct them, and keep them. His difficulty was that in Liverpool quite recently there had been four children discharged from the special school who were imbeciles or feeble-minded. Application had been made to the West Derby Guardians that those children should be received into their Union, and the question was whether the education authority should not pay for their cost. They had power to spend money on education, but not on maintenance. The parents of those children were not destitute, therefore they did not come under the Poor Law. It seemed to him that if a conference such as that could bring some pressure to bear on the authorities in that matter, a great deal of good could be done. The West Derby Guardians had recently established a home for feeble-minded children, and they were going to work very much on the same lines in other unions. They were prepared to receive children into that home as far as their accommodation would allow. He did think it would be in the interests of the community if they could make some representation to the Home Office or the Board of Education on the question of expense between the Education Authority and the Poor Law Guardians. If that conference could obtain

something in that direction, it would be of great assistance to those people who were not, strictly speaking, within the Poor Law, but who should be treated in the interests of the community.

Miss FOX said she had found no difficulty in getting Boards of Guardians to pay for them in schools which were certified by the Board. She had never found any difficulty when the matter had been properly represented to the Guardians. She thought the Boards of Guardians could, and did, pay for children in special residential schools.

The Rev. W. BAKER said there were a lot of schools in their neighbourhood where they could send those children to. The Guardians were quite willing to pay their share, and the parents were quite willing to pay their share, but they thought the education authority should pay their share, inasmuch as they were doing the work from an educational point of view, as well as preserving the community from another point of view.

Miss DENDY said the Guardians constantly sent their children to residential schools, and she had children from twenty-six educational authorities all over the kingdom. The Boards of Guardians sent defective children to Sandelbridge, and in some cases children would be sent whilst the father, who was a dissolute wastrel, was away from home. As soon as the father returned the Board of Guardians would decline to pay for the support of the child any longer. The result was that in many cases a small committee was formed of ladies and gentlemen connected with the Board of Guardians who would subscribe for the child's maintenance, rather than send it back to its dissolute home. She thought the Boards of Guardians were to blame for allowing a wastrel father to throw his children on the rates and contribute nothing towards their support. She also thought that Boards of Guardians could always place their weak-minded children in private homes for about 10s. per week, and if the present private homes became full others would spring up in various parts of the country.

The Rev. W. BAKER said they sent to Sandelbridge some four or five cases which were accepted, but for some reason or other were afterwards returned to the West Derby Guardians.

Miss DENDY said she did not recollect the cases, but they often had children sent to them who were idiots; occasionally, when a Board of Guardians put pressure on them, they accepted a child on probation. If at the end of a month it appeared to be a certifiable case, they had to return the child, because they were not allowed to retain such a case. They had a few West Derby children, but they were not at liberty to receive idiots or imbeciles. Some time ago they had a batch sent from Hertford, all of whom were certifiable; but as soon as the inspector came round they could do nothing but return the children. If the inspector would give her the power, she would put up a house and take their idiots and imbeciles and train them like they did at Waverley.

The PRESIDENT said, as he understood it, the Rev. W. Baker belonged to the West Derby Union, and the Guardians had made provision for the care of feeble-minded children; but they thought that the educational authority ought to pay something towards it, and not leave everything to be provided by the Guardians.

The Rev. W. BAKER: It is the parents of the children who wish to send them to our institution, the educational authority having discharged them from the special school.

The PRESIDENT said he thought it was perfectly right to apply to the Guardians to receive the children; and if the Guardians could receive them it would be within their discretion to say whether they would take charge of them or not. Education authorities had to deal with children under the age of 16, but the Guardians could deal with individuals of any age. It seemed to him it was the case of two authorities having equal powers, and it was rather a pity that both those authorities should have exactly the same powers. It was a great argument for supporting the recommendation of their Commission that the whole of that class of people should be put under one authority, so that Boards of Guardians could contract with that authority to receive every individual of that class who became chargeable. He thought the question supplied a very strong argument for the recommendation of the Commission.

The Rev. W. BAKER asked if there was any authority by which Boards of Guardians could keep the children at those homes after the age of 16. He had found it a most difficult thing, because they could not insist upon the children being kept there if the parents wished to get them out of the school, for the purpose of selling papers

in the street. He thought that Boards of Guardians should be allowed to retain these mentally defective children longer than the statutory age of 16. He had raised the question because he considered it a very important one.

Miss DENDY said the Boards of Guardians could adopt a case, and if they once adopted it they could keep the child until it was 18 years of age. It was necessary, however, for them to adopt the child in the first place, otherwise the child still belonged to its parents. Many Boards of Guardians sent their children far away from their parents, knowing quite well that parents of that description would not take much trouble to go and see their children. Where there was a thorough understanding between the Boards of Guardians and the education committee they did not find it difficult to get Boards of Guardians to adopt cases of less than 16 years of age.

Alderman ROGER asked whether there was any reliable information as to the percentage of men who had received military training and yet were feeble-minded. He asked the question because he knew that a large number of men were enlisted every year who were feeble-minded. (Laughter.)

Dr. MELLAND said he quite agreed with Mr. Roger. He had no statistical evidence at present, but he came across several men whom he found to be feeble-minded, but who had gone through an army training. Some of them had gone through complete training, but others had been turned away after being court-martialled, because they had done something extremely foolish, and it was found that they were "not mentally efficient," or in other words, that they were mentally defective. Many of those mentally deficient men, when working under supervision, were able to perform their duties fairly well, and it was a well recognised fact that a considerable number of feeble-minded persons had gone through an army course of instruction.

Mr. HOLMES said he had met with hundreds of men who had served their time in the army, but had suffered from sunstroke or some disease brought on in hot climates, and after being discharged from the Army they became not mentally responsible for their actions. A little drink would then lead them to commit crimes of violence. They had a considerable amount of knowledge at the present moment on the subjects they had discussed, knowledge that they need not be ashamed of. It had occurred to him to suggest whether, in view of the failure of the Government to act on either of the Royal Commissioners' reports, it was not possible to get them to take up the matter on the recommendation of that conference. He thought the conference should recommend that the question of the feeble-minded should be taken under specific consideration by a committee appointed by that conference in order to bring out the definite points and practical suggestions for legislation that had been made. The whole thing could then be drafted into a Bill and presented to Parliament. Somebody had to do it, and he did not see why they should not do it. He felt very strongly that initiative should be taken by some of their friends who had a certain amount of driving force in order that the matter might be brought before Parliament.

The PRESIDENT said he thought it was public property that the Home Secretary had a Bill ready to be produced in Parliament, and he should like further to say that there was another committee in which certain members of the recent Royal Commision had prepared a very elaborate Bill on the subject. Then, again, the National Association for the Feeble-minded had a Bill in hand dealing with special points, and it was only waiting an opportunity to be brought forward. Therefore, the meeting could see there were at least three Bills in hand dealing with the matter they were discussing.

Alderman DAVIS, of West Ham, said he should like to refer to one point, particularly to the paper read by Mr. Holmes. There was one fact they seemed to lose sight of. They were looking too much for new legislation, and were forgetting the amount of power they had at the present time. One of the first things he did on the Education Committee eight years ago was to study the reports of their Industrial Schools. Time after time it was reported that boys were discharged from their Industrial School and sent away to various parts of the country. Happening to be a Welshman he was interested in the number of boys who were sent to Wales, and he tried to get some information as to what happened to those boys. Time after time he was told that they were in good keeping, and were all right. He did not quite believe that because he had received certain private information which contradicted it. After trying to get more information, he thought it his duty to investigate the matter for himself, and he could give a pathetic story of his visit. He was a Welshman himself, and was astounded and ashamed at the manner in which some of his fellow

countrymen had treated the boys. He was also a member of the Asylums Committee, and one of the first things he discovered was that little boys of 8, 10, and 12 years of age were mixed with men who had very bad reputations. The same thing occurred in the women's ward. Human life was of more value than money, and he thought they should not be afraid of spending money in doing the best they could for their feeble-minded fellow creatures. Personally, he did not think it was fresh legislation they wanted so much as to use the powers they had at the present time. (Applause.)

Dr. MELLAND said with regard to the number of cases mentioned by Mr. Holmes of feeble-minded persons who were in the convict prisons, convicted of serious crimes, the fact was widely recognised. His paper only referred to the local prisons, where the most serious class of convicts were not detained. At the present time the short-period weak-minded prisoners drifted between the workhouse and the prison, and were not properly looked after; therefore their condition was not satisfactory either from the moral point of view or from any other point of view. They were fed and clothed at the expense of the State, but nothing further was done for them. No advantage was being taken of the faculties they possessed, and no education was offered them in order that they might develop those faculties. Whilst they were in the workhouse there was the additional difficulty that they had the power of going out at a moment's notice, and there was no power to detain them or control them whilst they were out. He had come across several cases where slight crimes had been committed in an automatic condition of epilepsy, but the law did not recognise such cases as that. With regard to the question of the difficulties between Education Committees and Boards of Guardians, he had made a note of it, and no doubt their President would take up the matter. He thought the unfortunate feeble-minded folk should be taken out of the hands of the Board of Guardians and the Education Authority, and should be put under one authority, who would take them from the early stage and look after them until they were segregated.

Second Day, Wednesday, May 31st.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was occupied by Sir William Chance. The subject discussed was SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EVILS RESULTING FROM MENTAL DEFICIENCY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITIES OF ACTION BY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES DEALING WITH THEM. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Feeble-minded and Rescue Work.*
By Mr. W. A. COOTE, Secretary of the National Vigilance Association.

2.—*Inebriety and Mental Defect.*
By Dr. R. W. BRANTHWAITE, H.M. Inspector under the Inebriates' Act.

3.—*The Feeble-minded in Workhouses.*
By Dr. FREDERICK NEEDHAM, H.M. Commissioner in Lunacy.

4.—*The Eugenic Summary and Demand.*
By Dr. C. W. SALEEBY.

5.—*Eugenics and the Prevention of Destitution.*
By Mr. E. J. LIDBETTER, General Relieving Officer, Bethnal Green.

The Feeble-minded and Rescue Work.

By WM. ALEX. COOTE.
(Secretary, National Vigilance Association).

THE question of prostitution is of great importance to the well-being of the national life, and consequently its consideration is of vital interest to the individual, to the home, and to the nation. The evil appears to be the product of civilisation, for from an historical point of view it seems to have been co-existent. The historical trend of thought is that it has ever been, that it is, and that it will ever be, and accepting this position nations have tried, by various means, though never successfully, either to tolerate or regulate it. (I would here suggest to all those interested in this phase of the subject, and who desire to further study this very controversial question, that literature by the best authorities, and bearing upon it from an international point of view, can be obtained free from the Offices of the British Committee for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, 17, Tothill Street, Westminster.)

To my mind it is to this attitude on the part of individuals that we owe the existence of prostitution to-day. With a pessimism unworthy of our humanity, which has made and is still making such marvellous progress towards a more perfect physical, moral, and spiritual life, we have up to a very recent date been

content to provide for the results of this prostitution of women, rather than to deal with the causes of the evil. Consequently, I accepted with pleasure the opportunity to call attention to one of its phases, the Feeble-Minded and Rescue Work, for which in my opinion neither the nation, nor society, nor the individual is responsible. Before doing so, permit me to place on record my firm conviction that prostitution is not, on any basis, either necessary or justifiable, and that like the practice of other vices, it is largely a matter of education.

Further, without making the slightest pretence at assuming the rôle of prophet, I am certain the time will come when prostitution of both men and women will cease to exist.

I propose first to invite your attention to the various causes which lead to the adoption by women of this life of shame, as I think it is in this direction we shall probably find some light and leading as to the best methods of dealing both sympathetically and effectually with the women who follow this mode of life. I do so because our methods of rescue have hitherto been conducted in the same stereotyped fashion, on the assumption that the life pursued by these women was the outcome of certain specific causes which in their reclamation called for a certain uniform method of treatment. Owing to this error, were we to analyse the methods, we should find a reason for much of the failure so frequently confessed to by disheartened workers. The accuracy of this judgment will be readily discerned, for if we look at the causes of prostitution, we shall discover therein a factor which up to the present has not been sufficiently recognised by rescue workers—viz., feeble-mindedness. This, in my opinion, is responsible for a considerable percentage of the number of those young women who tread the pavements of shame.

In studying the causes which lead to prostitution, it is not difficult to note how easy it is to attribute it to a variety of reasons, altogether independent of this, one of the chief factors—viz., the condition and character of the mind.

I know that ignorance, idleness, love of finery, great opportunity for amusement, the economic side of a woman's life, are also amongst the most common causes of this condition of life, but the great mistake we make in dealing with rescue cases is to assume that within the compass of these causes is to be found the whole secret of the trouble. We are too apt to diagnose for one or other of these causes, and to apply our remedies accordingly. Hence the reason of so much failure to re-establish these young women in the path of true citizenship. To my mind, and as the result of experience, a very real factor in bringing about the prostitution of women would be found to be, if scientifically sought for, a species of brain trouble or a certain degree of feeble-mindedness.

In connection with my work I have been called upon to investigate hundreds of cases of young women who have broken away from the ordinary home life, and who for no apparent reason have been found amongst our social derelicts. I say no apparent reason advisedly, because to the ordinary rescue worker the reason is readily assigned to natural badness and wilful sin, whereas upon a closer and more careful diagnosis one would find it to be the result of neither, but rather of a feebleness of intellect, which if recognised as such might be cured, whereas the trouble will only be accentuated if the girl is subject to the treatment appertaining to ordinary rescue homes. Let me point out one or two illustrations of what I mean. I was visiting a workhouse in the provinces, and in conversation with the Master on this subject, he called my attention to eight or nine young women looking strong and healthy, and capable of work of almost any description, and who in conversation did not disclose any great

mental weakness. They were periodically allowed out, and inevitably on those occasions fell into moral trouble. Not because they were vicious, but simply because they were feeble-minded, and readily yielded to their own hysterical impulses, permitting conduct which had they had a stronger brain they would not have allowed. Many such girls of various grades in life find their way on to the streets, and if rescued, the primary cause of their trouble is rarely recognised or dealt with.

Take another instance. I have had to deal with many girls who time after time have been in trouble, and in whom the animal and physical had swept aside continually the mental and spiritual forces. Why is this? If we accept the condition as an indication of sin and wickedness, and deal with it from that point of view, we make a great mistake, and defeat the object we have in view. These, and many other cases of feeble-mindedness might be cited as proof-positive that this phase of the moral trouble should be recognised as one of the most potent factors in rescue work if it is to be effective in its results.

Take another illustration typical of many that have passed through my hands. Parents bring a girl of whom they speak as being beyond moral control. She is very young, but periodically stays out all night, returning home after a day or two, with evidence which only too clearly indicates the moral inferno in which she has been wandering. When questioned one finds that the ordinary reasons which actuate young girls in departing from the path of virtue are absent in this particular case. When sympathetically questioned as to the cause of her conduct her only answer is, "I don't know," accompanied with an unnatural smile. Such a girl is impervious to the ordinary appeals of the rescue worker, and will frequently pass through the rescue home without the cause of her trouble being fully recognised, or adequately dealt with.

Most of the other causes are understood and dealt with by the rescue worker. In all cases, religion, and rightly so, is used to bring home to the heart and conscience the need of reformation, and the means by which it can be most surely attained. With the class for whom such treatment is suitable I have nothing to do, except to wish the workers God-speed in their noble and self-sacrificing labours. It is concerning the feeble-minded that I desire to offer a few suggestions as to a more excellent method of treatment.

Let me first emphasise that they are the subjects of a physical rather than of a mental disease. They call not for theological, but for medical treatment. One great difficulty which constantly presents itself to the rescue worker, even where no physical complications exist, is that no two cases are alike; each one presents a different phase, and calls for totally different treatment.

The first thing that happens to a girl taken to a Rescue Home is an examination by the Matron to ascertain within certain fixed rules the means by which she fell into trouble. The girl will give many reasons, either one of which is sufficient for the purposes of the Home. With the best efforts of the most intelligent Matron, if she has not been educated to diagnose for symptoms of feeble-mindedness, which if found would give a totally different aspect to the girl's trouble, the right treatment will not be applied. I am quite aware that in pronounced cases of feeble-mindedness the Matron would readily detect its existence, but there are so many degrees, much less pronounced, but which are equally the cause of the moral lapse, that if recognised, might be medically treated most successfully by the physician.

With reserve I suggest that we cannot too loudly sound this note of alarm in connection with our rescue work. An examination of the inmates of our

Rescue Homes by a committee of medical experts would, I feel sure, show that a large proportion of this trouble is owing to, or has its origin in, feeble-mindedness, in some form of brain weakness, rather than what we are accustomed to regard as sin, and as the outcome of a corrupt and vicious nature.

I do not in the least discount the value of the religious efforts of rescue workers to bring home to God the wanderers from the path of virtue. Let them not be relaxed, but if possible, re-doubled. I would only suggest that if rescue work is to be put on a scientific basis; if the results are to be more in proportion to the time, labour, and expenditure involved in dealing with these cases, then, in my opinion, the first person to examine a rescued girl should be a medical man or woman, upon whose diagnosis her future treatment should be based.

In the opening of this paper I said that this question was of vital importance to the nation. If, as the result of the examination of the girl, the physician is satisfied that her lapse is not the result of brain weakness, she should at once be passed on to a Rescue Home. But where it appears to be the outcome, directly or indirectly, of any phase of feeble-mindedness, the physician should have power to pass her into a hospital for scientific medical treatment, under the care of qualified nurses, where a far better opportunity of eradicating the mental trouble would be afforded than by any other process.

But, you ask, where are these institutions to be found? I reply, "In the Imperial Exchequer." Such girls are the nation's responsibility. They are more or less the product of our national life, and the nation should provide for their proper treatment, and for the restoration of these irresponsible social derelicts.

With the benevolent trend of modern legislation; with the national effort to provide for the inefficient and unfortunate, surely there should be no difficulty in providing well-equipped Homes or Schools of the description I have foreshadowed. It could, and would be done, if the people asked for it, but so long as philanthropy is willing to go on providing apparent remedies without properly ascertaining the nature of the disease, so long will the feeble-minded be denied the advantage of proper treatment, and an environment capable of meeting the peculiar exigencies of their need.

Inebriety and Mental Defect.

By R. W. Branthwaite, M.D., D.P.H.

I need hardly waste your time and mine in any effort to justify the importance of habitual drunkenness as an influence to be reckoned with in the causation of destitution; the fact that you have asked me to address you on the subject is sufficient evidence that you appreciate the position. Moreover, inebriety as a cause of pauperism, lunacy, and crime, is too evident to casual observers, who meet it as district visitors, as guardians, as members of asylum committees, and as prison visitors, to be overlooked by persons who make a special study of the subject. It seems, therefore, that I may safely assume your interest, and proceed without further preface to a brief consideration of the condition of the drunkard,

the relationship of drunkenness to destitution, and the responsibility of State and local authorities in regard to the control of inebriates.

First, then, a few words as to drunkenness in general, in order that we may have a clear idea as to the condition at fault, its mode of action, and the remedies that are indicated.

All drunkenness may be classified into: (1) Occasional, due to careless indulgence by persons who can remain sober if they will; and (2) habitual, due to an abnormal condition that renders its possessor incapable of desiring sobriety, and incapable of maintaining it, even if the wish be present.

Intermediate between persons who are strictly moderate on the one hand, and habitual drunkards on the other, is the class into which is relegated the free drinker or occasional drunkard. The constituent units of this class are either persons who indulge in excess carelessly, possessing enough force of self-control to be sober if they will, or persons who are exhibiting (in early stages) the constitutional peculiarity to be considered later as a characteristic of the habitual drunkard. It is therefore probable that no stability can be claimed for such a class; its units either sow their "wild oats" and subsequently become strictly moderate, or gradually lose control and develop into habitual drunkards. Considered from a poverty standpoint, it is a class requiring little more than recognition and brief notice. Whatever becomes of them subsequently, they are in but little jeopardy so far as poverty is concerned whilst they remain in the class; their importance as a factor in the production of destitution is not great. They run some risk of losing their occupation through injudicious utterances during excessive indulgence, and some employers of labour fight shy of any persons showing indications of insobriety, if even they are only indications. Free drinking also means company of an undesirable sort, and sometimes leads to financial embarrassment from excessive expenditure, betting, or injudicious investment. On the whole, however, it is rather straining a point to attribute much in the shape of poverty or destitution to the man who is only a free drinker, or drunken on special occasions, such as bank holidays, a club dinner, a wedding breakfast, or a funeral. If he finds himself getting into difficulty he pulls himself together. If he is unable to pull himself together he is to all intents and purposes an habitual, not an occasional, drinker.

With the habitual drunkard it is different, and it is necessary to consider his state more closely. Although it is clear that a marked correlation exists between the recognised forms of mental defect on the one hand, and habitual drunkenness on the other, the association is not definite enough to justify the commonly-heard statement that all inebriates are more or less insane or mentally defective. When inebriates of all social grades are classed together it will be found that the majority are neither the one nor the other; indeed, many typical habitual drunkards are extremely capable individuals during sober intervals. Notwithstanding this, even the most mentally sound inebriates are not normal persons, but the victims of a constitutional peculiarity, or fault of some kind, which cannot yet be defined or located, although the evidences of its existence are none the less definite on this account. The peculiarity in question is a potent one, calling for recognition as the true inebriate state, of which drunkenness, disorder, and erratic behaviour are merely the outward and visible signs. The distinctive characteristic of the man who is afflicted with this peculiarity is his inability to take alcohol in moderation, despite the most strenuous efforts of which he is capable. It is a psycho-neurotic fault that implies defective resistance to the action of alcohol or drugs, in exactly the same sense as the tubercular diathesis

implies impaired resistance to the specific infection of that disease. It is possible that inebriety may be acquired by long continued indulgence, just as tubercular disease may be acquired by long exposure to chronic infection, or brief exposure to extremely virulent infection; but, it is more probably inherited in most cases, remaining latent or becoming evident according to circumstances of habit and environment.

When inheritance is referred to as here, I mean the transmission from parent to child of a peculiarity that renders inebriety possible, not necessarily a heredity of drunkenness; the important difference being that the person who inherits the peculiarity does not always become a drunkard, but may exhibit his failing by surrender to other forms of disorder or moral obliquity. Moreover, the inebriate state in the child is not necessarily the product of parental inebriety, although it is often so—other parental psychoses and neuroses show a similar tendency to transmit inebriate possibilities to offspring. There is, for example, a sort of triangular reciprocity between all forms of mental defect, epilepsy and habitual drunkenness. The epileptic may produce mentally defective or inebriate children, the mentally defective person inebriate or epileptic children, and the inebriate epileptic or mentally defective children. Instances of this interchange are repeatedly before us. In these circumstances it is probable that the inebriate peculiarity is merely a variance of a morbid strain—a neurosis that needs little in the way of modifying circumstance to determine its character in one or other direction.

Given the inebriate diathesis, two other factors determine whether or not the affected person will remain sober or become drunken: (*a*) The presence or absence of a desire for intoxication; and (*b*) the adequacy or inadequacy of self-control. The desire to enjoy the feeling of intoxication is always acquired by experience; it is obvious that no such desire can exist antecedent to practical acquaintance with the sensations resulting from excessive indulgence. The desire when created (in persons who are born with the inebriate diathesis) is of compelling force, and resistance is possible only when those who are afflicted possess, or are able to acquire, an antagonistic influence of sufficiently vigorous character. The antagonistic influence referred to is that combination of faculties called self-control. The result (as to whether or not the person becomes inebriate) depends upon the relative strength of desire and self-control. Should self-control be insufficiently vigorous to govern an intense desire, or should it be so impaired that an ordinary desire obtains predominance, then an excessive indulgence is likely to result. Should self-control be of normal strength, or educable enough to be strengthened to meet requirements, a desire of average strength, or even one of considerable intensity, may be adequately governed, and sobriety maintained in spite of constitutional susceptibility.

It is probable that, given the inebriate diathesis, accompanied by strong desire, the requisite amount of self-control to maintain sobriety can be acquired by the majority of persons who have become habitually drunken, provided they are mentally capable of appreciating the necessity for effort, are afforded a reasonable chance of recovery, and can be made to believe that their peculiar condition renders them unable to take alcohol in any form, or in the smallest possible quantity. When self-control is lacking to a marked extent it generally means the presence of a stronger morbid strain than is represented by the ordinary inebriate susceptibility. Unfortunately, for instance, many forms of mental defect are often associated with the peculiarity in which we are interested, being evidenced by deficient intelligence, impaired moral sense, weak control over

impulses, and outbreaks of passionate temper, of violence, of restlessness, or of destructiveness, on slight provocation. For obvious reasons the prognosis is not good in persons of this type; they come of families in which there are other instances of brain disorder, and require treatment chiefly for their mental state, and only incidentally for their inebriety.

Unlike occasional drunkenness, the habitual variety is closely associated with poverty and destitution. Apart from the actual results of drunken habits the morbid strain with or without accompanying mental defect, may be so strong as to cause unemployability as the result of unreliability, dislike for work, or incapacity to perform it, lack of power of application, and abhorrence of any occupation that needs regularity, or savours of monotony. Moreover, apart from drunkenness there is a strong tendency in such persons to unmoral conduct of all kinds, ranging from petty misdemeanour to serious crime, and the facility with which such persons lose their temper, commit assaults, and cause damage to property, renders them unfit for ordinary occupation. When drunkenness is added as one of the evidences of this morbid strain, the picture is complete, and ultimate destitution becomes a foregone conclusion.

If this be so, how important it is that we should study the subject, and how necessary that efforts should be made to lessen the trouble in the interests of suffering humanity, and in the interests of sober and hard-working persons who have to feed, clothe, and control, those who are unable to do these things themselves. In my opinion habitual inebriety and the condition that causes it, considered as factors in the production of destitution, have received inadequate attention in the past, or attention that has been misdirected and proportionately valueless.

Public interest in the question is considerable, many thousands of persons being fully alive to the evil results of inebriety and the necessity for the employment of some remedy. Unfortunately, ignoring the disease aspect of the question, on the ground that all drunkenness is sinful and vicious, little real attempt at dealing with the drunkard has been made; the preponderance of effort being directed towards the advocacy of universal abstinence as the only possible remedy. In this way those who could be influenced by mere teaching, who still retained power to follow the dictates of conviction, have benefited; free drinking persons have been made more moderate, and occasional drunkenness has diminished. So far so good; but none, or practically none, of those who have thus benefited, belong to the class in which we are mainly interested, the one that contains the persons who do the real harm, cause all the domestic misery and poverty, are the disorderly persons, the potential criminals, and the lunatics of the future, and who in consequence of their condition become life burdens upon public funds. These persons are not affected by temperance teaching; it rarely reaches them. If it does, they will not heed; if they heed they are powerless to obey its dictates.

Something entirely different is wanted if we are going to diminish the habitual drunkenness of to-day; something that recognises the diseased irresponsibility of the drunkard; something aimed at the modification of underlying peculiarity, the reduction of desire, and the strengthening of self-control. It is useless to ask more of a person than he can perform without first endeavouring to endow him with the power to perform it. The more we regard the drunkard as a diseased person, needing protection and treatment, the better for all concerned. Let us, for instance, take more energetic steps to prevent such from obtaining liquor. How is it that two or three thousand persons in London (perfectly well known

as hopeless inebriates) are supplied with enough drink to lead to their imprisonment for disorderly conduct many times each year, and year after year? Notwithstanding laws to the contrary someone must supply them regularly until they become drunken. These persons are not only being maintained in their condition; but they are helping to continue their species by example, precept and direct procreation, to the disadvantage of future generations.

For a century past, up to a comparatively recent date, we in England have been content to apply one remedy to persons who are disorderly, or commit offences as the result of habitual drunkenness. "Five shillings, or seven days," varied now and then in the number of shillings and the number of days, may be considered a fitting description of that sovereign remedy. Regarded as a remedy, repeated confinement in prison is indefensible. That such a course should ever have become established is evidence of old-time ignorance concerning the psychoneurotic aspects of the condition; that it should have grown to its present extent in face of all evidence of uselessness is simply inexplicable.

The mental and moral degradation resulting from repeated imprisonment is undoubted. The hardening effect of gaol life upon habitual drunkards, and especially upon such of them as are feeble-minded, is fully realised by those whose duty it is to deal with such persons. The physical degeneration that results from the same treatment is also obvious. The system, of which imprisonment is a part, permits drunkenness to continue unchecked in the intervals between many imprisonments from year's end to year's end, until physical unfitness supervenes. Prison treatment does nothing towards the cure of drunkenness, and is worse than useless as a remedy for resulting destitution.

If we are to do anything towards the reduction of habitual drunkenness, and if resulting destitution is to be affected, it is necessary that more active measures should be taken; we must get into closer touch with drunkards, get hold of them early, and do more than send them to prison for an occasional week or two.

Try mild measures first without restriction to personal liberty, such as encouragement to resist desire, probation, and medical treatment, to be followed by stronger means when these fail. If control proves necessary, as it will do in most cases, let it be possible long before degradation makes it useless, and let it be applied under scientific conditions. If all efforts fail to reform the worst cases, let us face the proposition boldly, and apply more or less continuous control to cripple propagation, by example and precept, to lessen destitution, to reduce crime and lunacy, and to maintain the peace and sobriety of the community.

If control be desirable the question follows naturally as to who should bear the cost; in this matter State and local authorities are at variance. There is a strong feeling, on the part of some people, that the State should provide for the detention of all persons who have become public nuisances through drunkenness; others maintain that local authorities should bear part of the cost of detention, seeing that segregation and continuous control relieves local rates of many charges.

I think there is must to be said for the latter suggestion, although it is exceedingly difficult to estimate proportionate obligation. When alternating between street and prison, and throughout their history, recidivist inebriates constitute themselves a charge upon several funds, to an extremely variable extent. They increase the cost of police by necessitating the maintenance of a larger force than would be necessary if the streets could be cleared of the class. They cause damage to police, sometimes leading to retirements, and now and then to compensation for permanent injury. They require maintenance in police cells after

arrest, and awaiting trial, and contribute largely to the expenses of Petty Sessional Courts. They require carriage backwards and forwards from court to prison, with escort—not a large item in London, but an expense to be reckoned with in some provincial towns. They contribute largely towards the expenses of Coroners' Courts; sudden death either from accident or suicide is a common ending to a life of drunkenness, and a great many inquests are held upon the children of women inebriates, who die from accident or neglect or from overlaying. Many of this class of inebriates become lunatic, and need detention for part or the whole of their lives in asylums; others are attacked by delirium tremens, become ill from other diseases, or become senile, and require treatment in infirmaries or detention in workhouses during a destitute old age. The families of most of them claim out-relief, care in workhouses, or school provision. Finally, there is the purely State charge for maintenance in prison for offences connected with drunkenness.

Looking through the above list it will be evident that part of the expense of such inebriates as are not under control falls upon the State, and part upon local funds; but I think it will also be evident that the only real charge upon the State is covered by occasional maintenance in prison, the rest being mainly local charges, with the exception perhaps of State contribution towards police.

If, therefore, inebriates (who are public nuisances) are detained so that they cannot incur such expenses, the State is relieved to the extent of prison maintenance, and local funds so far as practically all other items are concerned. I cannot think there is evidence here to justify the sole charge of inebriates by the State, but evidence rather of dual responsibility. What that responsibility is cannot be reduced mathematically to an exact figure; but, personally, I am of opinion that if the State accepts liability to the extent of one-half the maintenance charge it makes a liberal allowance that should be accepted as sufficient. I throw out these points for your consideration.

The Feeble-minded in Workhouses.

By Frederick Needham, m.d.
(H.M. Commissioner in Lunacy).

There are very few workhouses visited by the Commissioners in Lunacy in which they have not urgent occasion to comment very unfavourably upon the presence in them of persons of both sexes so feeble in mind as to be easily certifiable, but who are not certified and are therefore free to leave at will.

In many cases this freedom is taken advantage of with disastrous results, and it would be easy to multiply instances of feeble-minded girls who so act and, being quite unable to take proper care of themselves, subsequently return to the workhouse to give birth to illegitimate children.

It is our common practice to draw the attention of the officials of the workhouses, of our own Board, and of the Local Government Board, to these cases by name and to press for their certification and detention. In numerous instances

we thankfully record a compliance with our recommendation, but this is by no means universal.

The medical officer of the workhouse frequently advises the Guardians that he is either unable to certify particular cases, as to the certifiability of which the Visiting Commissioner has had no doubt, or, regarding them as harmless, considers them to be in no need of certification. This, as we frequently point out, altogether misconceives both the character and object of certification in such cases.

Being directly dangerous to themselves or others, or having gross mental disease or pronounced delusions, do not of themselves afford the only reasons for certification. There may be only such an amount of mental feebleness and weakness of will as makes the patients unable to take adequate care of themselves, and yet they may be quite certifiable if certification be regarded, as it should be regarded, as only a requisite for detention in cases of defective mental power where liberty would only be used injuriously to the individual or others.

I have no doubt that the law as it at present stands is adequate for the detention of this class if the average medical mind could be induced to regard certification in this light and as having this object. It is, however, probably desirable that there should be some simplification of the process of certification as has been done in the case of idiots who can be received and detained under the certificate of one medical practitioner accompanied by a short statement under the hand of a parent or guardian. At present under Section 24 of the Lunacy Act persons detained permanently in workhouses have to be so detained by Justices' orders, accompanied by two medical certificates, one of them being that of a medical practitioner unconnected with the workhouse. This deters not only by its complication but also by the unnecessary expense which it entails. A simpler process would probably lead to much more rapid and satisfactory results.

The Eugenic Summary and Demand.

By C. W. Saleeby, M.D., F.R.C.S., Edin.

I.—The Eugenic Summary.

In the programme of this section, which deals with a definite disease of the social organism, we are following the logical order of all scientific medicine, individual or social, and are successively studying the causation, the symptoms, and the treatment of mental defect and disorder. After the disease in question had been defined yesterday morning, its causation was, in large measure, discussed in the afternoon; and to-day a series of expert papers has dealt, authoritatively and in some detail, with its consequences or symptoms. There has now fallen to me, as one of those to whom I have given the name of Eugenists, the task of presenting a summary of the evidence and of the situation, in order to determine—if one may continue the analogy from individual medicine—what remedies are indicated by the principles of Eugenics, which is indeed none other than Racial Medicine and Hygiene. To-morrow we shall proceed to study the methods of treatment which are at present being practised, and on Friday, in our joint meeting with the education section, we shall learn how the radical cure of the disease may, must,

and shall be effected in the near future, by " taking it in time "—which means in this case by its recognition and treatment from childhood and adolescence onwards. The quite exceptionally logical, coherent, and organic structure of our programme is worth insisting upon, for it is what might have been expected in dealing with a social problem which is in the rarely if not uniquely happy position of being the subject of substantial agreement by all parties. To adapt Herbert Spencer's observation, the unanimity of the ignorant, as represented by the mediæval attitude towards mental defect and disease, has been succeeded by the disagreement of the inquiring, as illustrated by the pioneer students of the nineteenth century, and that has in its turn yielded to the final stage, the unanimity of the wise, as we may all fairly claim to be on the elementary principles of this subject. The legislation which we demand must therefore be granted without further delay, now inexcusable. The problem of mental defect and disease is the great omission from Mr. Lloyd George's superb scheme of National Preventive Medicine: it must now be dealt with by legislation.

(*a*) *The Three Causal Factors.*

To proceed to my task, let it be first insisted, as cardinal and radical, not more from the academic than from the practical point of view, that the recognition of the importance of the hereditary factor in the causation of mental defect and disease, as indicated yesterday by Drs. Mott and Tredgold, is the great culminating achievement of this age-long inquiry—in which the human mind has travelled from devils to determinants. Many most difficult and important matters remain for investigation, but the recognition of the hereditary and natural factor in mental defect and disease is just as useful, just as conclusive and indicative, as the recognition, say, of the part played by the mosquito in the causation of malaria. This comparison—it is, of course, not a parallel—may appear extreme to-day; it will appear platitudinous in a generation. Incriminate the mosquito and malaria is potentially mastered; incriminate heredity, and these evils are potentially mastered; but until these factors be identified, little more than inadequate palliation can be hoped for. It may be definitely claimed, therefore, that an epoch has been established, that yesterday's papers mark it, and that the proceedings of our section will not close without doing justice to the opening of the second decade of what will some day be called the eugenic century.

First, let us briefly review this fundamental axiom, which is one part of the triple basis for our demands. Such evidence as that recently obtained by Dr. Goddard, at Vineland, in New Jersey, clearly compels us to look at certain forms of mental defect from the Mendelian point of view. The history of Mendelism, since its rediscovery, exactly covers the last decade. If we are to go forward we shall do well never to move in the realms of heredity and pathology without this clue. Otherwise we shall not know how to inquire properly and usefully into family histories; we shall not know how to reply to critics who point to normal children who have one feeble-minded parent—they will not find normal children who have two; by omitting to study grandparents as well as parents, we may not merely fail to understand the cases, so intelligible to the Mendelian, where the disease " skips a generation," as used to be said, but we may actually reduce order to chaos, as in too many inquires by the " biometric " method, where only two generations have been studied. Mendelism has clearly and finally showed that the study of heredity cannot be prosecuted by observation of two consecutive generations—*i.e.*, parents and offspring—alone.

My second point is that our programme has not included one question of the highest difficulty and importance, which is the *origin* of feeble-mindedness in a stock. This is, of course, part of the standing biological problem of the "origin of variations," which even Darwin was compelled to bequeath to us unsolved, and which only the present century has begun to unravel. This problem is capable only of experimental solution. The theorists have argued about it for half a century and, so far as they are concerned, we are no further. But experimental biology, in a sense the newest, as it is also certainly the oldest, of the sciences, is now solving this great problem, mainly in the United States. Many observers there, of whom perhaps Macdougal is foremost, are showing that chemical changes in the environment or nurture of germ cells, existing in the bodies of potential parents, may produce new variations in the offspring, which breed true, and may actually be transmitted in strict Mendelian fashion. In this new work, which Professor Bourne, in his Presidential Address to Section D of the British Association last year, justly reproached students on this side of the Atlantic for neglecting, I venture to find steadily accumulating warrant for the view that certain substances, of which alcohol, lead, and the syphilitic toxin are types, are what I call "racial poisons," which may originate defect, abnormality, or disease in a previously healthy stock. I am bound to add the expression of my belief that nowhere in the programme of proceedings of this great National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution are we showing due recognition, or anything remotely approaching due recognition, of the importance of the national consumption of alcohol, and of alcoholism, individual and parental, as a prime, originating *vera causa* of destitution in nearly all its forms, not least those which are due to mental defect or disease, acquired or inherited.

The third and final point in this part of my summary is that the discovery of heredity does not mean that environment matters nothing. The finding of the mosquito in malaria detracted nothing from the importance of the parasite: merely we must recognise and deal with both. Unfortunately, here some have found heredity only to lose environment, and, of course, they are no better off with the one half-truth than with the other. It was one of the many services of my mighty master, Francis Galton, that he taught us to think in terms of "nature and nurture"; and it is, to me, quite clear that, since every character of every living thing is the product of both nature and nurture, we must include both in our demands, and must recognise what may be called Primary or Natural Eugenics and Secondary or Nurtural Eugenics. It is a great thing to have found the first factor, but we must not forget the second: the recognition of the hereditary or natural factor as predominant in many cases does not entitle us to ignore such nurtural factors as syphilis and alcohol in general paralysis and Korsakoff's psychosis. This protest has been rendered necessary since the advocates of eugenics have unfortunately been joined, in the past four or five years, by some whose new recognition of the importance of heredity has blinded them to the potency of nurture, above all, to the limitless potency for evil by which bad nurture may and often does utterly ruin the finest natural material imaginable. A recent instance, in which the splendid work of the Glasgow Parish Council, in providing good environment for children born in slums, was grossly and inexcusably slandered by a writer in the *Mendel Journal*, will be familiar to many of us. The attempt to exploit eugenics as an instrument of class dominance or as an alternative to social reform —of which eugenics is indeed the criterion, guide, and goal—involves nothing less than the gross prostitution of the noblest ideal of all time.

The eugenic summary, then, is that the existence of mental defect and disease

in the social organism must be dealt with, primarily and radically (though not exclusively, as the one-eyed assert) by reckoning with the primary, natural or innate factors of the individual. We must apply here the principles of what I call "negative eugenics," which is the prohibition of parenthood on the part of the unworthy. Secondly, recognising the existence of the racial poisons, known and unknown, we must apply, in so far as we can, the principles of "preventive eugenics," which seeks to stand between healthy stocks and the prime agents of racial decay, from alcohol and syphilis downwards. Thirdly, we are to continue to practise secondary or nurtural eugenics, as practised, for instance, in our schools for the mentally defective; but we are to repudiate, for ourselves, and for public instruction, and in our legislative demands, the implied idea that any kind of nurture whatever can compensate for defects of nature. When public opinion and the legislature recognise these elementary truths as we here assembled do, clearly perceiving that nine-tenths, nay, ninety-nine hundredths, of what we now do for the insane and defective-minded is not merely as bad as, but vastly worse than, soup kitchens for unemployment—then there will be an end of what is most hideous and most ominous in the social life of our time.

(*b*) *The Symptoms.*

Let us, then, sum up, with the powerful aid of those experts who have already spoken with authority on their special field of experience, the malignant symptoms of the presence and multiplication of these mentally defective and diseased elements in the social organism; and thereafter we should set ourselves, with eagerness and seriously, to ascertain whether the ideal cure, which is to "remove the cause," can be carried out in accordance with the etiological elucidation which has just been discussed.

The papers already read, together with much other evidence, have proved that the mentally defective and diseased, existing in it and as part of it, injure the community in the following ways:

(1) They contribute largely to the ranks of chronic alcoholism and inebriety, with all their consequences—for the description of which, despite the cheap and common jibe, the language of no temperance reformer can very well be intemperate.

(2) They contribute largely to the illegitimate birth-rate: that is to say, to the production of children for whose nurture, quite apart from the question of their natural defect, no adequate and satisfactory provision is or indeed can be made.

(3) They contribute largely to the ranks of prostitution.

(4) They thus contribute largely to the propagation of the venereal diseases, with all their consequences to the present and the future.

(5) They are responsible for much crime, major and minor, both *mala in se* and *mala prohibita*.

(6) Both directly as economically inefficient and indirectly in the ways here cited, they contribute to the number of the destitute, constituting the majority of the naturally, as distinguished from the nurturally, unemployable.

(7) They contribute largely, as parents, married or unmarried, to parental neglect and cruelty to children, which is probably more injurious to the adult life of the next generation than most or any of us realise.

(8) They contribute largely to the ranks of the wastrel and the hooligan.

In such ways and to such a degree these persons injure the community. But it has particularly to be noted that therein the community also injures them.

The fact is obvious to all of us here; but it is by no means obvious to our vocal and voluble critics outside, who fancy that we are preparing harsh measures, in the interests of the many, against the unfortunate few who cannot help themselves. The injury wrought by the present relations between the community and these unfortunate persons is mutual; they injure it and it injures them; but not until we recall the words of Burke, in the light of modern genetics, shall we realise the full measure of this injury; for, as that great thinker said, a community is "a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, and those who are dead, and those who are to be born."

To the foregoing indictment of the present state of things, and remembering that whatever is inherited is transmissible, I therefore add and sum, as a Eugenist:

(o) They *become parents* and thus contribute incalculably to the maintenance of these evils—after we are dead, but not after we are responsible.

II.—The Eugenic Demand.

Such being the summary, what is the demand? Can we formulate therein the appropriate, adequate, and feasible treatment?

The problem is primarily a moral one. We have to discharge our duty to all concerned, to the patients and to the community, present and to come. I purposely place the patients first, for there is an evident risk that they as individuals, and the eugenic cause may be injured by prescribers who have lost touch with first principles—as enthusiasts, even those most admirable of enthusiasts called eugenists, are apt to do. Thus we need mention, only to condemn, suggestions for "painless extinction," lethal chambers of carbonic acid, and so forth. As I have incessantly to repeat, eugenics has nothing to do with killing; natural selection acts by death, eugenic selection by birth; eugenics replaces a selective death-rate by a selective birth-rate; it distinguishes between the right to live and the right to become a parent, and questions the former never. No form of actual or constructive murder (such as the permission of infant mortality) has any place in eugenics, and I only wish there were some legal means of preventing those who advocate such things from calling themselves Eugenists. The true Eugenist is not an Herodian but a Magian.

(*a*) *The Three Difficulties and their Solution.*

We are not only bound to keep the feeble-minded and insane alive, but we are bound to do our best for them, though there are some who argue on this subject from the eugenic standpoint as if we were to resort to the indescribable horrors of the days before Pinel and Esquirol and Tuke. In advocating what we desire, we must beware of an error which is vicious in principle and disastrous in result. One may perhaps be permitted to observe that a recent deputation which approached the Home Office on this matter in the interests of eugenics, and of which it was afterwards said that officials and Members of Parliament felt some dubiety regarding this "proposed new principle in legislation"—segregation for the prevention of parenthood—committed the error to which I refer. We are to put the interest of the individual patients first. What we ask for is primarily in their interest, there is nothing else imaginable so much to their interest, and it is as much demanded and necessary for the feeble-minded woman of sixty as for the girl of sixteen. True, what we ask is not only the discharge of a humane and imperative duty to the individual, it also involves the protection of the future—but we must be very careful to put these two objects in their proper order.

This point is fundamental to the socio-political theory of our subject, and we must consider it a little further. Huxley declared, in his Romanes lecture, that moral evolution, with mercy to the hindmost, opposed cosmic evolution, with its survival of the fittest and the consignment of the hindmost to the devil. Darwin, in his "Descent of Man," declared that, notwithstanding the racial consequences, we must continue to care for the degenerate. The difficulty is solved, I suggest, by Negative Eugenics, which satisfies the demands of "moral evolution" by taking the utmost, kindest, above all the most continuous care of these persons, and in doing so incidentally satisfies the demands of "cosmic evolution" (to quote Huxley's very crude and unphilosophic terms), by excluding the possibility of parenthood.

Unfortunately, too many persons are taking up the cry of the "segregation of the feeble-minded" in a fashion which leaves the kindhearted and the champions of what they understand by liberty, to suppose that we simply want to run these unfortunates into cages and leave them there. For nearly eight years I reiterated, with voice and pen, this demand for segregation, but for some little time past I have pleaded for *life-long care*. Public opinion, which will never grant the one, will readily grant the other; and since they are one and the same thing, stated with a difference in emotional *timbre*, all will be well.

This is not merely trifling with a serious and expert audience. We know the facts and the duty of society; but we have to form public opinion before that duty can be discharged, and if we are to control public opinion we must study it and adapt our means to our end, and not despise the arts of the counsel or the candidate because our ends happen to be worthy. The most popular of living journalists, who has assured the public, in many editions of his book, "What's Wrong with the World?" that whereas I prefer eugenics he prefers rheumatics, spends much of the time which he can spare from such subtle epigrams upon the championship of what he understands by liberty; and all readers of Dr. Sherlock's recent book on "The Feeble-minded" will agree with those who have first-hand knowledge that this question of liberty has to be properly appreciated and dealt with by us. There are champions of liberty who appear to think that the feeble-minded and inebriate prostitute is freer in Piccadilly than in a home, and who are actively engaged in justifying Madame Roland's cry, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" with far more poignancy than anything in the history of the French Revolution. Readers of Miss Dendy's report on the work in 1910 of the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-minded will remember how two girls were withdrawn by parents at the age of sixteen because there was hope of profiting by their earnings, and how disastrous the consequences were. We who seek to protect the feeble-minded, so that such girls, after years of care and devotion, may not be turned adrift just when our care should be redoubled, we who seek to avert the fate of the feeble-minded mother of an illegitimate feeble-minded child, a mother who may thereafter become a prostitute, syphilitic, abandoned by God and man, as it would seem—it is we who are the friends of liberty.

But we must be careful so to state our case. We must insist that the feeble-minded or insane person's own interest is our primary concern, and then if we are challenged about liberty by those who think in names, we must reply that liberty is not a gift but an achievement, and may remind our literary critics of the words of Goethe, that freedom is his alone who daily conquers it anew. In so far as this conquest is at all possible for such patients it is possible only under the care against which those who think of liberty in mechanical terms protest. The

defective-minded are in the position of children all their lives, and our duty is accordingly to take care of them, primarily in their own interests, as we take care of other children.

I have attempted to deal with the first argument against the eugenic demand: it is the argument from primary morality and humanity, and must be honoured, respected, and fairly answered, however much inclined we may be to treat with contempt the ignorant assurance of its most conspicuous representatives.

A second argument is that the cases for care and control cannot be recognised. This argument is commonly advanced by those critics who say, "We know nothing about heredity," which indeed no one denies. Those, however, who do know something about heredity, and who do possess some first-hand acquaintance with the mentally defective, must answer this question seriously, for it is a real one in the eyes of public opinion. I speak as one who has preached eugenics, by voice and pen, all over the country for many years past, and I know that if we are to gain our end we must return satisfactory assurances on this point. My customary reply to objectors is, and has long been, that, as regards the many doubtful cases, we must continue our study and meanwhile beware of rashness; but that there are many more cases as to which there is no doubt whatever, nor possibility of it; and that our doubt of the former group does not discharge us from doing our evident and unquestionable duty to the latter. I further make a point of adding, whether in answering questions after a lecture or in public or private correspondence, that all decisions as to the care and control of the mentally defective will be subject to frequent periodical supervision, as in the case of the certified insane at the present time. The point is of great importance in the education of public opinion, which is too apt to think of segregation as something harsh, hasty, and irrevocable, instead of humane, deliberate, and flexible.

The third argument against the satisfaction of the eugenic demand is that it would be very expensive. On the contrary, it would be incredibly cheap, as compared with the present expense; only the actual cost would be known (because measurable) in the one case, whereas it is unknown (because it is immeasurable) in the other. The expense argument is, however, like the other two, of great practical importance; and that is why we must make, and when necessary display, such a catalogue of consequences as I have already outlined. After reviewing it, only the very feeble in mind will ever again cite this argument against the right care of the feeble-minded.

I have dealt with the three objections, in the name of liberty, in the name of scepticism, and in the name of economy, which the Eugenist must expect to meet before his demand can be satisfied. That demand is for the right care of the mentally defective just so long as they and we and the future need it. Commonly this will mean all their lives; invariably it will include the period of adolescence (which, worse than savages—say Zulu or Bantu—we now neglect); and in those comparatively rare cases where continuous lifelong care or segregation seems more than is demanded in the interests of the individual alone, the Eugenist is not without an appropriate measure. That measure is non-mutilative sterilisation, by vasectomy or salpingectomy, or possibly by the Röntgen rays. This I advocate on the grounds of humanity, in cases where lifelong control of the individual is unnecessary, and, so far from favouring the happiness of the individual, as in the great majority of cases, would be cruel. Not until 1907 did I venture to quote sterilisation freely as a eugenic measure, for great play can be made with it by our careless and unscrupulous opponents. But it has its place

in the eugenic armoury—and even, as Indiana illustrates, in the records of eugenic legislation: and we may recognise and advocate it provided that we never refer to it or even think of it except as a measure of mercy and kindness in suitable cases. There will be plenty to laugh at such an assertion, but when they and their laughter as silent and impotent for ever, the work of Pasteur and Lister, which already serves the cause of child birth, and is thus an instrument of positive eugenics, will be in the regular employment of negative eugenics by putting a racial end to individuals unfit for parenthood, whom it will leave otherwise complete in structure, function, and feeling.

(*b*) *The Growing Point of Progress.*

In the final meeting of our section we shall discuss the growing point of progress—which is the child, and the care already taken of children at the school age. We shall consider the distinction between the naturally defective (or the very-early-nurturally defective, such as the Mongolian), and the child who is merely dull or backward owing to lack of sleep, imperfect diet, the half-time abomination, or any other such nurtural cause. I am no administrator, and will stick to my last; but it is evident that the solution of the practical problem will grow out of the existing care of children at the school age. The child is the growing point of progress.

Finally, we must continue to investigate the originating causes of mental defect and disease, alike in stocks and in individuals. The evidence, if we judge by the work of the American school of experimental biology, the experiments of Oliver with lead, those of Laitinen, Hodge, Combemale, and a host of other students with alcohol, the observations regarding malaria adduced by Ross and Jones, and the general trend of modern psychiatry—will point to a number of toxins or poisons, some of which act upon the nervous system of the individual, at various stages of development or in maturity, the more important of them also being capable of producing blastophthoria or poisoning of the germ, which falls most severely, as theory would lead us to expect, upon the determinants or factors (probably pro-ferments) of the nervous system of the future individual. Against these racial poisons a preventive eugenics must fight, chiefly by the methods of education and improvement of environment on which all are agreed and to which the theory of racial poisons adds force.

When the field of eugenics is thus completely viewed, the possibilities of action therein will be seen to be unlimited. Already, we must fight by every means in our power for the humane and adequate control of mentally defective stocks, and must engage no less arduously and variously in the struggle against syphilis and alcohol. There is no discharge in this war, but we shall win; the Eugenist must be prepared for ridicule, contempt, and misunderstanding, but may bear with him to the end the words of Matthew Arnold, scion of a fine eugenic stock:—

> "Charge once more then, and be dumb,
> Let the victors when they come,
> When the forts of folly fall,
> Find thy body by the wall."

Eugenics and the Prevention of Destitution.

By Ernest J. Lidbetter.
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The term "Prevention of Destitution" involves the consideration as to whether and to what extent destitution is preventable, and these questions can only be answered after inquiry into the causes of destitution when found. Such an inquiry resolves itself into an examination as to the mental and physical condition of the destitute individual, his character or type, and the environmental condition in which he was reared and moves. In short, has the individual been endowed with a sufficient measure of energy, capacity, and intelligence, to enable him to make the best of his environment, and so attain that standard of efficiency which will be at all times self-supporting.

The "Eugenics Education Society" recently undertook an inquiry from that point of view, and as I was intimately concerned in that inquiry, I have been asked to put before you to-day the view of the Society with regard to Prevention of Destitution.

Any proposal for the Prevention of Destitution must command the sympathetic consideration of all interested in the welfare of the race, and it must be admitted at once that a fair proportion—perhaps not a very high proportion—of the destitution caused by temporary sickness might be prevented. It is agreed, too, that given a community "well born," the provision of a good environment should prevent destitution for all who wished to be independent.

But it is the view of the Society that destitution, so far as it is represented by pauperism (and there is no other standard) is to a large extent confined to a special and degenerate class.

Those acquainted with the Poor Law know that the steady decline in pauperism is the result of the consistent application of well established principles, and of improvement in administration, and that the whole process of administration and legislation since 1834 has been gradually to press the passably efficient out of the ranks of pauperism.

This process, together with other causes associated with treatment, has been to develop and confirm a defective and dependent class known and recognised as the pauper class. The proposition that there is a distinctive pauper class need not be laboured. All connected with either the Poor Law or private charity know that they deal with a class separate and distinct from the world of independent men and women, whose ramifications extend only into well defined channels.

The problem of destitution lies distinctly and for all time in the personal and human element which this consideration involves. Policy and administration directed merely and extensively to an elaboration of machinery, which in principle and in practice leaves the personality of the pauper untouched, will not only raise the cost of pauperism above the present high figure, but, inasmuch as it involves the increased dissipation of public funds on a class incapable of improvement thereby, will do no more than serve to perpetuate the defective class and to attract within the pauper class the enormous population living on its border.

More and more public policy is developing in the direction of higher expenditure on the unfit, and less, comparatively, on the fit. In the name of education,

special schools are now provided for cripples, the deaf and dumb, and other mentally and physically unfit. Under the Poor Law, workhouse accommodation in all classes is superior to the standard of living among labourers of independence, and it is admitted that the medical provision has now reached such a degree of excellence as to be above that obtainable, not merely by the independent labourer, but also by the working classes generally, and in some districts by the middle class. It may be noted here, too, that "the period of the greatest increase in the expenditure per pauper corresponds with the period of the greatest numbers" (Majority Report, page 31).

It is commonly asserted that these provisions are to be justified on the grounds that they are remedial in their character, and with regard to the pauper, that the restoration to independence is a sufficient excuse for the expenditure. Whilst there was reason to hope that restoration to independence was possible, or that those subject to special treatment as remedial were likely to improve to any appreciable extent under treatment, it was possible to view the expenditure with some degree of acquiescence, but it is now generally admitted by those who know the system, that the special treatment afforded to children in special schools, in institutions for the feeble-minded, and for adults in homes for inebriates, etc., that beyond an increased measure of comfort and happiness whilst in the institution (which could be secured at much less cost) the system has accomplished little of ultimate practical value.

With regard to the restoration to independence of the pauper, the claim rests on the example of an occasional case, here and there, of some person or family who received relief for a period, probably in special circumstances, and thereafter were not known to re-apply—at least for a time. Except in the case of orphan children "permanently" maintained, on the death of their parent or parents, it could not be shown in any considerable number of cases that the receipt of Poor Law Relief does more than tide the pauper over a period of exceptional distress.

Even in the case of infirmary treatment it could not be shown that a sufficient measure of restoration takes place to justify the expenditure made to that end. Not more than 40 per cent. of current chargeability in infirmaries could be shown to be cases of first chargeability, and that proportion would in part consist of sickness of a permanent kind. At least another 35 per cent. would be found to consist of chronic paupers—persons who spend their lives between the workhouse and the infirmary, or who habitually resort to the Poor Law in any difficulty. The other 25 per cent. are cases of repeated admission—chronic paupers in the making.

That conception of pauperism which is based upon the assumption that the pauper is the normal person made destitute by necessitous circumstances, fails to recognise that behind those circumstances there is the character and personality of the destitute person; that destitution in an adult is a sure and certain sign of inefficiency (not necessarily a fault), and that efficiency is pre-eminently a matter of hereditary quality.

Let us take the class most favourable to the point of view that the pauper is the normal person—the able-bodied—and try to ascertain the measure of efficiency in that class.

From the Local Government Board Report, 1909-1910, it appears that on January 1st, 1910, there were: Able-bodied indoor poor (in health), 24,916; able-bodied indoor poor (temporarily sick), 34,843; able-bodied outdoor poor, 75,109.

Now let us remember that included in these figures are many persons not directly chargeable:—

(1) Widows receiving relief for children.

(2) Deserted wives.

(3) Women waiting for maternity wards.

(4) Wives with children, whose husbands are in hospital or prison, and who cannot keep the children without assistance.

(5) Men relieved on account of the sickness of wife or child.

(6) Able-bodied men who become chargeable on the death or absence of their wives, and who cannot get on without them.

All the various persons I have named are classed as able-bodied . . . and properly so. They form at least 60 per cent. of the ordinarily able-bodied. Many of these are chargeable only in the sense that they are the responsible heads of families relieved—often by medical attendance only.

I wish to say nothing to weaken that sense of responsibility which alone keeps this form of relief in check, or to minimise the burden imposed upon the community in the maintenance of a service to meet all these varying requirements; but I want to insist that those who study the statistics, and build their social and economic theories out of them do not realise the diversity of causation lying behind this chargeability.

They see that there are so many thousands of able-bodied paupers, and assume that these are unemployed workmen needing only to be employed to be rendered independent.

The chargeability of an able-bodied widow with her children may be, and often is, due as much to biological as to economic cause. . . . The desertion or imprisonment of a husband or wife may be due—and I find frequently is due—to a distinctly inheritable defect—namely, mental. Many husbands and wives part because life together is impossible . . . and for reasons of character associated with inheritance. . . . And in such cases it is good for the community and the race that they should part.

Now all these varying classes cover quite 60 per cent. of the ordinary able-bodied class. Of the remaining 40 per cent., at least 38 per cent. suffer from some mental or physical defect or some abnormality or deficiency, and in nearly every case of indoor able-bodied pauperism it will be found that the individual is of a low mental type.

It is this low mental type that I particularly commend to the attention of those working for the Prevention of Destitution. What are you going to do with it? It is prolific: it is healthy: and under pampering legislation and administration it has a survival value not to be found among the higher and more sensitive types. Yet it has neither the mental nor physical energy to keep pace with the normal population, and be at all times self-supporting.

This low type finds its way inevitably to the workhouse. Lack of initiative, lack of control, and the entire absence of a right perception is a far more important cause of pauperism than any of the alleged economic causes. How do you propose to deal with it?

The Poor Law is said to have failed with regard to this class. What else can be expected? The Poor Law is set and hedged about with a number and variety of contrivances designed by the various religious and charitable agencies to arrest the course of the destitute person on his devious path to the workhouse. The arrangement acts as a sort of human sieve through which only the hopeless and the helpless pass to the Poor Law. All that can be used, turned, or exploited by

the arresting organisations do not reach the Poor Law. . . . It is retained, used, and exploited, and made the subject of favourable report.

And the failure of the Poor Law with this class is not less than the failure of the Education Department, the Central Unemployed Body, or any other organisation, and for this reason: If the organisation treats them as normal persons, they fail to come up to the standard; if they are treated as less than normal, the organisation at once becomes a charity, is pampering as such, and thus increases the volume of its dependents.

To this broad general class four smaller classes regularly contribute:—

(1) The feeble-minded, to which I need only refer.

(2) The wandering family. The man and woman with children who wander up and down the country, never having a settled home, and often no settled locality. Their children are born and die in the workhouse, their existence is eked out with periods of hop-picking, pea- and fruit-picking, in short intervals in prison, the infirmary, or the workhouse. The children are not educated (guardians will not even adopt them because they "do not belong to the parish," they never learn a trade, and have not even the slum child's privilege of a settled environment.

(3) The "ins and outs." These differ from the last, but are so well known that I need only refer to them.

(4) Again, in a special class society permits reproduction; but holds the parent unfit to rear the offspring. Under the Poor Law Act, 1899, guardians were empowered to adopt and withhold from their parents the children of parents whose mode of life is such as to render them unfit to have the control of children. A large number of children have been adopted under this statute, and the parents set free—without enforceable obligation to even contribute towards the maintenance of such children—to recommence the process of reproduction over again, well knowing that they will be relieved of their fresh obligation by the community, if, in the meantime, their conduct is only sufficiently bad.

The Poor Law, like the Prevention of Destitution Scheme, is defenceless against all these classes. Whilst society permits full freedom for production and development, it must provide a service for their care and, at least partial, maintenance; moreover, no deterrent policy will influence men and women who by character and temperament are impervious to the considerations which move the normal person.

No scheme for the Prevention of Destitution can hope to be successful which is not based upon the principle that the individual whose destitution is to be prevented actively co-operates in the measures to that end This assumes the desire to be assisted and the capacity to co-operate. What is the nature of the appeal to be made in these cases?

The able-bodied pauper in health is a person outside the considerations which move the normal person; appeals to his manliness, his courage, or his self-respect all fall on barren ground, because there is nothing in him to respond. . . . As Dr. Slaughter has so well said, "he was born without manly independence . . . he came into the world with his mainspring broken," and no sort of virtuous appeal can reach or move him.

To what length is the community prepared to go in its defence against these classes? It is clear that for some of them the only measure is that suggested by the Eugenics Society—namely, detention and segregation.

The important considerations are (1) the liberty of the subject; and (2) the

increase in cost imposed on the present generation for a service the benefit of which will not be felt in this generation. With regard to the former a distinction must be drawn between liberty and licence. The latter term is more appropriate to many existing conditions. If the term liberty is to cover freedom in its widest and wildest sense, then there is no justification for the measure of interference already established.

The increase in cost ought not to be great, due regard being given to the relief afforded to the existing system by the withdrawal of its expensive members, and the possibility of detention in self-maintaining conditions.

Eugenics and the Prevention of Destitution will be best served if and when we secure that the best in our organisation is used in an effort to educate and develop those who are really educable, and in whom the development is possible on the right lines; and that our accommodation for the treatment of sickness shall be available for those who may be nursed back to health and independence to take their share in doing the world's work, instead of, as at present, being absorbed by the hopeless, the incompetent, and the defective. Thus would be saved the waste in our organisation, not only in itself, but in the improper survival value it gives to the defective.

Any scheme for the Prevention of Destitution, to be successful, must take into account the value of original human quality, and must consider the consequences of supplementing the survival value of defective strains.

Survival value consists of two parts—production and preservation. The fecundity of the defective is abundantly established; the preservative element is supplied in the social organisation which so elaborates its administration as, not merely to arrest the natural decease of the defective, but to preserve and develop the defective community on better terms than the normal person—and at his expense.

Discussion.

Captain A. St. John (Penal Reform League) said he often wondered how many of these people, whom they heard of as being always in and out of prison, were feeble-minded. The feeble-minded should not be sent to prison, but should be properly cared for; and if they had proper places of detention available where people could be kept under expert observation and examination medically and sociologically, it would be a great step forward. The information gained would be an excellent guide as to how such persons should be disposed of, and at the same time valuable scientific information would be obtained. In America, at St. Louis, there were five places at which juvenile offenders were examined very carefully and afterwards trained, and the system might be made available for adults as well as for children. It would only be doing justice to them, and would be a great aid to scientific knowledge.

Miss Kirby said with regard to fallen girls there were several homes for these girls in various parts of the country. They had one in connection with their Association at North Finchley, and there was one at Bath and another at Birmingham. It was quite easy to start those homes on a small scale, and when once they were started very little subscriptions were needed to keep them going. She hoped that more of them would be started in the future.

Dr. Harry Corner thought it might be helpful to those working amongst those subject to habitual immorality if one introduced a scheme of classification. They should be classified so that those who fell through force of circumstances could obtain

special treatment. He took it that that was the class of people who were treated by the rescue homes; but the other class needed pathological treatment, and could not be properly treated in the rescue homes, but should be treated in a medical home, where they could be better controlled. In some cases, of course, there was nothing to control, but in other cases it was caused through arrested development. Want of control also occurred later on in life, especially amongst men, but occasionally in women, with the result that they got into terrible trouble. It was caused through illness, and not to any intentional wrongdoing. A person might take to drink or might become thoroughly immoral, but it was simply a preliminary stage of mania, and it first manifested itself in loss of control. As a rule it would lead to acute mania; but many of those cases could be saved under proper treatment before they reached the acute mania stage, when of course they were recognised as lunatics. An important point was mentioned by Dr. Saleeby in the degeneracy which led to diminished receptive power, not only diminished resistance against temptation, whether the temptation was drink or anything of that sort, but against disease; and it was quite apparent that if there was diminished resistance to microbal disease there was diminished resistance to other things, and they had to take that fact into consideration. The alcohol habit in many cases was acquired, but when the alcoholic habit was added to mental deficiency, it was much harder to cure. The same thing applied to drugs, and he only wished people addicted to the drug habit could be dealt with in the inebriate's home. Temperance was gaining headway in this country, but the taking of drugs was on the increase; and not only should they be able to control inebriates, but they ought to be able to control drug takers as well. Quite recently he came across a case in which an inebriate lady placed herself in the home, but after being there for twelve months she got tired of it, and wrote home to her husband, persuading him to get her out of it. The superintendent, however, referred the husband to the magistrate, and the magistrate declined to allow her to go. The husband then went to the Home Secretary, and the lady got her discharge, which had a very bad moral influence on the inmates of that home. It was an offence for a publican to supply alcohol to an inebriate, but it was not an offence for a chemist to supply pounds worth of drugs to people whom he knew to be drug takers, and whom he often knew were under medical care. The drug takers surreptitiously obtained these drugs; or if they could not obtain them themselves, they were obtained by friends who sent them to the patient, the consequence being that their treatment became hopeless. In all cases, however, where the habit was acquired, they could be treated in the inebriate's home, and the prognosis was often extremely hopeful in drug cases. He should put the recoveries at 75 per cent. at least in the acquired cases, but in other cases nothing but permanent control would be satisfactory. With regard to Dr. Needham's paper, medical men were often anxious to certify cases, but could not do so. The Lunacy Commissioners were the first people to complain if they sent in a weak certificate. He had under his care some time ago a very vicious case. It was the case of a youth of good family, and he was so vicious that he did not care to receive him. He was an extremely good musician and clever in many respects, but in other respects he was very weak, and the least drop of alcohol made him raving mad. He was eventually charged at the police-court for an unnatural offence, and committed to the assizes. Whilst he was awaiting his trial he stayed with the speaker, who called in another well-known specialist, but he could not certify him. They only had a few days before the assizes, and the only method by which they could get legal restraint was to ask for an inquiry into the person's state of mind, which usually took some months. An inquiry was afterwards held before the Master in Lunacy, and everybody agreed that he was not responsible for his actions, but they could not certify him. They, however, got an order two days before he went to the assizes, otherwise he would have been treated as an ordinary prisoner and found guilty. After being in prison for some time, it would have been found that he was insane, and no doubt he would have been sent to Broadmoor for the remainder of his existence. At the present time the law only took into account the evidence the doctor obtained at the time of examination, and he mentioned the case to show that the law should be altered.

The PRESIDENT: What became of him?

Dr. HARRY CORNER said he became weaker and weaker, and was now an inmate of an asylum. When a person had property and could not manage his affairs, it was usual to hold an inquiry, which took the whole of his conduct into account throughout his existence; and they wanted something of that sort brought into their

ordinary method of certification. When young people were guilty of disorderly conduct it often showed that there was mental disorder, and an inquiry should be made into the case. A doctor in his private practice had an examiner standing over him, in order to see that a person was not certified without being examined properly. He knew what the law of England was, and he also knew something about the liberty of the subject. If they put a man under restraint, he might afterwards bring an action against them, therefore the ordinary medical man was under a great difficulty.

Miss DENDY said she thought that segregation would be a great step forward; she was afraid if she told a poor woman she wanted her children in order to give them lifelong care, the woman would strongly object, but if she told them they were to be segregated, she might be contented. She never called her school a school for feeble-minded, but called it a boarding school. It was necessary to know the people one was talking to, and address them accordingly.

Mr. G. TOULMIN, M.P., said he was not a specialist, but he was convinced that that Section was working on a most important matter, and that greater powers from the Legislature were needed. It was quite apparent that they must have continuous care for these feeble-minded people, and he did not see how they could get it unless fresh legislation was passed. In order to secure it, however, they would require the whole force of public opinion focussed on the matter. As far as feeble-minded people were concerned alcohol was poison, and he thought temperance societies should point that out to the people, instead of representing that the taking of alcohol was a sin. It might possibly be a sin for some people to take alcohol because of its harmful effects, but such statements should not be applied to people generally. He also thought it amounted to a sin to give alcohol to weak-minded people, who had not the mental capacity to appreciate what they were doing. He thought the temperance societies could perform good work by getting feeble-minded people to become total abstainers; and if they joined forces with the temperance reformer they would no doubt to able to obtain what they desired in the way of legislation. If they could not keep alcohol from weak-minded people, they must keep weak-minded people from alcohol. Therefore temperance societies could do excellent work in that direction by joining forces to secure an amendment of the law. He had tried to get the Feeble-minded Bill introduced before the conference commenced, but failed to do so. However, he hoped to be able to introduce it shortly in order that they might discuss the Bill in Parliament in the autumn. It was a very practicable idea, and a little pressure brought to bear in certain directions would no doubt enable them to get the Bill passed. The Bill was in an advanced state of preparation, but just required a few finishing touches. However, he would rather have an imperfect Bill introduced this session than nothing, in order that they could talk about it and suggest improvements during the autumn. They must, however, have public opinion behind them, otherwise it would never become law. If he was to use the word "segregation" in the House of Commons instead of "homes," he was afraid it would cause discussion in certain sections of the House. He fully recognised that there would have to be some kind of power of detention. There was also the question as to whether the children should be put into large institutions or into smaller homes. It might be possible for a child to be considered feeble-minded, whereas it was merely very backward; and he thought that class of child should be afforded an opportunity of having their backward education made a little more perfect. He thought there should be an age limit, and that the younger children should be placed in small homes up to a certain age in order that they might be brought up under home-like surroundings. If they had an age limit the children would not be kept in the smaller homes all their lives, but they could be treated there and afforded an opportunity of being trained to earn their own living.

Mrs. NOTT BOWER (Richmond Union) said she had just two points to urge with regard to rescue homes. The first point that arose when a girl entered the home was whether she was feeble-minded or not. She did not think that point was overlooked in a rescue home, but the difficulty was that when they were found to be feeble-minded they did not quite know what to do with them. That class of case was the most difficult problem they had to deal with. She did not refer, of course, to those girls of a low grade of mental deficiency, but rather to those who were on the border-line, who were extremely artful, and they had no proper means of dealing with them. They found, however, that the majority of them, if kept in good surroundings and amongst good people, became good girls, but if they came

under any evil influences they again lapsed. She did not think feeble-minded girls were vicious as a rule, but they were subject to the vicious acts of others. She had often tried to find a home where they could get a girl taken in for less than 12s. per week, but there were very few. There was always the problem as to how many years the girl would have to be kept, and how long they would have to keep paying the 12s. per week. She was very pleased to hear that there was a home where girls could be accepted under 8s. per week. There was also the difficulty of obtaining subscriptions, because if they had to pay 8s. per week until a girl was 70 or 80 years of age, the subscribers would become alarmed. That was the great difficulty they had with regard to rescue homes—the obtaining of subscriptions, because they often had to keep feeble-minded girls for indefinite periods. If the Legislature would give them control over those girls, they would be able to perform a very useful service. With regard to the question of giving drink to feeble-minded persons, it was an offence to give drink to a child under a certain age, and it also ought to be an offence to give drink to a feeble-minded person.

Mr. MACKERETH (National Temperance League) said that all people dealing with inebriety came across feeble-minded people. The two problems went together. With regard to morals, the inebriates had no morals; or else perhaps he had most extreme views about morality. The inebriate and the feeble-minded were very closely connected, and he had often found the two things running in a family. He thought that a great many inebriates, both men and women, could be cured if they exercised a little self-control. Many women inebriates did not take the trouble to attempt to cure themselves, because they were told there was no cure for them; consequently, they did not attempt to exercise their self-control. There were comparatively few feeble-minded people as compared with the vast number of inebriates. Many of them present had no doubt tried to give up smoking, and had found how difficult it was. He had himself smoked seven times before 10 o'clock in the morning—(laughter)—but had given it up. It was exactly the same with regard to drink, provided the person had the brain and will-power to refuse alcohol. The great evil was that the inebriate could not be locked up, and could not be taken away from his home surroundings.

Dr. SALEEBY said the present system of certification was a very bad one, and practitioners had to be very careful, otherwise a man would bring an action against him and ruin him for life. Whenever he lectured on temperance platforms he always pointed out that inebriety was a symptom, and that the partaking of alcohol was not a sin. The word "segregation" had been used and abused by various writers. They might on one occasion call it segregation, and on another occasion call it a permanent home. With regard to legislation controlling sterilisation, he was hopeful that it would eventually come about. It was done in America at the present time, although he was bound to admit it was sometimes abused. He had been informed that in America married people sometimes went to their doctors and got them to perform the simple but safe operation for obvious reasons. However, although it could be abused, yet at the same time there were many cases in which it could be turned to the service of eugenics.

Third Day, Thursday, June 1st.

MORNING SESSION.

The chair was taken by Sir William Chance, and the subject discussed was WHAT PUBLIC AUTHORITIES AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES ARE DOING AND CAN DO TOWARDS ENSURING PERMANENT CARE FOR MENTAL DEFECTIVES. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Work of Voluntary Institutions for Idiots, Imbeciles, and the Feeble-minded.*

By Dr. F. D. TURNER, Assistant Superintendent, Royal Eastern Counties Institution.

2.—*Homes and Colonies for the Feeble-minded.*

By Mr. W. H. DICKINSON, M.P.

3.—*Monyhull Colony.*

By Mrs. R. VINCE.

Work of Voluntary Institutions for Idiots, Imbeciles, and the Feeble-minded.

By F. DOUGLAS TURNER, M.B. (Lond.)
(Assistant Superintendent, Royal Eastern Counties Institution, Colchester.)

THE paper I have the honour to present to this conference on the work of the voluntary institutions must necessarily be confined to that group with which I am specially connected. I refer to those institutions for the care and education of idiots, imbeciles, and the feeble-minded, which, without the aid of any grant or contribution from the State, have for periods varying from forty to sixty years, maintained and educated by private benevolence an ever-increasing number of all three grades of this class of mental defective. Without wishing to detract in any way from the excellent work which has of late years been performed for the highest of these grades by the National Association, the Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Feeble-minded, and various Education Authorities, I wish to point out that the voluntary institutions, to which I propose to refer, were not only the pioneers in the work of caring for idiots, imbeciles, and the feeble-minded, but for over forty years they were the *only* institutions who provided for this class in any shape or form, apart from the lunatic asylum or the workhouse. Our founders, however, aimed at something more than mere care and training for a certain number of idiots or imbeciles. They went forth as missionaries to tell the people of England the sad condition of the idiots, to arouse the public conscience and to call for help for the whole of a pitiful class till then uncared for. I am indebted to my father, who has been connected with the Royal Eastern

Counties' Institution for forty-six years, for many of the particulars contained in this paper. Dr. Shuttleworth and Mr. Turner are, I believe, the only representatives now remaining who are able to remember the early struggles of these voluntary institutions. They number eight, viz., six in England and one each in Scotland and Ireland. It is, however, only the English institutions to which I shall refer, and placing them in order of seniority, they are the Magdalen Hospital School, Bath; the Earlswood Asylum; the Royal Eastern Counties' Institution, at Colchester; the Western Counties' Asylum, at Starcross; the Royal Albert Institution, at Lancaster; and the Midland Counties' Asylum, at Knowle, near Birmingham. Three of these institutions are under the direct patronage of His Majesty the King, and two have been granted the honour of calling themselves Royal Institutions. Their list of supporters includes most of the eminent names in England, and there is scarcely a village in the country where the name of one or other of these institutions is not known and appreciated. Apart from public authorities, they maintain the majority of cases for whom any provision is made.

Before I relate their history, there are two points I wish to bring before this conference. The one I especially wish to emphasise is that from the very beginning these institutions were founded for the express purpose of caring for *all* grades of this class of defect, that is, for idiots, imbeciles, and the feeble-minded, from the lowest grade of idiot to the highest type of feeble-minded. The second point is that it seems to me that the work they have done in the past has not received its fair share of acknowledgment, nor has sufficient consideration been given as to how they are to fit in to any scheme for the future. To give one instance: at the end of the prefatory statement printed for this section of the conference, although the National Association and the Lancashire and Cheshire Association are rightly given as prominent examples of voluntary bodies, no mention is made of any one of the institutions I represent.

To Dr. Andrew Reed belongs the honour of arousing the conscience of the country on this matter of caring for the idiot and the imbecile. He it was who founded the first institution in England, now known as Earlswood, which was inaugurated at a public meeting held at the Mansion House in 1847, under the direct patronage of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. Funds were collected for the building of a National Asylum, but while this was being done, first Park House, Highgate, and then Essex Hall, Colchester, were rented, and on April 26th, 1848, the first patients were admitted at Park House. Earlswood itself was opened in 1856, the late Dr. Langdon Down being appointed the first superintendent, and all the patients from Essex Hall were ultimately transferred there. In 1859 the building at Colchester was opened, through the efforts of Dr. Andrew Reed, Sir Wm. Luard, and Mr. Millard, as a separate institution for the eastern counties, being the first provincial asylum for idiots. The Royal Albert, at Lancaster, now the largest and richest of all the institutions, followed in 1864, Dr. De Vitré being largely responsible for its inauguration, and Mr. Diggens, who had been at Colchester, the main cause of its success. Dr. Shuttleworth, now so well known, was the first superintendent. The Western Counties' Asylum, at Starcross, was established in the same year, chiefly by the exertions of the Earl of Devon and Mr. Northam, and the Midland Counties' in 1868, by Lord Leigh, Dr. Bell-Fletcher, and Dr. Kimbell. These institutions were all started with the same general idea; primarily, they were educational establishments for idiots and imbeciles, and secondly, several of them were intended for the permanent care of the more helpless cases. The wording of their separate constitutions is almost identical, being "not merely to take the idiot

under their care, but especially, by the skilful and earnest application of the best means in his education, to prepare him as far as possible for the duties and enjoyments of life." It must be remembered that in those days the word idiot was the only "statutory" term for all grades of congenital mental defect, although imbecile was in common use for the higher grade, and the highest of all were designated simpletons, a word, however, which has gradually been replaced by feeble-minded. That these institutions were intended for all grades, including feeble-minded persons, is amply proved from their early reports. I will content myself with quoting from the first report of the Royal Eastern Counties' Institution, published in 1860, and written by Dr. P. Martin Duncan, F.R.S.:—

"The objects of your charity may be divided into three classes: simpletons, imbeciles, and idiots. The first are those feeble-minded who have not been able to receive instruction in the ordinary manner, who do not possess the experience in life peculiar to those of their age in their social position, and who are said to be dolts, stupid, and fools, by the uncharitable. They have nearly all the faculties to a certain degree, but indicate their alliance to the true idiot by their physiological deficiencies and general inertia of mind. *They are to be distinguished from the backward and ill-taught.*" The report then goes on to define the imbecile and the idiot. Later, when Dr. Duncan had been discussing some unmanageable cases, he says: "As Essex Hall is a school in reality for the feeble-minded . . . these cases are obliged to be sent elsewhere."

The fact that from the first cases now known as feeble-minded were admitted, is also proved by the case records of numbers of patients, some of whom were discharged to earn their own living, and by the presence now in these institutions of a number of feeble-minded patients, who have been there for thirty, forty, and even fifty years, all of whom were certified under the old Lunacy Laws designating them idiots. At Earlswood, five of the first cases admitted were, at the end of their term, engaged as servants in the institution, and as early as 1860 it is stated that five patients were able to make panelled doors. Although the younger institutions were established as training schools, the first two, viz., Earlswood and the Eastern Counties' Institution, were from the beginning also intended for permanent care. One of the original rules of the latter institution provided that "a case may enjoy a life interest either by success at a second election or on the payment of £10 per annum." It was, however, found that under this rule the permanent cases soon began to fill the institutions, and therefore to reduce the available vacancies at each election, and to obviate this difficulty, the number of life cases had to be limited (at Earlswood, for instance, to one hundred), although a system of re-election for additional terms beyond the first has, in actual practice, resulted in a goodly number of the inmates being permanently cared for. At the Royal Eastern Counties' Institution (excluding a small number sent to other institutions), only just over one-fifth have been permanently discharged, all the others admitted during the past fifty-two years are still under treatment or have died in the institution. Of the present 360 inmates, 178, or nearly 50 per cent., have been in residence from seven up to fifty years. At Earlswood 184 patients, or 41 per cent., have been in residence over ten years, and sixty-five from thirty to sixty years. At the Royal Albert over 160, at Starcross 33, and at the Midland Counties' Asylum 25 have been there over ten years. One of the chief difficulties of providing permanent care is that it quickly reduces the vacancies in an institution to a negligible quantity. It might be assumed from statements one hears that the idea of permanent care for this class had only been recently thought of. I admit that in the beginning the voluntary institutions thought that a larger

proportion of those trained would be sufficiently improved to earn their own living, but they soon discovered that this was a mistake, and found, to quote an early report, that "cure must not be expected ; all that can be looked for is alleviation." Or again, "We do not profess that idiots by tuition, or any amount of attention, can ever attain an average amount of intellectual power." That permanent care was not only thought necessary, but was provided in two of the institutions, I have already proved, but the younger institutions took up the position that though admittedly life care was necessary for a large number of cases, that was a matter for the State and not for the charitable public.

From the first it was realised at these institutions that ordinary school work was not of much use, that teaching in the three R's was all that was necessary, even for the highest class, and that manual and industrial work was the best kind of training for all grades. As far back as the year 1854 the following trades were taught:—Matmaking, shoemaking, tailoring, netting, plaiting, carpentering, basket-making and gardening.

For many years the institutions were greatly hampered in their work by the fact that they were under the Lunacy Laws. The objection to hearing their children described as idiots, and the complicated procedure necessary to send even a small child for treatment frightened the friends of applicants. However, in 1886, by the combined influence of all the institutions, a Bill was introduced and passed under the name of the Idiots Act. By this Act the term "imbecile" became a statutory one, and the form of procedure necessary for detention was so simplified, and has, in practice, worked so well, that it has been recommended as a model by the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded. The term imbecile was not defined in the Act, but was intended by those who drafted it to cover the higher grades of congenital mental defect. As soon, however, as this term became statutory, the natural wish of parents to consider their own children better than others induced the increased use of the term feeble-minded. No doubt when this latter term becomes, as recommended by the Royal Commission, a statutory one, we shall have the same tendency to get outside its scope, and the highest grades of defectives will become "feebly-gifted," or something of that sort. Those of us who have to deal with these cases frequently hear the friends say their children are, of course, not imbecile, and are much better than any patient they have seen with us, and after admission it is very exceptional to find these cases even as good as our higher grade patients.

In 1890, under the auspices of the Charity Organisation Society, an influential committee was appointed to report on the provision made for, amongst others, the care and training of the feeble-minded, and Dr. Warner undertook a laborious series of investigations. In 1896 a Departmental Committee was appointed by the Government to inquire into existing systems for the education of feeble-minded and defective children who were not idiotic or imbecile. The recommendations of this committee were embodied in the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899, and the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded have since recommended the repeal of parts of this Act so as to allow of the special schools established under it being transferred to the new Board of Control.

In 1895 the National Association for the Feeble-minded was founded and influentially supported, and it has established under its own care five homes, and recently the Princess Christian Farm Colony. It also has affiliated to it about eighteen other homes in various parts of the country. Roughly speaking, the Association provides accommodation for some 400 cases.

In 1898 the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the permanent care of the feeble-minded was established, and under the energetic guidance of Miss Dendy, has prospered exceedingly, so that it now maintains 223 cases.

The chief points of difference between these homes and the voluntary institutions are that although the homes have been provided by contributions of the charitable public, almost the whole of their inmates are supported by payments from Boards of Guardians or Education Authorities. They do not take the lower grade cases, and patients over sixteen years of age cannot be legally detained. In the case of the voluntary institutions the inmates are largely supported by the charitable public; they take all grades, and under the Idiots Act have the power of detention to any age.

The idea that led to the passing of the Defective Children's Act of 1899 was that the bulk of these cases could be trained to become self-supporting—an idea we had already proved to be erroneous. Each grade may be improved to a considerable extent, but the great majority will always require control and supervision. What we have always maintained is that idiots, imbeciles, and feeble-minded are three gradations of the same kind of mental defect, and that in spite of the classification attempted by the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded the grades overlap, so that no definite dividing line is possible.

Although influential people had been endeavouring to get this Commission appointed, it was not till the voluntary institutions came to their assistance in 1904 that the Commission was actually obtained. The original reference to the Commission was " to consider the existing methods of dealing with idiots and epileptic persons, and with imbecile, feeble-minded, or defective persons not certified under the Lunacy Laws." It is a matter of extreme regret that no one connected with the voluntary institutions was appointed on the Commission, their experience on the subject being unique, and this omission is doubtless responsible for the fact that although the earlier parts of the Report contain many expressions of approval the recommendations will, without doubt, have the effect of extinguishing all voluntary effort.

I should like to refer briefly to the work that these institutions are doing at the present time. The six in which I am especially interested possess amongst them nearly five hundred acres of land with large buildings, freehold, and unencumbered, the total value of which is roughly over half a million of money, besides endowment funds of varying amounts. The total income of all the institutions for their last completed year (including donations to building and endowment funds) was about £86,000.

Their buildings consist of custodial departments for lower grade cases, special departments for children and cripples, hospitals, convalescent homes, schools under specially skilled teachers, industrial and training blocks under specially experienced tradesmen, with residential blocks to correspond. They have also farms, farm houses, and cottages. The whole of these are supervised and managed by those who have devoted the best part of their lives to this particular work. All but one are filled to their utmost capacity, the number of patients under their care in the last completed year being 2,190. Patients are admitted by the votes of subscribers (except at Starcross), and some by payment. By a system of re-election, cases are retained (especially in the case of Earlswood and the Eastern Counties Institution) for term after term. Patients admitted by election belong to the working and lower middle classes, whose friends are too poor to pay for them. These institutions were not intended for pauper cases, but latterly a certain number of these have been admitted by payment from Boards of Guardians. Except at

Starcross, all grades from idiot to feeble-minded are taken, the higher grades being the same as those seen in the special classes of the Education Authorities, and in the homes for the feeble-minded, and each institution has many cases equal to the examples given by Dr. Tredgold in his book as the highest class of a typical special school for mental defectives. There appears to be no difference, mentally, between the patients at Starcross, who are all certified under the Idiots Act, and those also feeble-minded at, say, the Metropolitan Asylums Board Home at Witham, who are not certified. I have seen both, and if there is any difference, it is in favour of Starcross.

The method of procedure with new patients admitted to any one of the voluntary institutions is much the same in each case. They are carefully examined by the medical man in charge; generally they are placed in quarantine and watched for a fortnight, and then transferred to the department which seems best suited to them. The small children go to the nursery, the cripples to their own department, and the hopeless cases to their block, but it is seldom a patient goes into this grade straight off. Even with the apparently hopeless, hope is retained and every effort is made to bring out all the latent intelligence they may possess. The majority go to the schools and shops, but no decision is ever considered final, and if they do not get on at one occupation they are tried at another. Their own wishes are consulted—an important point if they have a bent in any one direction. Few of the patients remain quite unimproved. Even the lowest grade become cleaner in their habits and more manageable, but the great bulk are trained to be useful in some way, however small. The lower grades may only shake mats, carry coal, wheel garden barrow, pick fibre, or clean boots, but the higher the grade the greater the degree of proficiency reached. It is astonishing how soon many of them begin to take a pride and a pleasure in their occupations, and it is seldom that visitors to any one of these institutions do not go away surprised almost beyond measure at the excellence of the work accomplished by the inmates. At ordinary school work many, who on admission knew nothing, can now read, write, and do arithmetic up to compound subtraction and even division. But it is at industrial work they do best, and there are many who can make suits of clothes, boots, brushes, and baskets, besides plain or fancy mats both on a loom and on a frame. In two of the institutions nearly all the stockings and jerseys required are made by the patients on machine knitters. Some weave cloth, and the Honiton lace produced at Starcross is so exquisite that it scarcely seems possible it can have been made by defective girls. The Earlswood inmates print their annual report and do much general printing work as well. Many help largely with the housework and the mending, as well as in the kitchen and laundry. The elder girls are very useful in looking after the less advanced cases. Many lads and men do good work in the gardens and on the farms. Some make fair carpenters, but they especially excel in woodcarving. Some enjoy draughts and whist, nearly all love music, and look forward eagerly to a dance or an entertainment. Magic lanterns and gramophones help in the winter evenings, and both football and cricket matches are keenly contested. Drill with music is good for all who can join, and many do well in the ordinary exercises of a gymnasium. Several of the institutions have brass bands composed principally of patients.

The list of prizes won by patients in these institutions, when in competition with normal individuals, is a long one, ranging from bronze medals and a diploma of honour at international exhibitions, to sweeping off most of the prizes at some of the county handicraft exhibitions. To take only last year as an example, at

the Essex Exhibition they took both first and second prizes for chip-carving, for brushes, for baskets, and for mats. At Teignmouth they took two first and two second prizes for woodcarving, and one for Honiton lace; and at Exeter both first and second prizes for carving. At the Suffolk Exhibition, when amateurs and professionals from all over England competed, they took one out of two first prizes, and at Ipswich they took three out of a possible four prizes (two firsts and one second) for wood-carving. Perhaps I may quote a paragraph from the Report of the Royal Commission which emphasises the good work done by these institutions:—

> "We should like to point out that some of the best teaching we have seen both in England and America has been done by teachers who have been trained in institutions, for example, the Starcross Asylum. The results at Starcross, both literary and industrial, are quite as satisfactory, if not more so, than any attained by certificated teachers employed under the present regulations of the Board of Education."—P. 111, vol. viii.

But the visitors' books at these institutions contain hundreds of references quite as full of praise from all sorts and conditions of men as well as from public bodies.

There is no doubt that the great majority of the patients are happy. They lose the feeling of inferiority, being as good as their neighbours, and they take a pride in themselves and their work. They are easy to manage once you gain their confidence, but they need tact and cannot be driven. Small rewards for good work in the shape of regular pocket money and promotions from a lower to a higher grade are almost all that is necessary for discipline. If there is difficulty, it is with a few of the highest grade, especially those who have an insane family history.

What has the future in store for these institutions? It must be evident that if the recommendations of the Royal Commission are carried out, all voluntary subscriptions for this work from the charitable public will cease. If by the simple request of parents, etc., the County Councils are compelled to make suitable and sufficient provision for the care and control of any mental defective, whose parents cannot afford to pay for it themselves, it is not to be supposed that people will continue their subscriptions to these institutions. The Commission commented very favourably in the body of their Report on the work of these institutions, and undoubtedly seemed to expect and desire their continuance. But the only reference that applies to them in the actual recommendations is that "the Statutory Committee may contract with any public or voluntary agency for the care, education, training, or maintenance of mentally defective persons" (Rec. 42). It may be said that as these institutions are already built and equipped it will be to the financial advantage of the Statutory Committees to contract with them. This may weigh with some of the Committees, but many authorities will from the beginning undoubtedly insist on having their own institution, and as years go on the number of those prepared to contract will become an ever-diminishing quantity. It may be said that it will take a considerable time before all the Statutory Committees will have an institution of their own, but this is merely postponing the inevitable and reducing the voluntary institutions to the level of a bridge to help the authorities over the next few years. It is a matter for thankfulness that after sixty years of voluntary effort there seems a prospect of the State taking over its rightful work and doing its duty by these cases, but surely in any national scheme there ought to be a special niche found and a permanent position insured, for these institutions which have borne for so long the burden and heat of the day.

Homes and Colonies for the Feeble-minded.

By W. H. Dickinson, M.P.

The subject upon which I have been asked to address this Conference, if taken in its broadest sense, would demand far more time than that which has been placed at my disposal, and I propose therefore to restrict my remarks within a very narrow compass. I am enabled more easily to do this by reason of the fact that you have other speakers dealing with such questions as asylums for lunatics and imbeciles, after-care, special schools, and other matters affecting the mentally defective. My observations may therefore be directed to considering the provision made for the feeble-minded in its narrowest sense, namely, those who, whilst not fully endowed with sense are, nevertheless, not ordinarily looked upon as being of unsound mind.

The feeble-minded, in this sense, is a person who has come under public notice within a very recent period. Lunatics and idiots have for many years formed part of our recognised social system, and have claimed and obtained their share of attention and even their place on the statute book; but the feeble-minded is only now struggling for his rights. He is hardly yet in sight of the promised land, where, within the limits of his intelligence he may take his share in the work of the world and fulfil the purpose for which he has been created.

The discovery of the feeble-minded by the public is a discovery of the last forty years. It has come about through that revolution in social sentiment which has characterised the last half century and which has led society to recognise at last its responsibilities towards its weakest members. It has been largely due to the entry into municipal work of persons of sympathetic and earnest character, and, in my opinion, it has been especially due to the co-operation of women in that work. With a few exceptions the pioneers of this movement have been women guardians and women educationalists; and, for this simple reason, that in the personal attention that they devoted to the classes under their supervision, they came into actual contact with the evil as it existed and had to set to work to devise a remedy.

Their first experience was in the maternity wards of the workhouses. There is no more pathetic figure in all our cruel world than the feeble-minded girl who passes in and out of the maternity wards. In an Irish workhouse I saw a young woman with two children, both probably feeble-minded. She was mentally defective. Her mother had been mentally defective, and had given birth to her in the same ward as that in which she came to bear her children. She has spent the whole of her life in and out of that workhouse as her mother had done before her and her baby daughters will probably do later on if nothing is done to prevent it.

This girl is no lunatic. She cannot be certified. She cannot be detained. She does not want to do wrong. She is the victim of society's neglect. And she is only one of thousands of cases. No wonder that when lady guardians were faced with these unhappy persons, they felt that something must be done and set to work to do it. They realised quickly that the only remedy lay in providing these women with a home which would not be the workhouse or a prison, but a residence where there should be sufficient comfort and occupation to render the inmate contented and useful, and, one by one, such homes have sprung up in different parts of the country. The earliest that I know of was established in

North London by Miss Alexander in 1887. This home was later on transferred to the care of the National Association for Promoting the Welfare of the Feeble-minded, and also removed to Hammersmith, where it now is. It accommodates nineteen young women, for whom the guardians pay 10s. per week, the balance being provided by charitable subscriptions. The inmates, who are all feeble-minded, are employed in laundry and home work.

In 1890 Miss Wemyss opened a small home at Painswick, Gloucestershire. This home still exists and provides for twenty-nine girls and women of whom almost all are mentally defective. Some are crippled or physically incapacitated, as Miss Wemyss holds that there is an advantage in mixing persons who are differently afflicted so that they may serve and help one another. In this case a considerable laundry business is carried on, bringing in gross receipts of some £700 a year. But it has been found very difficult to make the laundry uniformly successful as a matter of business, owing as much to the failings of the mentally efficient laundresses as to those of the mentally deficient. Still, the continuous work caused by the fact that the laundry is a commercial undertaking is an invaluable adjunct to the home and without it the interest and health of the inmates could not be maintained. This home has had great financial difficulties to contend with owing to the unwillingness of country guardians to pay sufficient money to cover the maintenance of the girls, and, at the present moment, the committee are in serious straits and may be compelled to abandon their task for want of money.

Between the years 1890 and 1900 a considerable number of similar homes came into being. The most noticeable of them were the Arrowfield Top and Enniskerry Homes started by Miss Stacey at Birmingham. These two homes accommodate forty-eight feeble-minded girls and are models of what this type of home should be. Laundry work and simple industries, especially that of rug-making, provide occupation and remunerative results. Of the income of the establishment no less than £768 was due to these industries, while £723 was contributed by the weekly payments by the guardians, which are at the rate of 8s. 6d. a head per week.

At about the same date the Liverpool Ladies' Association for the Care of Girls added to their functions the management of a home for mentally deficient girls at Adcote, and in 1898 they established a second institution at Ashton House. Both of these homes have been very successful and the committee state that this increase is due to four facts:—(1) That the homes are small (only twenty girls in each); (2) the conditions under which the girls live are as nearly normal as possible; (3) the laundry work taken as an industrial occupation keeps the girls actively employed and affords them variety of work; (4) by the laundry work the girls earn a large amount towards their own maintenance, namely, nearly £900 in the two houses.

This society has lately extended its operations by setting up a horticultural school, in which they propose to try the experiment of educating feeble-minded girls in outdoor work. It will be interesting to watch the result of this new departure.

Since the year 1900 the number of homes has been still further increased. Of those established during this period undoubtedly the most important is that at Sandlebridge, organised by the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-minded, of which Miss Dendy has been the inspirer, the originator, and the untiring and able administrator. Sandlebridge is really a school for boys and girls, but the schooling it gives to them is chiefly that which

is learnt in the farm, the garden, the house, and the laundry. A commissioner sent from Canada to England to report upon the feeble-minded visited Sandlebridge, and her report contains the following observations:—

"I went to Manchester to see the school at Sandlebridge with great expectations as to what I should learn and see there. . . . These expectations were not disappointed. Indeed, they had hardly prepared me for what I saw. It was not that the buildings and grounds were expensive, or showy, or impressive. Everything was plain, simple, inexpensive. But it was the real thing. Here I saw the seriously, even terribly, defective children, the waste product of humanity, just as I have seen among ourselves, in a helpless and hopeless condition—lost, fallen, outcast, criminal, unhappy, evil. But I saw them here clean, comfortable, happy, and at home. It is noteworthy that no one wishes to leave Sandlebridge. They feel that it belongs to them and do not wish to run away from their home any more than we do from ours."

Sandlebridge is a school, but it is also rapidly becoming a permanent home for its inmates. It houses 134 boys and eighty-nine girls, and the extensions now in progress will raise the total accommodation to 270. The girls are being taught laundry, gardening, and domestic work, which they will be able to engage in during what will probably be a life-long stay in this institution, and thus they will be made happy, industrious, and useful, and will be saved from personal degradation and disgrace, and the community will be spared the costly duty of providing for a feeble-minded progeny which would certainly have been produced were it not for the protecting care of the Sandlebridge school. The boys are employed on the farm, in the dairy, and in the garden.

I have no time to deal individually with other homes. Suffice it to say that since 1887 the number of homes for girls and women has increased from one to thirty-three, twenty-six affiliated with, or belonging to, the National Association and seven outside, accommodating in all over 800 inmates. This is in truth only a small fraction of the women in dire need of help, but it shows progress—progress which has been achieved by continuous effort, great sacrifice, and under grave difficulties, which should entitle the pioneers and labourers in this new land to the respect and gratitude of the nation.

The foregoing remarks have been directed to the treatment of feeble-minded women, and I now pass to that of feeble-minded men. The defective man requires a home just as does the woman. If he has none he will inevitably find it in the prison, the workhouse, the lunatic asylum, or in shelters for the unemployed. In whatever form he gets it, it will be at the expense of the community, as he cannot work by himself. But he can work under suitable conditions, and where those conditions are provided his labour will be useful and remunerative. In his case also it is the home that he requires rather than the asylum. For him, too, the workhouse is absolutely impossible. We are speaking of men, who, whilst feeble, are not incapable. They have a will of their own that must be guided and not forced, and we cannot restrict their liberty unless we place them in conditions of comfort and happiness and provide them with useful occupation. The most suitable work for such men is undoubtedly to be found on the farm and the garden; and, in America, where the most successful institutions for the mentally defective exist, it is become the custom to secure very large tracts of land in order to employ such men on all kinds of labour on the soil.

In England the difficulty of obtaining cheap and suitable land has stood in the way of instituting homes for feeble-minded males. The earliest attempt to

start a boys' home was made in 1897 by the National Association for Promoting the Welfare of the Feeble-minded, who rented a farmhouse in Essex with a small quantity of land attached. The amount of labour required was not sufficient to employ fully the boys in the home, and the experiment was tried of sending the best lads out to work for private persons in the vicinity. For instance, one lad was engaged as an assistant postman, and I believe acquitted himself of his duties most successfully. It was said that where he delivered the letters not a single mistake was ever made. Farmers took the boys now and then, but numerous difficulties cropped up, and in the end this scheme had to be abandoned, and after ten years of struggling against adversity the association decided to launch out into a much larger enterprise and purchased 171 acres at Hildenborough, in the county of Kent, where they have now fifty boys in two farmhouses and on which they are now erecting two more buildings for the accommodation of fifty girls. This colony, now known as the Princess Christian Farm Colony, is the most noteworthy of the voluntary institutions for feeble-minded men in the country. Sandlebridge school, to which I have already alluded, has also recently acquired a hundred acres for farm and gardening purposes, and is most successfully training up the boys to outdoor work.

The great advantage of a farm colony lies in the variety of work which it is possible to give to the feeble-minded. Digging, ploughing, gardening, fruit-pruning, the management of horses, cows, pigs, and poultry, etc., demand labour for which the feeble-minded are well adapted. They require, however, supervision and direction of an expert character. It is this that will make it difficult to establish these homes on a small scale, for then the cost of management becomes excessive in proportion to the numbers benefited. The problem of the farm colony is how to collect together a sufficiently large number of inmates to justify a high standard of superintendence whilst at the same time preserving the home life and individual treatment which is usually only attainable in small establishments. Experience tends to show that this can be effected by housing the men in separate buildings containing from twenty to thirty individuals and placing them under the control of a house-master and matron working under the direction of a general superintendent of the colony.

These houses can be built cheaply as it is well to avoid all elaborate and costly accommodation. The total cost of the purchase of land and the erection of buildings at the Princess Christian Colony will have been £11,000. As this will provide for 100 feeble-minded persons the cost works out at £110 per head. But the erection of the new houses on this estate is costing only £60 per head. Compared with ordinary asylums these figures are satisfactory. At the same time, it must be realised that the cost involved in maintaining a feeble-minded person must inevitably be considerable. The weekly contributions made to homes by the guardians vary between 7s. 6d. and 12s., the majority paying 10s. a week, but this is hardly sufficient. I am convinced that this charge upon the rates is well justified by the results in keeping these feeble-minded creatures immune from dangers which, in the end, would render them far more burdensome to the community. Voluntary homes have shown that they are capable of dealing successfully and economically with this subject, and without waiting for further legislation or additional financial assistance from the State much might be done if the Poor Law Authorities were induced to increase their payments.

There are many people now who are sufficiently interested in this problem to devote their energy to managing new homes provided that the monetary requirements are met. The public should take advantage of this, and then by the

co-operation of the guardians of the poor with private benevolence a network of suitable institutions could easily be established all over the country which would afford immediate relief for the evil which undoubtedly demands early and radical treatment.

Monyhull Colony.

By Mrs. R. Vince.
(Poor Law Guardian, Birmingham.)

I have been asked to write a paper for this Conference on Monyhull Colony, describing the workings of the colony, how it is conducted, the nature of its inmates, and also to supply some proof that will justify its existence and consequent expenditure. But before I do this I feel that in order to make my description complete I must begin quite at the beginning, and state very briefly how Monyhull Colony came to exist at all.

The City of Birmingham for Poor Law purposes is managed by three unions—Birmingham, Aston, and King's Norton—and members of each of these Boards were met with the great difficulty of providing properly classified accommodation for epileptics and feeble-minded persons in their workhouses. The Guardians of each Board realised the desirability of separating epileptics from imbeciles, and also of keeping those who were feeble-minded but open to instruction and treatment from mixing with those suffering from a severer form of the disease; but felt that the expense of such classification was a great bar to the undertaking.

In 1904 a conference took place between the three Boards on this subject, and ultimately the Birmingham, Aston, and King's Norton Boards decided to combine for the purpose of establishing Homes for sane epileptics and feeble-minded persons, and a joint Committee was established under the title of the Birmingham, Aston, and King's Norton Joint Poor Law Establishment Committee, consisting of five members of each Board. It was agreed that accommodation should be provided for 210 inmates—Birmingham 110, Aston 50, and King's Norton 50. It was also decided to exclude children under 16, in the expectation that at that time they would be dealt with by the Education Committee, and cases over 45 years of age as being unimprovable. The joint Committee purchased a freehold estate known as Monyhull Hall, consisting of 185 acres of freehold land, a large house, lodge, two farms, at a total cost of £20,600. They decided that the cost of maintenance should be borne by the Guardians by whom the patients were sent, and all the expenses should be met in the proportion of Birmingham 11/21, Aston 5/21, King's Norton 5/21.

Monyhull Colony was opened on April 11th, 1908, and is, I believe, the first attempt made by combined Boards of Guardians in England to deal with the epileptics and feeble-minded in a classified form.

The colony consists at present of the following:—

(1) Three Homes for men and three for Women, each Home containing thirty-six inmates.

(2) A laundry capable of extension.

(3) A general kitchen block.

(4) A cottage for head attendant serving as entrance lodge, adjoining which is a weighbridge.

The old residence, Monyhull Hall, has been adapted as administrative quarters, and provides residence for the matron and female staff, with an office, dispensary, and stores. The old lodge and gardener's cottage are occupied by subordinate male officers; most of the others live outside the colony. Workshops for carpenter, fitter, and bootmaker have been provided.

The administration of the colony is entrusted solely to the matron (Miss Carse), and Dr. Bert Jordan, M.B., B.Ch., of King's Norton, has been appointed non-resident medical officer.

The joint Committee meet at the colony every month for the direction and supervision of affairs.

The work of the colony is carried on by the colonists themselves under trained supervision.

The men work in the workshops and on the land; they have laid out and planted gardens to each home; and they work also in the grounds and on the fields.

The women work in the laundry, the sewing-room, and also out of doors in the summer, picking fruit and vegetables. There are evening classes held for all the colonists, and specially organised games and drilling exercises provided in the winter, also weekly concerts and entertainments are given by friends outside. One of the most interesting of these was an entertainment given this winter by the colonists themselves. I was present that evening, and was much impressed by the way they performed their different parts. Their songs and recitations were remarkably well rendered, and were listened to with the greatest appreciation by their fellow-colonists.

It may be interesting to this Conference as touching on the condition of the colonists if I quote from the Medical Officer's report given August, 1910, when most of them had been in the colony for two years. He says: "I am pleased to report that I am convinced that nearly all the inmates have materially improved both mentally and physically since their entry into the colony. The medical treatment of epileptics is, of course, important; but what I desire especially to impress upon you in this report is that the great improvement in bodily health, in mental brightness, and above all, in conduct, is mainly due to the arrangements made for work, play, amusements, entertainments, and simple drilling exercise, and teaching suitable cases. I have heard great stress laid on the better conduct of the colonists. I certainly find as time goes on they are more obedient, less quarrelsome—in fact, they are better *men* and *women* than when they were admitted."

That report of Dr. Jordan's is the justification for the existence of Monyhull Colony. Through its agency we have been able not only to keep 230 unfit men and women from doing harm to future generations by perpetuating their like, but during the two years they have been sheltered there they have become more healthy in mind and body, more useful, and consequently happier in every way. Though it would be too much to hope that they will ever become self-supporting *outside*, there seems to be no reason, if only they continue to improve, that they should not be able to help in a great measure towards their maintenance *inside* the colony.

In the first part of this paper I mentioned that when the homes were opened no provision was made for children under 16. Since then we have found that

we have nearly 100 epileptic and feeble-minded children chargeable to the three Boards for whom some arrangement is increasingly necessary.

The Education Committee, suffering under the same pressure, have approached us with the suggestion that we should provide accommodation for children of the same class for which they are responsible.

The joint Committee have proposed a scheme for the accommodation at Monyhull of 200 children of these classes, which provides for a Receiving-Home, school, workshop for manual instruction, and eight separate homes, thus enabling the Committee to properly classify the children.

Since the original draft of the scheme—events have been occurring in Birmingham which have somewhat delayed action. A Municipal Extension Bill has been promoted in Parliament, and is now in its final stage. One of the sections of this Bill provides for the fusion of the three Boards of Guardians from whom I have already stated the joint Committee at Monyhull had its origin, and the original views of the Guardians and the Education Committee of the City Council of Birmingham as to epileptic and feeble-minded children are embodied in powers conferred by the Bill. It will be open to the Management Committee to provide for and receive children chargeable to the parish, and also children (not chargeable) for which the Education Committee are responsible. The relative cost of such children will be equitably borne by the departments concerned.

I cannot conclude this paper without referring to the one great drawback to our work at Monyhull. We have no powers of detention, and until we can obtain these powers, until we can get Parliament to fully realise how necessary they are to this work if it is to be properly carried out, we are hindered at every turn. We are constantly receiving applications from parents that their daughters and sons should be returned to them, at an age when they are a danger to the community at large. We have spent money on these young people; they have been taught and trained and improved, and if we let them go all that money and training is lost because they are not normal and are not fit to maintain or protect themselves amongst normal people. Yet because we have no powers of detention we cannot keep them; they must go out, and all our work is undone. We cannot deal with mentally deficients in an adequate manner without effective legislation. It must be clear to all who have any knowledge of the subject that those who are mentally unfitted for the battle of life need to be safeguarded and kept apart, in the best interest of the community at large. If Guardians are willing to undertake the charge of their poor creatures, surely it is only right that the legislature should give them the necessary powers to carry out such work in the best way possible, not only for the present but the future generations.

Discussion.

Captain St. John (Penal Reform League) said he should like to ask a question with regard to Dr. Turner's paper as to what the authorities and experts considered to be the best form of government under which the homes for feeble-minded should be established, whether private, local, or national. It seemed to him that the arrangements at Vine-Land, in New Jersey, were ideal, as there they had a State endowment of the funds, but it was not strictly under State control. It was within the power of the Governors to act as they pleased. The Board of Governors were a

private corporation, but the Governors were nominated by the Governor of the State, and by that means there was co-operation between the public and the official authorities. The next question was as to the size of the establishment, and there again he thought Vine-Land was about the ideal. They had about 400 in their institution; whilst at Waverley there were about 1,200, and another 250 on the farm attached to that institution, although the farm was about fifty miles away. He thought the cottage system was better than large establishments, but he should like to know the opinion of the experts on that subject. There was another question which in America affected the point at issue, and that was as to whether criminal feeble-minded persons should be mixed with the others. At Vine-Land, Dr. Goddard's opinion was that they should be mixed up; but he understood that the Waverley authorities were of a contrary opinion, and that the criminal feeble-minded should be kept apart. He knew they had feeble-minded criminals there, but he believed it was contrary to the superintendent's own personal opinion. At all events there were two different opinions in America, and he should like to know the prevalent opinion in this country. The next question was as to the staff, and he should like to know if the institutions in this country were sufficiently staffed, because it seemed to him that the staffs were hardly large enough. At Waverley they had a superintendent and four assistants, together with a head matron, and five teachers who looked after physical training, in addition to other teachers of various kinds. There were also six instructors of physical training, twenty matrons, and four matrons on the farm colony, in addition to four professors. One of the reasons he proposed for an increase in the staff was for research purposes. At Vine-Land they had not only the superintending departments, but they had a medical department, a medical research department, and a sociological research department, in addition to an agricultural research department. They had a model farm where they experimented on all kinds of things. What he wanted to insist upon were the benefits to be derived by having research work going on, and for that purpose they had skilled officials. With regard to visiting the homes of the children, he thought that could be carried too far. A person might be sent from the institution to a child's home to ask various questions, and would be well-received, but if people kept calling time after time, the parents were apt to look upon them as troublesome. He also thought the confidential information obtained might be made common property to certain societies interested in the matter, although that sort of thing, too, could be overdone. In connection with prisons also he thought it would be a good thing if people belonging to the prison could get into touch with the homes of the prisoners, and obtain information with regard to heredity, and everything worth knowing about the people they had to look after. The Courts wanted that information, and he should like to see a kind of clearing house where information about the people could be sent and classified, in order that they might obtain information regarding everyone who was suspected of being feeble-minded. If they had a clearing house, too, the feeble-minded could be kept under careful observation, and all the necessary facts collected. Something of the sort was absolutely necessary if the right class of treatment was to be given to each person. The main question was to get proper and efficient treatment for all these people, and he did not think it would be very expensive to carry out. Some of the institutions might be made self-supporting, and others would be able to earn something towards their support. It seemed to him that a large number of people who were sent to prison should be treated as feeble-minded or defective, and they could only find them out by having an institution of the kind he had mentioned.

Mrs. A. CARLYLE said that so many people were in difficulties in working for the feeble-minded that she should like to show what could be done without any great expense in Oxford. She might mention that they were not very rich, and consequently theirs was only a small home. She advised everyone to start in a small way, because it was very much better to have a small home than no institution at all. She did not pretend to have accomplished much, but felt very strongly that every little helped in that as in every other difficult problem. She felt, however, that sometimes it helped others to hear what could be done in a small way as a beginning and a preparation for greater things. Their chief idea should be not to get into debt, and she had found with a little trouble that they could get subscriptions amounting to about £100 a year from voluntary donors. There were plenty of old houses suitable for their purposes, although of course it was sometimes difficult to obtain one in small towns. About nine years ago Mrs. Peters went down to

Oxford to stir them up and interest them in this tremendous question, with the result that a committee of Oxford ladies was formed and a plan set on foot to start a home for ten or twelve feeble-minded girls. They appointed a treasurer, and sent out circulars, begging for subscriptions from all their friends. They were determined not to start without a subscription list of £80 or £90 per year. At first they rented a house, but it was very difficult to get the right kind of house in the neighbourhood of Oxford. Consequently about four years ago they took their courage into their hands and built their present home, which stood on the height above the railway station about a mile and a half from the town. There they could take in twenty girls; and she might mention that they were always full. Their aim was to keep their girls permanently, as it was really a home for permanent care; but every now and then there was a little change. They had had one death, and three cases of girls who went to them as feeble-minded, but developed insanity, and had to be removed to asylums. There were also two cases of girls whose people insisted on their returning home. Those changes of course would occur, and when they had a vacancy the difficulty was to select from the appalling number of applicants. It was absolutely heart-breaking. They had fifty one year, thirty-five another year, and more than ever this year. They were not all Oxford cases; but of course they gave a preference to local cases, and took them at 6s. per week instead of 8s. per week for girls from outside Oxfordshire. They had girls in the home from all parts of the country, and it was pitiful to be compelled to refuse so many. They had very little difficulty in keeping the girls, although two had been rather troublesome. The girls were quite happy in their home, and were always pleased to see visitors. They were all feeble-minded, and that of course meant feeble-bodied as well, therefore they were not equal to performing much work. They had a small laundry at home, and turned out a fair amount of work, considering that only seven girls could work in the laundry, and only two of them could turn out decent ironing. Their laundry matron had, of course, to finish everything; but in spite of that the profits from the laundry amounted to £65 last year, which was credited to the Building and General Funds of the home. The home cost them between £1,400 and £1,500, including over £200 for the freehold and the sinking of a well, but the debt on the home had now been reduced to £150. In another two years they would no doubt be able to clear off that debt by means of the profits on the laundry, and then they would be ready for fresh efforts. Those who were not in the laundry assisted in the housework and pumping water from the well—a tiresome but not unhealthy bit of work; however, they took turns at it. One or two of the girls did nothing but smile. What all the girls liked, however, was the singing and the drill, which had been of considerable benefit to them. They had three matrons, one for the laundry, one for the kitchen and house, and the sister in charge, who had control of all, and who was an ideal matron, having everything at her fingers' ends. The matrons kept the girls well and happy, and fed them admirably at a cost of about 4s. 2d. per week. They had about two acres of land, not very good land, but it was becoming productive, and part of it was given up as a playground. Each of the girls had her own garden, in which she took particular pride, and they hoped to do more in that way. It was not a very big undertaking, but it showed what could be accomplished in a small way. They were not very rich in Oxford, but she thought what could be done there could also be done in other parts of the country. If each one present aimed at saving twenty girls, they would help to diminish the greatness of the problem and at the same time it would help to clear the prisons of some of the feeble-minded folk who were sent there for minor offences, but who instead of being there should be in a home and doing useful work for the benefit of the community. It was necessary to treat the girls as children because their minds were not fully developed, but they tried to make them feel that they belonged to the ladies in charge of the home, and that they were members of a rather large family.

Mr. J. Prowle (Merthyr Tydvil Union) said that as a Poor Law Guardian one of the first difficulties that beset him was to know what to do with the imbecile children. They had tried to get homes for them at from 10s. to 12s. per week. After what he had heard that morning he was afraid charity was of no avail, and what they wanted was some driving force to compel local authorities to erect institutions. They had powers as Boards of Guardians, and should use them. The Birmingham Board of Guardians had taken the matter up, and others should do the same. He was afraid that many Boards of Guardians were dominated by the Assessment

Committee, whose sole object was to keep down expenses. As a labour member of a Board of Guardians, and as one who came from the ranks where the children were taken from, he wanted the children properly looked after, and the Legislature should take the matter up and see the children were properly looked after. He was speaking to a clergyman recently, and was informed by him that he experienced no difficulty in raising £2,000 in his district for church work, but found it much more difficult to obtain £200 for charity at the present time than it was to obtain £2,000 twenty years ago. He believed everybody interested in charitable work would tell them the same story, and they could not disguise the fact that there had been a great falling off in charitable contributions during the past twenty years. Personally he had nothing to give except energy, but he intended to devote his best energies on behalf of the unfortunate feeble-minded children. He complained that many Boards of Guardians were not doing their duty in a proper manner because they had people upon those administrative bodies who blocked progress, and he hoped next year's conference would be on a different plane altogether. They must either get money from their local bodies or from the National Exchequer to carry on the work. If they could only save the terrible amount of waste that went on in the houses of the rich, they could do something. There was more than 4s. 2d. per head wasted in food, and they wanted to find out how to control that waste of food. They could only deal with the problem properly by compelling local authorities to do their duty properly and efficiently. Charity, in his opinion, was a dead letter—(cries of No, no) —and they should compel the local authorities to deal with the matter. The whole trend of the discussion in the section had been on the lines of charity, but charity had proved to be a failure, and they must now move along other lines. (No, no.)

Dr. FLETCHER BEACH said they had had three very important papers read to them that morning, and he should like to make a few remarks upon the paper written by Dr. Turner. He had known his institution for some years past, and therefore knew something about the work they had performed. He believed four-fifths of the cases in that institution were there for permanent care, and what they were discussing was what public authorities and voluntary agencies should do towards permanent care. Other institutions did not provide permanent care, but after keeping them for a few years turned them out again among their friends. He thought they should proceed along the lines adopted in America. Some years ago he had the privilege of going there and inspecting all the institutions in existence at the time. It was no use to give casual care, and after training the people to turn them out into the world. In America, after the children had passed through the school, they were sent to the farm, where they were constantly employed. He thought England should go in for custodial care, or if they could not get that, then they should try to get permanent detention. In paper after paper they found that patients had improved, and then the parents, finding that they could earn a little money, took them out. It might be said that the cost of permanent care would be prohibitive, but at the present time the cost of keeping this class of people in the workhouse and in prisons was enormous, not to mention those who were kept in asylums. He did not know the present cost of keeping them, but it must be some millions. A good deal had also been said about the liberty of the subject. The great point about the liberty of the subject was that it was capable of producing an enormous amount of defectives, which the community had to keep. Referring to permanent detention, he should like to observe that they were gradually getting an increasing number of mental defectives who had to be kept in asylums and workhouses. Sane people limited their families in order to provide for these weak-minded people. He thought they should keep these people in some place of detention so that they could not reproduce their species. One of the speakers spoke about the unfortunate feeble-minded mother who went into the maternity ward again and again, and that was a very common experience among those who had anything to do with the subject. If they had permanent attention and permanent care, such instances as that would not occur. He did not know whether local authorities had the power to build these institutions, or whether the State would have to do it, but there was no doubt it would have to be carried out by one or the other.

Dr. AUDEN said he should like to make one or two remarks, because he had just returned from America, and Captain St. John had not been there quite so recently as he had. The Waverley Institution was a very wonderful organisation, and was provided by the State. Vine-Land had about 400 inhabitants, but they could not get the same degree of classification with a small colony that they could with the

larger institution. They could be classified best by means of separate homes. Those who had had to deal with morally delinquent women would understand the difficulty local authorities have in dealing with such cases. The women were not insane, and therefore could not be sent to the asylum. As had been pointed out, a large number of crimes were committed by moral delinquents, and they were a source of danger to the community—far more so than the poor unfortunate idiots and imbeciles, whom everyone pitied. Therefore they should have some kind of institution for the moral delinquent. There was another great advantage in a large institution, and that was they could take their feeble-minded there of all grades, and put them on a farm at some distance away where they could be actively employed with great success. If those communities were to be really sucecssful, and were to retain the confidence of the community, they would have to allow parents to see their children at fairly frequent intervals. It was no use taking the children a considerable distance away from their parents, and they should be within easy reach of the large centres of population. Parents would not agree to their children being taken long distances away where they could never see them, because it was only right the parents should see that the children were contented and happy. There was another question, and that was the matter of criminality; and it seemed to him that one of the most valuable works they could do in connection with the Children's Act would be the appointment of some medical men who had considerable knowledge of mental defects in order to examine the children at the time of their remand. Birmingham had recently acquired a remand home, to which he was attached, in order that he might examine the children for mental or physical defects. In that way he was able to see the children before they received their sentences. He might mention that the recent murders by aliens had rather made people lose their sense of perspective in regard to crimes. In the judicial statistics of last year there were eighty people arraigned for murder or attemped murder, and thirty-two were found to be insane. Those were the figures for a single year, that thirty-two out of eighty were finally certified to be insane. It had been his lot to travel through Canada recently, and he found the same troubles over there. They had the feeble-minded people over there, who were gradually increasing in numbers. In Toronto they had no less than forty insane prisoners.

Miss DENDY said that at Sandlebridge their expenses worked out at 3s. 3¼d. per head per week. They gave them 1½ pints of milk every day, and for breakfast the children every morning received bread and milk, followed by bread and treacle. Next morning they had porridge with as much milk as they required, followed by bread and butter and treacle. At dinner they had their meat made into stew, together with vegetables. They had to give such food to the feeble-minded that would not hurt them if they did not masticate it properly, and they did not give them a large quantity of meat. One day every week they had fresh fish, one day soup, and one day they gave them Boston baked beans. Every day the children had either jam roll or rice and stewed fruit, and every day they had as much bread and butter, bread and jam, or bread and treacle, as they could eat, and as much new milk as they could drink. The working boys carried every day their lunch of bread and cheese, and working girls had a light lunch of coffee—which was chiefly milk—with bread and butter. That was the only exception they made. They did not believe in tea or coffee for children. The officers, of course, had different rations; and their nurses who came from the large institutions had told her that they had never been more comfortable. They cooked separately for each house, and the children gained in weight and were generally very healthy. They had only had six deaths in nine years, and children were very seldom in the sick room, so that they had a fairly good bill of health.

Dr. HARRY CORNER said the question under discussion was whether they could improve the arrangements existing at the present time. It needed no words from him to prove to anybody attending the conference that the voluntary associations which Dr. Turner had told them about had done their work excellently in the past, and they had carried their work on in spite of many disadvantages; but the real question was, in the present state of their knowledge, whether any improvements could be made. Dr. Turner had told them that all grades were admitted into his institution, and he quite agreed. At Earlswood they had a certain number of feeble-minded, and they admitted even some of the high-grade feeble-minded. He pointed out to the committee that these cases should not be at Earlswood; but they took them in, although he did not think those cases should be put with imbeciles and

idiots. When, on the other hand, they went round to the feeble-minded institutions, they found there many who were classed as high-grade imbeciles. They had to deal with the duty of the State, and the question of the voluntary workers. There was plenty of work for both, and it would be very much better if they did not waste their energies in fighting each other, but attended to their own business. (Hear, hear.) The State had the power to provide for imbeciles, but they had not done it. The first thing they ought to do was to get the State to look after them. The voluntary workers should try to work out the problem of providing for the feeble-minded, and let the State look after the imbeciles and idiots. He had spent twenty years in all branches of mental defects, but did not know much about the subject, although the gentleman from South Wales who was a labour member of the Board of Guardians evidently thought he knew all about it. (Laughter.) He reiterated that the voluntary workers and charities had always done the experimental work, and if they had not taken up the matter, the subject would never have been brought before the country. They should all do their share, and it would be very much better if they all did it in a friendly manner. Dr. Turner had said that the certificate under the Imbecile Act was the one recommended by the Royal Commission, but he did not think it was suitable. He could bring plenty of high-grade feeble-minded people before them, and they would never believe them to be feeble-minded at all. He had had cases under his care for weeks and could not certify them as either imbecile or lunatic. If they were to have a certificate, it must be something between the lunacy certificate and the idiots and imbeciles certificate, and it must not only contain facts at the time of the examination, but give a review of the past history of the case. Dr. Turner had told them that those cases could not be self-supporting; but no doubt he meant they would not be self-supporting in the outside world, although under certain conditions even some of the feeble-minded could remain self-supporting in the outside world. He had a good many patients who had been through his hands and were now earning their own living in the outside world, some of them being in the city and others in Government offices. (Laughter.) One or two had poultry farms, and one or two were out in the colonies. Dr. Turner had told them about patients who had gained prizes, as against normal people, and surely if those people could gain prizes in the outside world something could be done for them under certain conditions that would have produced 10s. per week, and so help to support an institution of that kind. Miss Dendy had given them some excellent figures, and he had been waiting and hoping somebody else would have given them other facts. When he was at Earlswood he made a point of giving the patients individual work to do. He had a good many there who turned out work worth 5s. per week, others who earned 10s. and 15s. per week, and in the carpenters' shop some who were worth 20s. per week, and some in the printing shop whose work was worth 25s. per week. They did a good deal of printing, and used to make £150 per year from the printing shop alone. Their work was worth that whilst they were inside, whereas if they had been discharged from that institution as they sometimes were, their work would drop 25 per cent., so that their training would be practically thrown away. In providing for the inmates they had to call upon the rates, and had a duty to perform to the Government, and to the ratepayers, which was to get as large a return from the patients as possible. Some people would no doubt take up a different attitude in that respect, and at a meeting the other day a gentleman got up and asked if the institution intended to compete with the trade outside. He certainly confessed that was their policy, as they had to trade in competition with the wage-earning classes. Many of the inmates had been earning 5s. or 7s. per week outside, and if those individuals had been earning that amount outside they would not be doing their duty unless they doubled that amount after they had been specially trained. Personally, he hoped they would not launch out suddenly and put up huge institutions without studying the economic side of the question. If they took the merely feeble-minded and educated them up to doing some sort of work, they would be able to get value for their money. They ought to be able to settle the question as to what kind of institution would be the best for them in the future. Some people thought the small cottage system was the best, and others preferred the huge colony, and others the small colony. The small home could be easily worked and easily managed. There were others who rather advocated the boarding-out system, and it was quite possible some of those trained people might be placed in registered homes, or with registered tradesmen, or with registered farmers, who would be able to employ them remuneratively on their farms. The cost of that class of people would depend upon

circumstances. With regard to little children, he took it that the small and homely institution was the best, although there was something to be said for the school that contained large numbers. Most of them present that morning went to fairly large schools. He did, personally, and did not think he found anything particularly harmful there. He thought that forty or fifty could be housed in one school without detriment to the individual, and later on, when they were trained and had formed their habits, that was, after 25 years of age, they usually settled down and would become machines. When those simple-minded people had become machines, they were more reliable than the ordinary individual as a working machine. There were certain trades which could be worked by the feeble-minded, such as the laundry, dairy work, and farming. Dairy work was remunerative work, and was better done by girls than by boys. When outdoor work was wanted, boys were to be preferred. Then there was bee and poultry farming, and the rearing of calves, but the latter was better done by women than by men. With regard to horticulture, that was better done by men. He had done a little in his own private home in that way, and had found on the whole that girls were not quite suitable for that work. First of all their physique was not particularly good, and secondly their costumes were not always convenient for outdoor work. There was plenty of other work, however, which was good and remunerative in an institution. He had a charity school near him which was placed in very favourable circumstances, and where they made a profit of £1,000 per year. They only employed sixteen or eighteen boys on the farm, and they were boys who could not get higher than the second or third standard. Dairy-farming, and especially milk retailing, was a very good thing. Carpentering was always wanted on the farm. Boot-making could also be undertaken. When he spoke about the profit that was made he did not make any allowance for the labour, as that was put down to the expense of supporting the inmates. The teaching was the most expensive thing, as individual tuition was everything, and the more individual tuition that was given the better was the result; but of course the cost was greater. Therefore, during the teaching stage, the cost must necessarily be very great—not only the cost of the school, but the cost of the waste. When the boys were put on the farm, the waste was somewhat excessive, and there would be a higher rate of waste until they were 16 years of age. After that he thought they could get a return of 3s., 4s., or 5s. per head if they relieved them of the high-grade imbecile. If they could get a return of 5s. per head, they should be perfectly satisfied with the result.

Dr. Garrett said he was a Guardian from South Manchester. With regard to the charitable and the State institutions he considered they were undoubtedly both necessary. The cost was not a question of prime consideration: the duty was there to be done, whatever the cost might be; therefore it should be done economically if they wished, but it must be done well. If they had a sickness they did not count the doctor's bill, because they did not want to make that sickness pay. The feeble-minded were people who were sick, and therefore they should not be made to pay. With regard to the poor ratepayer, he did not think they should be alarmed about him. The total amount of rate devoted to Poor Law purposes, lunatic asylums, and everything else in their union was about 1s. 9d. per head. And if they dealt generously and well with the feeble-minded, and established proper institutions for them, the cost would not be more than 1d. in the £; so that a man who paid 7s. per week rent would have to pay a penny every five weeks, so that the money they would have to spend on those people would not be a very large amount. In their union they were not particular about the price asked per week for their feeble-minded children. They were always prepared to pay whatever the institutions asked. At the present time they paid 10s., 15s., and 20s. per week. When their consumptives were sent to sanatoriums they paid £2 2s. per week each. With regard to the feeble-minded, the powers of the Guardians with regard to paying money for those people were unlimited. If his friend from South Wales found a difficulty in getting money from the Board of Guardians it was because he did not state his case sufficiently well. The same thing applied to other institutions. They sent their Catholic children to Catholic schools, and paid 5s. per week, and when the Rev. Mother was urged to apply for more money she was frightened. If they were too frightened to ask, they would never receive. Those were the ideas he wished to put forward to the meeting. There was no difficulty in getting the Guardians to send the feeble-minded away to suitable institutions. They sent every one away they could find. They sent them to Birmingham, Bristol, London, and elsewhere,

wherever they could find a suitable place, and they never grumbled at paying. He hoped the Guardians present would urge their various Boards of Guardians not to be afraid of the cost, as there was nothing to be alarmed about in it.

Miss HENRY (Women's Local Government Society) said that when she sent up her name she did not think so many Guardians would have spoken before her. She was greatly interested in what they had said, however. Some of their workhouses, owing to various causes, were only half-filled, and Devon and Cornwall had taken one of those workhouses, which was at the moment only half-filled, and were turning it into a home for feeble-minded and epileptic. The same thing was proposed for Berks, Bucks, and Oxon, and they had a meeting in Reading of the Guardians of the three counties who sent delegates to represent them and see what could be done. It was thought they could form a kind of combination and establish a home for the three counties. Miss Dendy had some of their children from Newbury, but others were in Reading workhouse. The workhouse at Reading was a model building and stood on eight acres of ground. It was not one huge building, but there were blocks for different kinds of inmates, each block being in a large garden. Although it was called the workhouse, they could not call the epileptic section a part of the workhouse, because they had their own separate attendants, and their own separate buildings. If anybody would go and see the workhouse they would be very much surprised, as she did not think there was another institution like it throughout the country. One of the greatest difficulties was the question of detention, as the Guardians never knew how long they could detain a person. That was where voluntary societies came in, and where the charity worker in the voluntary institution would be most helpful. A person might discharge himself in twenty-four hours, and nobody had any power to detain him in the workhouse unless, of course, he was in the lunacy ward. The question of detention had always been the weakest point in their administration. She had known women go into the workhouse with seven or eight children, and the evil of it was that they were always in and out of the workhouse, and whenever they returned they had always deteriorated. It seemed perfectly hopeless to allow them to go on like that, because every time they sank lower and lower, and she hoped that conference would urge most strongly for powers of detention. (Applause.)

The Rev. J. W. BAKER said the discussion had mainly turned on the question of voluntary institutions, but they as Guardians ought to have a little voice in expressing their opinions with regard to what was being done by some of the more up-to-date Guardians in regard to that particular matter. He had been somewhat surprised that the excellent paper written by Mrs. Vince had not been taken up in the discussion that morning, because it seemed to him from one point of view that the Guardians in the neighbourhood of Birmingham had been able to do good work with the limited powers at their command. He had the pleasure to visit that colony some time ago, and he had every reason for believing that it was accomplishing an enormous amount of good. In Liverpool, where he came from, they had received the consent of the Local Government Board to another scheme partly on the same lines, and partly different; and two Boards of Guardians in their district had been allowed to combine together to establish separate homes for imbeciles and epileptics. The Liverpool Select Vestry would take all the epileptics chargeable to their own union and chargeable to the West Derby Union and form a colony for their treatment. On the other hand, the West Derby Guardians had undertaken to build an institution to take all the imbeciles from the two unions. In addition to that the West Derby Guardians had recently established a home for the treatment of feeble-minded children. It was too soon to say anything as to the result of that action, but he ventured to hope that they were on the right lines, and he wanted to suggest that there were some Boards of Guardians who were sufficiently alive to the importance of this question and doing what their limited powers allowed them to do. He should like to observe there that the law only allowed Guardians to deal with persons chargeable to the various unions. Outside that they had no power without the consent of the Local Government Board, and sometimes when they were blamed for not doing more than they did, it was not because they were unwilling, but because they had not the power to do it. He should like to suggest for the consideration of some of the Guardians present what he might call the advisability of co-operation. It was within the power of Boards of Guardians to co-operate for the establishment of particular homes for the treatment of particular ailments or diseases, but unfortunately difficulties had arisen in that direction because jealousy had entered

into the question. The Guardians had failed to agree because it was a voluntary arrangement; but if those jealousies could be sunk he was sure a great deal more could be done by Boards of Guardians than was the case at present. In the Birmingham arrangement they would see an illustration of what he meant, and it showed what could be done if the Guardians only agreed to do it. One of the difficulties in connection with the combination of unions was that the Local Government Board insisted upon having a joint committee, with the result that the joint committee became very expensive, because there was no particular union responsible for the actual expenditure, and there was no report to be submitted to the individual unions. With regard to the question of contributing for the cases they sent to voluntary institutions, one of the speakers seemed rather inclined to think that Guardians were somewhat niggardly because they did not contribute more than 10s. per week for each case sent, but he should like to point out that it was all the voluntary institutions asked. If they wanted more the Guardians would never make any complaint; but, as a speaker had said a few minutes previously, the Guardians paid what the institution demanded, and, speaking for the Guardians in his own neighbourhood, he did not know of a case where the Board had demurred to the price asked by any particular institution to which a person had been sent. Personally he thought that 10s. per week ought to cover the cost of any particular case, but he hoped Guardians would not be further charged of dealing with voluntary institutions in a niggardly spirit.

Mr. Dickinson said they had had a very useful discussion, and the only point he should like to comment upon was that he did not think he had been attacked unduly. With regard to his observations that the Guardians should pay more than 10s. per week, he still thought it would be an advantage for them to do so, as it was barely sufficient for the case, and it was not fair to expect voluntary associations to go on with their own work and supplement it by the charitable contributions or the result of the labour of the homes. It was the country Boards of Guardians who were difficult to deal with.. They had there representatives from Liverpool and Manchester, but the country Boards of Guardians were not represented, and it was those people who found it difficult to pay more than 6s. or 7s. 6d. per week, which of course did not cover the expenses. Mrs. Carlyle had described her work at her home in Oxfordshire, and said she received 6s. per head from Guardians in the neighbourhood, and 8s. per head from Guardians outside; but then she also added that she received £100 a year in charitable contributions, therefore the charitable contributions were contributing between 3s. or 4s. per head towards the cost, and the cost came out at about 10s. per person. So far as Poor Law cases were concerned, his experience had been that he did not think it wise on the part of Guardians to expect them to try to keep those individuals at the cost of private charity. Private charity had other things to do, and it was not intended that they should deal with persons coming within the Poor Law. He thought it the duty of Guardians to pay the full cost. He did not know that there was any other point which arose except with regard to detention. He could see very well, so far as Parliamentary action went, a great stumbling-block would arise if it was found that detention meant something which interfered with the liberty of the subject. If they worked with the public authorities and obtained their support they would find it much more easy to obtain the desired end, and it would be better to talk about taking care of the feeble-minded people instead of talking about detention, although he must say that he did not attach so much importance to the word detention as other people did.

Third Day, Thursday, June 1st.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was taken by Sir William Chance, and the subject discussed was WHAT PUBLIC AUTHORITIES AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES ARE DOING AND CAN DO TOWARDS ENSURING PERMANENT CARE FOR MENTAL DEFECTIVES. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Feeble-minded in Asylum Practice.*
By Dr. T. B. HYSLOP.

2.—*The Provision of After-care for the Recovered Insane.*
By Mr. H. THORNHILL ROXBY, Secretary, After-Care Association.

3.—*After-care for Children leaving Special Schools.*
By Miss EVELYN FOX.

4.—*The Work of the Metropolitan Asylums Board in connection with the Care of the Mentally Defective.*
By Mr. H. W. GELL, Vice-chairman of the Asylums Committee of the Metropolitan Asylums Board.

The Feeble-minded in Asylum Practice.

By THEO. B. HYSLOP, M.D., C.M., F.R.S.E.
(Late Senior Physician Bethlem Royal Hospital).

EVERY asylum physician knows that there is a tendency in some quarters to send to Asylums for the Insane cases of feeble-mindedness which might advisedly be dealt with in other ways. It must be confessed that most institutions for the feeble-minded have no special arrangements whereby they can cope with actual attacks of insanity, and in many instances of insanity occurring in the feeble-minded it becomes necessary to procure admission to an asylum. The feeble-minded are just as prone to suffer from attacks of excitement with loss of control as are the healthy-minded. When insanity does so occur it usually takes the form of mania or of some moral perversion which necessitates special care and a more rigorous medical restraint and supervision than can be given in any institution other than an asylum.

Seldom do we meet with a severe condition of melancholia in the feeble-minded, and if it does occur it can generally be traced to some incidental toxoemia which yields to appropriate treatment. Unfortunately, asylum statistics as to recoveries, etc., are in some instances somewhat vitiated by the fact that mere recovery from an attack of insanity in the feeble-minded is not always regarded as a sufficient

reason for the discharge of the patient from the asylum or the re-transfer to a suitable institution for the feeble-minded, so that the patient remains in the asylum as an incurable lunatic, and is classified as such. On the other hand, also, it must be noted that, failing to procure readmission to the institution for the feeble-minded from which the patient was primarily transferred to the asylum, the exercise of extreme care, lest there should be some ill-effects from moral insanity existing as a source of danger to the patient or to the community, is not in all cases possible. But this is meant that in some instances the friends and relations of the feeble-minded or morally defective are either careless or indifferent as to what becomes of the patients after their discharge from official care. They know that as wage-earners the patients are of little or no use, and the relations avoid taking the responsibility involved by their discharge. Thus it is that such cases tend to remain in asylums longer than is necessary. Asylum medical officers sometimes do not enforce their removal because such cases are still of feeble-mind and in need of a certain degree of supervision. As years go on, they gradually settle down to the routine of asylum life and occupy beds which might be used to greater advantage.

It has been my unfortunate experience to have had to do with instances in which the parents of feeble-minded or morally deficient persons who have been convalescent from attacks of mania have stated that as the insanity had abated they preferred that the so-called stigma of asylum life should be removed even at the risk of the occurrence of some subsequent criminal offence.

The After-Care Association has done much to help such cases, but it is obvious that it would be difficult and risky to find employment for those who are not only feeble-minded but also morally defective, and it is to this class of case I would draw attention. On the one hand friends and relations cannot be forced by the asylum physician to give a guarantee as to their future care: the Commissioners in Lunacy, on the other hand, require that the asylum medical officers shall not detain persons who are no longer insane and proper persons for detention in an asylum. Hence it sometimes happens that the asylum physician is rendered unable to follow the dictates of his conscience and reason, and is forced to let loose on the world cases which he knows ought to be under some modified form of supervision and care.

An asylum for the insane is not the proper place for many of the feeble-minded who are now occupying beds which ought to be devoted to those who are technically insane. Undoubtedly they may be under proper care and supervision, but a continued residence with lunatics, and without adequate methods of special training or education being carried out, there can be no doubt as to the inappropriateness of their residence in asylums. The greater evil, however, rests in the fact that there does not appear to be any public authority which shall, in the event of their discharge from asylum care, undertake the responsibility of standing as sponsor for their welfare.

In Scotland, where the "boarding-out" system has proved to be of great value, the modified supervision (after discharge from asylums) as effected by suitable authorities, seems to meet the case in some respects; but for the morally deficient, there is always some risk of failure. In the densely populated districts of England the risks would be even greater, so that it would seem advisable to facilitate the means whereby such borderland conditions could be cared for and controlled, either in special institutions for the purpose, or that increased power be given to the Commissioners in Lunacy which would enable them to extend their control and supervision.

The morally defective who are suffering from neurasthenia or phrenasthenia are always difficult to deal with. On the one hand, their friends are reluctant to have them certified as insane, and asylums for the insane are by no means the best places for them; whilst, on the other hand, the dread of the performance of some criminal act with consequent legal action, either with, or without, the prompting of the Lunacy Commission, renders it almost imperative that such borderland conditions should be adequately dealt with by a modified and compulsory form of restraint or supervision.

That society is permeated throughout with potential criminals, who by reason of defect are scarcely responsible for themselves, is undoubtedly true, and in order to provide a means of care and treatment for those who oscillate in their tendencies between qualifying for an asylum or for a prison further legislation is sadly needed.

Provision of After-Care for the Recovered Insane.

By H. Thornhill Roxby.

(Secretary, After-Care Association for Poor Persons discharged recovered from Asylums for the Insane.)

The After Care of the recovered insane is a question which never seems to have been considered by the many philanthropists and workers who help to amend the most disastrous conditions of modern life. It must be an indisputable fact that society has not fulfilled its whole duty to the insane of the poorer classes when it has helped them to be provided for and treated in asylums if, on their discharge as recovered, it leaves them without support, without resources, and exposes them to the causes of relapse. This is an omission not only from a humanitarian but also an economic point of view.

Although the Commissioners in Lunacy in their Sixty-fourth Annual Report stated there were in England and Wales 130,553 certified insane persons on January 1st, 1910, of whom 118,901 were pauper patients (55,121 were men and 63,780 women), and of whom a proportion of 8,000 would probably be discharged recovered during the year, very little has been done to relieve or assist this large number of people on their discharge. From the proportion of those certified as paupers, it stands to reason that a large number of the discharged patients are returned to homes where there will be great difficulty in finding suitable accommodation, sufficient food, and that care which is required by all those who are only just recovered from severe illness. In 1879 the late Rev. Henry Hawkins, then Chaplain to Colney Hatch Asylum, started the After-Care Association, and twenty-five years ago the work was actively begun, dealing with patients discharged recovered from asylums in all parts of the country.

From small beginnings under its energetic founder the Association gradually grew, the first President being the first Earl of Shaftesbury, and later under the presidency of the Earl of Meath, who took great interest in the initial work of this charity which enjoys the unique distinction of being the only one of its kind in the United Kingdom, it developed to its present position. Providing that the

Medical Superintendent of the asylum from which the patient is discharged is willing to recommend the case and certify as to recovery, no other qualification is required in order for it to be investigated and considered by the Council, and every endeavour is made to deal with it carefully and individually. Each man or woman, therefore, who applies directly (or through friends) is, on receipt of the medical certificate, dealt with according to his or her needs apart from all distinctions of creed, age, or class. In dealing with all cases great care is exercised to prevent overlapping with other charities, and returns of all those who are assisted are made to the Central Registration Office of the Charity Organisation Society, all communications being regarded as strictly confidential. It is often a matter of difficulty to decide whether a case of great destitution should be helped or left to the Poor Law. References are taken up, friends interviewed, Boards of Guardians consulted, before the Council finally decides whether such a case is one which may reasonably be expected to again become self-supporting or whether money, which is voluntarily subscribed by the public would be wasted, if expended upon such an individual.

There seems little reason to doubt that the necessity to return at once to work (perhaps now become unfitting and uncongenial), and the immediate need of decision and self-assertion often after long periods of absolute dependence on the wills and regulations of others and the mere routine performance (under ideal health conditions) of certain stereotyped duties, must of itself be a very severe strain to even the least nervous and best recovered patients. The fact that all responsibility of every kind for the first few weeks after their discharge is undertaken by an association with large experience and long tried methods at its commands is a great safeguard against relapse during the difficult period lying between leaving the asylum gates and regaining the safe walls of independence and self-support.

Careful inquiries are made, and, wherever possible, employment is found as nearly approximate as can be to that formerly followed, and all intending employers are confidentially informed of the recent mental illness of the man or woman to be engaged.

Some do well in their first situations, others are more difficult to suit, but if no serious complaint to be made of the employé or employés a fresh opportunity is almost invariably given. Clothing is supplied, and tools when necessary, *after* work has been secured, and many afterwards repay the cost of these, but are never urged to do this if they have anyone dependent on them or are only capable of earning small wages. If after being discharged some months from the asylum any show signs of being less well, one of the Physicians on the Council is consulted and every care is taken to build up their physical health before returning to work. When necessary, rest and change in the country or at the seaside in suitable cottages kept by experienced married couples are given free of charge. It is frequently found useful to board men in London while employment is sought.

The need of all this is very apparent when one dwells upon the absolute lack of any provision for those discharged without means from County, Borough, and City Asylums. There is hardly any convalescent home in the United Kingdom for patients recovering from other illnesses which will receive anyone who has been suffering from mental disorder, and the public asylums do not possess convalescent homes.

It is difficult to imagine anything more hopeless than the condition of mind and body, which must be the lot of those who, after an ordered regulated existence in a large institution, suddenly find themselves discharged recovered in mind (and

for that very reason acutely sensitive to their position) with no suitable home to go to, no one to advise them or help them over the many difficulties which must of necessity arise, when they return perhaps after years of absence to find their friends often unable and sometimes unwilling to receive them, their references out of date and all their valued, hard-earned possessions vanished. This alone is frequently sufficient to cause a relapse, and the aims of this Association are, briefly, three:—To prevent relapses, to complete recovery, and to prevent continuing and permanent mental weakness, bridging over the gulf between the asylum and the outside world, testing the fitness of patients for living outside and enabling them to make a fresh start in life. Self-confidence is built up, and with the hope of being again self-supporting the mind gradually re-assumes its normal conditions and loses the fear of being hopeless and helpless again. It is no doubt the personal influence and individual treatment which tend principally to an encouraging result, and it is here that one of the chief difficulties of the work exists. Those who work among these people must be possessed of infinite patience and tact, for many idiosyncrasies and prejudices often remain still to be dealt with and gradually overcome, and sometimes progress is very slow. The boarding-out in cottage homes where not more than two or three are received at a time is a great factor in restoring self-confidence and in helping the patient, as it were, to feel his or her feet, while the support of a society which is able and willing to advise and help in all difficulties lightens what often seems at first an overwhelming dread. Since this Association began work it has been approached from various countries by representatives anxious to start similar societies, and to give an example, Miss Louise Lee Schuyler, of New York, has (after many visits paid from time to time when in England, to the Association's office in London) successfully founded associations in some of the United States of America. In France, Switzerland, and Italy the work is also being carried on, and in Germany, Belgium, and Austria various societies exist doing much the same work on slightly different lines. From South Australia, New Zealand, and Japan inquiries have been received, and it seems as though at last some more widely-spread effort would eventually be organised for the large body of sufferers, who often from no fault of their own are placed in positions of exceptional hardness and friendlessness. In some such lines the threefold object of this Association are carried out, and the large proportion who *do* well and *keep* well amply justifies its efforts and disproves by actual fact the fast dying prejudice against insane persons as unhealable and unhelpable.

After-Care for Children Leaving Special Schools.

By Miss Evelyn Fox.

The movement for the education of the feeble-minded has, in this country, found its chief expression in the establishment of special day schools for mentally defective children. The Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act of 1899 empowered local authorities to provide, if they wished (the Act is permissive, not obligatory), either day or residential schools, or to place children in schools already certified by the Board. There are at present

in England 158 schools (London has about 89) with accommodation for some 11,668 children, 621 of which are in residential schools. With the exception of London, where the Council provides two residential schools, one for mentally defective blind, and one for mentally defective deaf, and one home for boys in connection with a day school, no education authority has established a single boarding school for feeble-minded children. The five schools in existence (to which, however, many children are sent by Education Committees) are, although certified by the Board, due to private enterprise. Amongst the most suggestive causes for this universal policy is the feeling of some of the more enlightened authorities that special day schools (they cost practically double what a normal school costs) without any suitable provision for the children on leaving is, in a great measure, a waste of public money. It must therefore be understood that the after-care for special schools is for day schools only.

The after-care committees are, with a few exceptions, voluntary ones, attached to each school or group of special schools. They have no funds, except such as they may raise privately, and they have no official connection with the Education Committee. This seems to me a serious drawback, for the authority who inaugurates and works a special day school should have official cognizance of the result of their system. Though in most cases school managers are on the After-care Committee, the work would undoubtedly be better and more thoroughly carried out if they were a sub-committee of the Education Committee (as in the case of Birmingham), with power to co-opt outside members. As the matter stands now, if it were not for the work of voluntary bodies, the Education Committee might remain completely ignorant of the educational results of these schools on the children who pass through them.

The National Association for the Welfare of the Feeble-minded has endeavoured through the Central After-care Committee to establish committees in every place where special schools exist. There are at present eighteen such committees, and new ones are being started every year. There is an annual conference in the autumn, and the statistics drawn up by each committee are set out in the reports.

It is to these statistics, particularly to those of committees which have been many years at work, and where the figures are cumulative, that we must look for proof of the success or failure of our present system.

What, then, is the main work of after-care committees:—

(1) To provide institution care for those who need it.

(2) To look after those who are able to work, and if possible to find them suitable occupations.

(3) To watch over children who stop at home and are unable to work.

I should like to say one word as to the class of children who are dealt with by after-care committees. By the Defective and Epileptic Children Act special schools were to admit children who not being imbecile, and not being merely dull and backward, were mentally defective. But the difficulty of diagnosis, especially with very young children, and the fact that on the one hand no provision is made for imbeciles, and consequently that unless they are admitted to a special school they remain absolutely untrained; and on the other that it is impossible to teach a dull and backward or slightly sub-normal child in a large class, have resulted in the introduction of both these types of children into the schools. Consequently the After-care Committee, without status, without power, without money, has to deal with enormously difficult and varied types.

(1) *To provide institution care for those who need it.*

Without long practical experience it is almost impossible to understand the difficulties which our present system—or lack of system—gives rise to. The after-care figures for 1910, which deal with 2,746 children, show us that 523 were in institutions, but that a far larger number were in urgent need of permanent care; 188 are given as not useful at home; 373 come under the headings, ill, no work, police trouble, fallen, imprisoned. Of the 520 reported as lost sight of, experience shows that the majority belong to the lowest class of families, and are most in need of care and protection.

Briefly, the chief means of getting a feeble-minded child or adult into an institution are as follows: The Education Authorities, the Home Office, and the Guardians can all three pay for children in residential schools; the education grants cease at 16, the Home Office at 18. The Guardians, moreover, can pay for the feeble-minded in certain idiot asylums (not all), in special homes and institutions of their own, in the general workhouse, or in private homes recognised by the Local Government Board; they will either bear all the charges, or supplement the parents' contributions. Votes of subscribers or heavy fees will get feeble-minded children into the idiot asylums under the Commissioners in Lunacy. The two most insuperable difficulties to be met are the consent of the parents and the lack of homes and institutions. Parents must themselves apply to the Guardians through the ordinary channel of the relieving officer. No feeble-minded child, however great a moral danger to the community, can be sent to an institution without not only the consent but the personal application of the parent. Further, a parent can withdraw at any moment their child from an institution, or an adult feeble-minded can take his or her own discharge. There are no powers of detention. Add to this that the number of homes and institutions is very inadequate. There are many cases (men and older boys, older women, double defectives) who, even if the parents or relatives will recognise that they need institution care, cannot be placed anywhere but in the general workhouse—in many cases the most unsuitable place possible. An After-care Committee, with children of 16 leaving their schools, may know them to be morally and mentally unfit to take care of themselves, under no control at home, or, even worse, exposed to immoral surroundings, likely, nay, almost certain, to become a burden on the rates *after* they have done incalculable mischief—and yet the committee may be unable to do anything. They can follow step by step the downward career of the feeble-minded, morally defective person till in the case of the girls they drift into the maternity wards of the workhouse, there to give birth to their illegitimate children, or in the case of boys they become criminals and drunkards, leaving who knows how many behind them to inherit their weakness. And yet at the very outset on leaving school, where they have been carefully watched by experts for many years, those with knowledge and experience could foretell exactly what would happen; but there is nothing to be done; no public authority has the right or the power to act; it is no one's business to see that provision for these cases is forthcoming.

Again, the After-care Committee may be faced with the problem, farcical if it were not tragic, of finding a safe home for a child excluded from the school by the medical officer because it is imbecile, and not eligible for a Poor Law or other home because, in the opinion of another medical officer, it is not imbecile.

In spite of all these difficulties, an active after-care worker can do a great deal in getting places in institutions for the children who need it, but success can

only be achieved by direct personal work. It may often take months of coaxing and wheedling to gain the parents' consent, and then perhaps weeks will be spent in finding a suitable home with a vacancy and in getting the Guardians to guarantee the payments.

(2) *To look after those who are able to work, and, if possible, to find them suitable occupation.*

There are in all schools, as I have said, a certain percentage of very high grade feeble-minded and also of children who are dull and backward, and on whom the education received has had very marked success. These children, under favourable circumstances, can earn a living. They seldom, if ever, take a place amongst the higher grade of workers, but are generally found amongst the lowest grades of unskilled labour. If an after-care worker can watch over them and intervene when their instability of character, their want of control, has led them into difficulties with employers, they may keep fairly regular work. A few—a very few—earn a decent wage; they are the exceptions. The after-care figures already referred to return 480 as in regular work, 196 in irregular work, and in 26 cases the work is not specified. The terms "regular" and "irregular" are very misleading; in cases of boys there is often plenty of regular work—van boys, errand boys, etc.—for a few years after leaving school, and defectives who are frequently undersized may even keep the work longer than other boys, but as a general rule even these better cases after 18 or 19 drift into the ranks of the unemployed and many become unemployable. The Birmingham figures are very suggestive. Out of a total of 650 children, 114 only are doing remunerative work; of these 104 are earning wages varying from 1s. to 22s. per week; the average weekly wages is 6s. 11d.; ten are earning their board and a little pocket money besides. The Birmingham After-care Committee started an employment bureau for its defectives, but the results obtained were so poor that it has been closed. As a general rule After-care Committees find it wiser to let the children and parents find their own work, and merely to look after them generally, and to intervene, as I have said, in a moment of crisis.

In London special schools for elder mentally defective boys have been started to give them a trade training. They specialise in one trade, but learn a little of two others, besides continuing the usual school work. Much is hoped from these schools, and undoubtedly the handwork they show is excellent and compares very favourably with that done by normal boys, but it has yet to be proved whether the training gives more than a temporary dexterity and also whether employers of labour will willingly take boys coming from these schools. One must bear in mind that it is not so much in want of skill that these boys will fail, but in want of character and self-control. The new After-care Committee for these special schools should, in the course of a few years, be able to show whether the training is a successful one or not.

(3) The third class of children to be dealt with are those who remain at home, either at the end of their school life or before, if they have been excluded through mental or physical defect. The Central After-care Committee have attempted to get figures as to the proportion of children reported useful or not useful at home. The figures for 1910 are as follows: Useful, 184; not useful, 188; in thirty-eight cases it was not specified to which class they belonged; total, 410. Birmingham reports forty-four cases as living at home and doing no paid work; thirty-one are said to be useful, thirteen not useful; one of the useful ones included a boy who allowed the baby to be scalded and did nothing for four

hours. As far as my own experience goes, I have found that the homes where the mentally defective boys or girls are said to be useful are of the lowest type, where the standard of living is far below the average. And even in these homes if the mother looks upon you as a friend she will tell you that the "useful" child cannot be trusted out of sight, must be told what to do at every turn. In the better class house I have almost invariably found the mother say the child was not useful, too much supervision was needed to make it do the work properly. From the point of view of the community it is also possible to question the "usefulness" of the defective who minds little children.

Those children who are returned as at home should, for the larger part, be in institutions, and whenever possible the After-Care Committee should try and impress this on the parents. At home they lose the discipline and good habits they have acquired at school; their physical health is often so bad that they are unable to do even light household tasks, and they spend their days loafing in the streets with what results may well be imagined. I have been appalled at the rapidity of deterioration in children who leave our schools to go even to decent homes. A working woman with a large family, however willing and anxious she may be to do her best by her defective child, cannot possibly, without injury to the other children, give the time that is necessary to keep it occupied, which is the only way of preventing deterioration. The result is that either the whole family or its weakest member is sacrificed.

I fear that many supporters of the day school system will think that I disapprove of it altogether. This is, however, not the case. It is natural that teachers, those in authority on education authorities, a certain class of managers, who naturally have their eyes fixed on the work *in* the school, and who notice the splendid results that are obtained from the children there, who see the discipline, the training in good habits, the improvement in character and appearance, the excellent manual work produced, should point to the system as a highly successful one. But the After-care Committees, who aim at getting regular work for defectives, who try to safeguard them from the dangers of the streets, see another side of the picture. They see the splendid work done in the schools thrown away in a few years; they see the boy who left with a fair knowledge of bootmaking, perhaps greater manual dexterity than his normal brother, sink to the position of the irregular worker, often to that of the habitual criminal and drunkard. They see the girl who left temporarily polished up to look clean and tidy and brisk drift from one wretched little situation to another, always of the hardest and most ill-paid kind. This experience of the After-care Committee must not be neglected, and because it is absolutely essential that their point of view should be brought forward, we must have such committees attached to each special school.

Everything that such committees have done seems to point to the fact that special day schools without any compulsory further provision for those who need it are in a large measure a waste of time, money, and talent. If there were residential schools to which day school children could be compulsorily sent when necessary, and if on leaving school permanent care could be provided for those for whom it is essential, then the day schools could deal successfully with the remainder of the children. In order to obtain this, to join with workers in other branches who are urging the same reforms, we must have active After-care Committees for each school, and we must have their work considered by those in authority. If possible, these committees should, as I have said, be sub-committees of the Education Committees; but where this is not possible every

effort should be made to place the result of their work before them. The very failures of the past must be made the stepping-stones to a better and more scientific system in the future.

The Work of the Metropolitan Asylums Board in connection with the Care of the Mentally Defective.

By H. Willingham Gell, M.A., M.B. (Oxon.)
(Vice-Chairman of the Asylums' Committee of the Metropolitan Asylums Board.)

It is proposed in this paper to give a brief account of the origin and development of the work of the Metropolitan Asylums Board in dealing with the improvable class of mentally defectives, to describe the results, and then to state some deductions in connection with the subject of this Conference. No other body can claim a wider, or, indeed, anything like as wide an experience of this matter; no other body has been engaged in the work for a longer period, or dealt with so large a number of cases; no other body can show such a variety of progressive experiment in developing the capacities of this class, or produce such an amount of gratifying, and indeed wonderful results.

At present the work is carried out under two departments: (*A*) At Darenth Asylum, near Dartford, under the Asylums Committee; (*B*) In the Homes for Feeble-minded Children, under the Children's Committee.

(*A*) Darenth Asylum affords probably the best, as it is the largest, illustration of the way in which the problem of dealing with the mentally defective is approached in this country. It consists of (i) the Training School for Children, (ii) the Industrial Colony. These operate under Section 24 of the Lunacy Act, 1890, whereby certain feeble-minded persons may be certified for compulsory detention in a workhouse.

(i) The Training School for Children may be said to have had its origin in 1873, when the managers of the Asylum's Board took the first step towards the separation of the imbecile children from the adults, and transferred 100 children, then in the wards of Leavesden Asylum (opened in 1870), to what was originally the small pox hospital at Hampstead, and had been temporarily converted into an asylum for imbecile patients, in order that "by placing them in separate wards, separate from adults, an attempt might be made to educate them and develop as far as possible any latent capacities possessed by them for mental and physical training." In December, 1874, 100 more of these children were transferred from Caterham Asylum (opened in 1870), and the next step was to take a three years' lease of the London Orphan Asylum's building at Clapton, which was occupied to November, 1878, when the existing schools at Darenth were opened. The accommodation at these schools is for 272 boys and 230 girls, and children are admitted through the boards of guardians from three years of age. They must be ostensibly of the improvable class, and the definition of "improvable," as adopted in January, 1903, is "those who may be reason-

ably expected to derive such benefit from training that they may become capable of being usefully occupied, under supervision, in domestic or industrial employment, and may thus become partially self-supporting." In practice it is not always possible to decide forthwith on the improvability of a child, and a term of probation is necessary to see what regularity of life and management, coupled with the true kindness founded on understanding, will accomplish. With the majority little is to be done in the way of scholastic teaching, and the only successful way is by the training of hand and eye in such occupations as making calico animals, watch frames, and pin cushions, ornamental paper work, macramè work, knitting and crochet, fancy needlework, flower work, cane basket weaving, handloom weaving, rug making, fret and woodwork, Japanese bead curtains, tailoring, needlework, and gardening. Frequently several occupations are tried before a suitable one is found to appeal to the individual child. Colour and form will generally be the first to attract and interest, then the disposition to do what it sees others doing, and finally the delight when an article is completed and is pronounced "good."

(ii) The Industrial Colony. The first step in the formation of this department was taken towards the end of 1877, when the assent of the Local Government Board was obtained to erect accommodation for 240 patients over 16 years of age in two blocks, together with workshops, on land at Darenth, in order that "the beneficial results of the training and education" these children have been receiving in the Training School "might not be thrown away," and "to make provision for the continual employment of those who, having been admitted as adults into the Managers' Asylums, are capable of industrial employment." The colony was opened in 1880, and—in addition to tailoring and shoemaking—wood bundling, mat making, basket making and painting shops were started; but it was not till 1904, when the present medical superintendent, Dr. Rotherham, was appointed, and later in the same year a crafts-master engaged, that the highly satisfactory results, which are now to be seen, were secured. Not only has there been great expansion in the existing work, but new industries, such as upholstery, brush making, cabinet work, tinsmith, bookbinding and printing on the male side; and brush making, mattress making, and upholstering, rug making, bookbinding, paper bag and cardboard box making on the female, have been introduced. On the last return there were employed in the various workshops and needle-rooms, apart from those working in the laundries, kitchens, wards, farm, or as general labourers, 340 male patients, as compared with 132 in 1904, and 363 female as compared with 61 in 1904, all of whom have learnt their various trades since their admission to Darenth. Besides these, about 320 males are at work in the wards, on the farm and gardens, and as general labourers, and about 150 females in the wards, laundries, and kitchens. Drilling is found to be a valuable adjunct to the training. With the men classes are held under some of the attendants to teach the army physical drill with dumb bells and bar bells, while with females classes for Swedish exercises are conducted by attendants who have been instructed by the kindness of a Swedish lady.

(*B*) Homes for feeble-minded children. These exist by virtue of the Local Government Board Order of April 2nd, 1897, giving authority to the Metropolitan Asylums Board to deal with "children who by reason of defect of intelligence or physical infirmity cannot properly be trained in association with children

in ordinary schools"; and a further Order of March 4th, 1903, enacts that "any person of the above class received before reaching the age of 16, does not cease to be a member of the class merely by reason of age until he or she is 21 years of age." The institutions provided fall into two groups:—

(*a*) Homes for the younger children. These are four in number, situated in different parts of London, and in the neighbourhood of one of the London County Council Schools for Feeble-minded, which the children attend. There is accommodation for thirty-five boys and thirty-eight girls, and they mostly come to us on the certificate of the L.C.C. Medical Examiner.

(*b*) Working colonies for older children. These exist at—

(i) The Bridge Industrial Home, Witham, Essex, which was opened in June, 1906, with accommodation for 210 boys from 10 to 16. The work consists of boot making, tailoring, sash and blind cord making, cooking and baking, laundry work, and market gardening, each supervised by a skilled industrial trainer. In addition, the majority receive some school instruction. Daily drill is held, and proves a most valuable routine. An open-air swimming bath, 50 ft. long, has been constructed by the inmates under the general mechanics, and a brass band has been formed, which, under a local bandmaster, who visits twice a week, has done exceedingly well. A small gymnasium has also been lately fitted up with climbing ropes, vaulting horses, parallel bars, etc.

(ii) The Fountain Industrial Colony for Girls, which has recently been transferred from the Highwood School, at Brentwood. At present there are eighty-six inmates, and they are admitted between 14 and 16, the majority being transfers from the feeble-minded homes. The work taught comprises laundry and house work, cooking, jersey and stocking knitting by machine, weaving towels on the loom, basket work, chair caning, rug making, needlework, knitting, crocheting, and straw hat making.

When we come to appraise the results of this work the story is one of steady and even rapid expansion. At Darenth each year sees new departures and fresh provision necessitated for workshop accommodation, the latest development on the male side being the increase of our printing and bookbinding capacity, by the installation of machinery which the inmates are already becoming expert in using, while on the female side six new workrooms are in course of construction for 480 workers, four of which will be utilised for needlework, and the other two for brush making and mattress making. All the internal fittings of these workrooms, such as racks, shelving, tables, etc., are being made by the workers in the carpenters' shop. Throughout the industrial colony the articles made and the work done in the workshops are almost entirely for the forty-two institutions and the offices of the Board, and represent an annual value of over £9,000. It is the market thus provided for the products of the workers that has facilitated the development of the work. In 1908, at the request of the Local Government Board, an exhibition of articles made by the patients were sent to the Franco-British Exhibition. Some 700 articles, entirely made by patients from 6 years of age and upwards, were exhibited, and called forth from thousands of visitors interested in education from all parts of the world, the greatest praise and surprise that such work could be performed by mentally deficient people. The visitors' book, which was kept at the Exhibition stall, contains over 2,600 entries, with remarks showing the high appreciation of the Darenth work. Nor is it only the amount and value of the output that is to be taken into

account, but the steady growth of the inmates' capabilities has enabled a progressive diminution of skilled staff—tailors, shoemakers, smiths, carpenters, etc., being reduced on the male side, sempstresses on the female, while the increased happiness and content and the improved morâle that congenial occupation brings, has enabled the reduction of attendants. Within two years of the new departure in administration in 1904, the staff had been reduced by 35; 56 officers, varying in rank from an assistant medical officer to a kitchen woman, had been replaced by 21 officers, including a craftsmaster and 17 industrial attendants, with a saving in salaries of nearly £2,000 per annum. The introduction of regularly organised drilling and physical exercises has been of great service. The improvement in deportment and in general physical condition that follows is most striking. "The benefit," as Dr. Rotherham reports, "cannot be overestimated. The way in which they hold themselves, and their general behaviour have improved immensely, so that the patients would hardly be known as the same people."

And if we turn from this record of material progress, equally satisfactory is the evidence of moral improvement. The brightness and cheerfulness of the inmates bears testimony to the happiness of their lives. They learn habits of obedience, truthfulness, industry, to be clean, and to take that proper interest in their personal appearance which is the outcome of self-respect. The love of their work is such that nothing irks them more than a Bank Holiday, when the workshops are closed. Their interest in it is so keen that it is striking to see with what readiness they will "play up" if there is in any department a sudden pressure of work.

But this development is the outcome of infinite labour, patience, and tactful skill. The results are produced by those who have not only "learnt to labour," but "to wait." And it may take months of quiet supervision while a patient puts bristles in and out of a hole, or pushes a needle and cotton through a bit of rag, before a lad can even begin to make a brush or a girl start to hem a duster. One of the best of the girls with a sewing machine was a year before she showed any glimmering of ability to do the simplest sewing. Nevertheless progress, however encouraging, almost invariably has an absolute limitation. It is very rare that any one so improves as to be able to enter upon a normal life outside with success. During the past five years 115 of the improvable imbeciles at Darenth have been handed over to their friends by order of the guardians of the union from which they come, and not one of them was considered by the medical superintendent fit for a normal outside existence. These discharges by order of the guardians are practically wholly at the instance of relatives, who from visits and other information have considered that the cases were sufficiently improved, or had grown old enough to help the household either as small wage-earners, or as workers in the homes. Similarly, since the opening of the Homes for the Feeble-minded in 1899, thirty-five children have been so discharged. Of these, who are mostly cases of less pronounced defect than those at Darenth, it appears from investigation that hardly one-fourth can be satisfactorily accounted for, *i.e.*, either that they are well looked after or are doing work under satisfactory conditions, and as a matter of fact many of these, that can be well reported on, have not been cases of feeble-mindedness, but eccentricities of temper or behaviour, which a period of well-ordered and disciplined life has moulded into shape. Too many of these discharges will have gone to swell the ranks of crime, immorality, and disease, and to add to the huge destitutional mass.

The majority of cases received into the Feeble-minded Homes have remained under our care, and, as stated above, the Local Government Board in 1903

extended the age for their retention to 21, in the anticipation that some legislative action on behalf of these cases would result from the Royal Commission on the Care of the Feeble-minded. Nothing as yet has been done, and now we have no less than seventeen males and eleven females over 21 as uncertified inmates of our Feeble-minded Homes at the Bridge and the Fountain. With regard to the results of the Feeble-minded Homes, it has to be said that speaking generally, the experience of the Metropolitan Asylums Board has been that, although the kind of training given in the special classes of the London County Council schools is fairly suitable for many younger children, yet these feeble-minded cases, if the best result is to be obtained, should be trained in manual occupations from the earliest possible age, but that this manual training cannot be nearly so successfully carried on in the small London Homes as in the working colonies. Moreover, many of these cases develop physically beyond the normal standard for their age, and are much better placed in a working colony than in the confined space of a London Home.

This leads in conclusion to state the general outcome of the experience of the work done by the Metropolitan Asylums Board. Firstly, by far the best results for these mentally defectives are to be obtained by *placing them together and in fairly large aggregates under skilled supervision.* Their happiest and most satisfactory life is found where they are kept apart in a world of their own. They are unequal to the competition with the normally endowed in the outer world, and the very contact with them is prone to produce nothing but discouragement and effortlessness. Place them amongst their equals, emulation is possible, effort is stimulated, and self-respect evoked. Where aggregates are large there is better classification, power to multiply industries without extravagance, and a better chance of finding out the occupation that best suits the enfeebled intellect. What skilled supervision can do is illustrated by a quite recent experience, when twenty female adult imbecile patients were transferred from the L.C.C. asylums as they were much pressed for room. Owing to some urgent structural repairs going on at Leavesden Asylum, the managers could only find accommodation for them at Darenth. It was anticipated that, as they came as "non-workers," they would as soon as possible have to be transferred to other asylums of the Board; but within a few months the medical superintendent reported that "up to the present more than half of them are making some progress in needlework, and I am hopeful that a fair number of them will eventually become useful workers." Secondly, there should be *powers of compulsory detention* under the control of the Lunacy—or better styled, the Mental Authority. It is not desirable to brand all these mentally defectives with a name of such unpleasant association as "lunatic," but it is desirable that they should be placed under such control as will give the best chance for their development in the way in which experience has proved possible, and they should not be removed from control unless the mental authority is satisfied that they are fit to be removed, and that proper means of livelihood and suitable conditions for their care and custody are forthcoming. Such cases should be discharged on probation in the first instance, and then be subject to periodic reports made by a local inspector to the Mental Authority, who shall have power to order their return to institutional control. In not a few cases it is certain that the individual would readily welcome that return to the protected and happy life of former days. Thirdly, there should be *no limit of age for the detention of any class of the mentally defective.*

It remains to allude to certain cognate branches of work which the Metropolitan Asylums Board has not yet been empowered to undertake, but which call

for assistance. As yet no provision has been authorised for those feeble-minded cases whose condition is complicated by other defects, viz., the

(1) Blind.
(2) Deaf and (or) dumb.
(3) Epileptics—(i) sane; (ii) feeble-minded.
(4) Grossly morally deficient, or with habits requiring entirely separate treatment.

As a matter of fact the Metropolitan Asylums Board in 1906 submitted a report on cases of feeble-minded complicated in one or other of the above ways. An attempt in the same year was also made to obtain permission to utilise what was then a vacant building at the Witham Home for Sane Epileptics under 16. But the Local Government Board did not consider the intended provision suitable, and at present no further steps have been taken. The matter has, however, not been lost sight of, and it is hoped that ere long the needful authority may be given. It is a commonplace that the lot of the sane epileptic child is an even harder one than that of the insane, as, unless specially treated, the sane epileptic child grows up in idleness and ignorance, a burden on those in whose care he is, and an unfit companion for those with whom he is forced to associate. In the absence of such special treatment sane epileptics must inevitably and rapidly deteriorate; while on the other hand it has been found that association in a colony, so far from being harmful, awakens sympathy one for another, and the training and occupation provided arouses hopes and aspirations in the patient, which bring about development and improvement not otherwise possible.

It is almost a matter of regret that the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded, appointed in September, 1904, so far from promoting action, has thus far retarded it. Again and again, while it was in session, the managers of the Metropolitan Asylums Board found themselves obliged to halt in this work because it was desirable to await the decisions of the Commission. Gladly they did this in the anticipation that the appearance of the Report would be followed by the permission and granting of powers to advance. But hitherto they wait in an attitude of disappointed expectancy. Urgent is the need for some large and well-considered scheme for the care of these defectives, which would reduce to uniformity under one authority in one area the differences in standard and method which now prevail; a scheme which would make public provision for the detention in suitable institutions of defectives of all classes, and not only as at present of those chargeable to the guardians of the poor, subject to arrangements for payment where the circumstances admit; a scheme which would secure a nearer approach to a uniform standard of medical examination and certification under the control of a central authority with expert assistance; and finally a scheme which would determine the best form of institutional housing so as to secure the best and happiest results for the patients and the least onerous burden to the State.

Discussion.

Mr. Charles H. Ward said that as a member of the Board of Guardians of West Ham he entirely agreed with the remarks of the various speakers that they should get compulsory detention. The mentally deficient boys or girls were brought into the house whilst they were young and afterwards were sent to some institution, but as soon as the girl or boy reached the age of 16 years his parents wanted him or her out, and they could not prevent the child being taken out. If they could have compulsory detention it would assist them materially, and they would be more successful in their work. He should like to criticise one or two of the remarks that had been made with regard to the attitude of Boards of Guardians generally. He was rather sorry their friend from South Wales was not there that afternoon, as he should have liked to reply to one or two of his remarks, for he seemed to have a wrong opinion of the average Guardian. His type of Guardian was that of ten years ago; but that attitude was not adopted by the present-day Guardians. The Guardians were always willing to pay the cost of maintenance of anybody entrusted to their charge. With regard to West Ham, they sent their children to various institutions all over the country, and they never grumbled at the price asked by the various institutions. Some of their people were paid for at the rate of 10s. 9d., but others cost as much as £2 2s. per week. It was not the fault of the Board of Guardians that the charge was not what the institutions would like it to be, but it was rather that the Guardians had not been asked to pay more, and consequently thought it was a right and proper figure. With regard to the epileptic, at West Ham these people were a great trouble to them. They wanted to do something, but were hampered and hindered by the Local Government Board. The result was that they were compelled to keep in the "house" epileptics, whom they would much rather send outside. He should like, if possible, to get into touch with an epileptic colony with a view to trying to get the Local Government Board to allow them to work together. He was very much surprised to hear Mr. Roxby say that the West Ham Board of Guardians made an allowance to people after they had come out of the asylum. The Board of Guardians would very much like to do it if they had the power, but they could not do so. Whilst a man was in an asylum, or in the case of a consumptive, they kept the wife and family whilst he was away, and in some cases the expense amounted to £3 per week per family. The man might be away at a sanatorium, for which they paid £2 2s. per week, and then they paid £1 per week for the wife and family. In most of those cases they found that the family was rather larger than the normal. They would be quite willing to allow a man something after he came out of the asylum if it could be done. He wanted particularly to remind his friend from South Wales that he was not a Socialist member of the West Ham Board of Guardians, but he hoped he was a useful member. He was also hon. secretary of the Ratepayers' Association, so that he studied the poor ratepayers' interests as well as the interests of those they had to look after.

Dr. Fletcher Beach said it was among the imbeciles and the feeble-minded that a great deal of work could be done. When he was at Darenth they had some four shops, but now they had twenty-five, and he had seen at least fifty women working sewing machines, and two working knitting machines. They would therefore see that imbeciles could be taught, and if that was so it was still more feasible that the feeble-minded could be taught provided they were put into proper colonies. He was also pleased to hear Mr. Gell speak about detention. He did not think they should be allowed out in order to reproduce their species. When he was superintendent at Darenth he experienced the same trouble that Mr. Gell had. When they had been trained to be good working girls the parents sent in an application and stated that they wanted their girl home. He used to fight those cases and put it off as long as possible, but at last he had to give in, and that was the great trouble at the present time. Unless they could get the power of detention they would not be able to prevent the reproduction of the mentally defective. He was also very glad to hear Mr. Gell say that there should be no limit of age. At the age of 21 the boy was as much an imbecile as at 16. He had asked Mr. Dickinson what Parliament thought about detention, and he replied that he was afraid the House of Commons were against it, because Parliament were afraid they wanted to shut everybody up.

They seemed to think that the poor people would be put into a kind of prison. He did not know whether they could send a resolution to the House of Commons or not, as he did not know what the rules of the conference were.

The CHAIRMAN: It is not within the power of this conference to pass resolutions.

Dr. BEACH, continuing, said that with regard to Mr. Roxby's paper, he was on his committee for several years, and could therefore vouch for the great amount of trouble which was taken with the cases which came before them. Mr. Roxby had not mentioned the large amount of work he did himself, but he was a very hard-working man. One gentleman had stated that he had great difficulty in finding homes for epileptic cases, and that he had experienced a difficulty with the Local Government Board. There were several homes for epileptics. There was one at Chalfont Colony, and another at Liverpool. There was also another large epileptic colony near Sandelbridge, so that no doubt the patients could be received at one or other of these colonies.

A DELEGATE said it was almost impossible to get a case into those institutions, and they had to wait at least six months. The secretary of one of the institutions was attending the conference, and no doubt he would confirm what he said.

Dr. BEACH said he was not aware of the fact.

Dr. AUDEN said at Darenth they would only take in improvable cases but it was impossible to say at the first stage whether a child was improvable or not. Whatever might happen in regard to legislation, they must have special day schools for the feeble-minded, as clearing-houses to which they could send their children in order that they could be sent to an appropriate institution. A good deal had been said about manual training, but he did not think they had touched upon one of the most important functions of manual training, and that was the physiological. Many of them recognised it was impossible to deal from an intellectual standpoint with the children, but they must get to their minds through the other senses than the higher intellectual faculties. They must train the brain through the fingers just as much as they trained the brain of the normal child through the eye or ear. Another point about the defective children was to give them something that would interest them, that would stimulate their minds. He was in a school not long ago in which all the children who were extremely poor were engaged in making small kettle holders, pieces of wood for a kettle to stand on. Not one of those children would be able to make use of it. But if those children had been taught to make a simple box, every one of them could have made use of it, and it would have stimulated them in their work. It might interest some of them to know that in Massachusetts they had had a Commission like our own, on the care of the feeble-minded. They reported about a month ago, and he had seen some of the recommendations. He should like to state one or two of them, because over in America they seemed to have exactly the same difficulties that we had over here. They recommended that there should be an observation department, and that provision should be made for going into the mental condition of all prisoners at the expiration of their sentences. When a feeble-minded prisoner was discharged, he was to be kept under observation, in order that steps might be taken to prevent him from becoming delinquent again. At one of the prisons in America it was found that a large number of the prisoners had feeble mental capacity; there were forty insane prisoners inside one jail, which would show that the problem was urgent there. He thought there should be permanent Care Committees in order to look after cases all over the country. At the present time the children who were being trained in these schools were not looked after when they went out into the world, with the result that they deteriorated. A large number of children did not show uniformity in regard to their intellectuality, and so long as they allowed them to attend the ordinary classes they ran the risk of lowering the general standard. Manchester had started a special school for epileptics, and permanent care would have to be obtained, otherwise it would add to the extreme complexity of the problem they had to deal with.

Mr. LIDBETTER said that when a man was discharged from an asylum he, in the eye of the law, became an able-bodied man. Such a person returned to his or her home, and no money relief was allowed to him; and any money relief which had been allowed by the Guardians whilst he was in the asylum immediately ceased, because the Board of Guardians only had power to grant relief to the destitute, and as soon as the head of the family returned, the relief automatically ceased. There were some Boards of Guardians who gave relief to a certain extent in other ways, and that no doubt accounted for the mistake Mr. Roxby had made. The money

relief having ceased, and the ex-lunatic finding himself unable to maintain himself and family, had to apply to the relieving officer, who had power to give him food until he was in a position to support himself and family. The relieving officer was not allowed to give him money, but was only empowered to keep the family subsisting. Mr. Roxby raised a more important question, however, and that was the whole question respecting the discharge of the lunatic. At the present time the only consideration was the lunatic's immediate condition at the time of his discharge. As an officer of some experience, he could say that it was deplorable to find the immense number of relapsing cases that came before their notice. He knew of a case in which a lunatic had been under detention ten times, and of those ten times he had been discharged as recovered seven times. Those cases were not so frequent as they used to be. Any medical superintendent who was conscientious in his work had a serious duty before him in considering the discharge of a lunatic, and he thought he ought to go into the whole of the circumstances known to him at the time of the discharge in order that he could seriously consider them. It was absolutely absurd to discharge men who had nowhere to go to and nobody to care for them after they got out. They had no alternative but to seek the protection of the workhouse.

Lieut.-Colonel CURTIS-HAYWARD stated that he was Chairman of the Committee of Visitors of the Gloucester County Asylum. The difficulty they had in asylum practice had been alluded to, and that was when the active state of insanity ceased and the patient was able to take his discharge. Then the question arose as to what was he to do when he went out. They sometimes had cases in which a lunatic went in five, six, or seven times. He did not think in their lucid moments any harm was done in discharging them at mature age, but with younger people it was a most dangerous thing; but when their friends wanted them out they were simply helpless. There was rather a tendency at present to dump people into lunatic asylums when they could not be put elsewhere. Dr. Needham had stated on the previous day that he did not certify all the people he could; but he should like to point out that people were sent to asylums who should never be sent there at all. They were not sane, it was true, but simply feeble-minded. Only a short time ago a child was sent in described as a dangerous lunatic, but when he questioned the matron about the matter she said the child was no trouble at all. If they sent the child back to the union the Guardians would get another certificate and send it back again to them, and unless they could be certain the Guardians would take the child back again they could not discharge it. He had tried once or twice before to send children out, but the Guardians always said they had no means of taking charge of them. The children usually required special care, but were not really insane at all. There ought to be some kind of an institution for such children. Their asylum had between 1,100 and 1,200 inmates, and he had tried to get the Guardians to send children away, but the first time was the only occasion on which he had been successful. He found the boy a home, and they found afterwards that he was capable of doing something; but others had always been sent back as being hopeless. The reason Boards of Guardians sent people to asylums was perhaps due to the report on the feeble-minded, which said that all people who are not normal ought to be treated by the lunacy authorities and the Guardians took that to mean that they should be sent to the lunatic asylums. With regard to "after-care," they did something in his county. At their asylum they had a small fund out of which they helped those to whom they thought it desirable to give a little temporary relief. They fully recognised that anybody going out of the asylum was practically helpless for the first week or two, therefore they considered it their duty to tide him over a most critical period by giving him a small sum of money.

Dr. MACPHAIL (Derby Corporation Asylum) said he represented the medical superintendents of asylums. He thought they were all in accord as to what the public authorities were doing. They were doing all they could under their powers, so far as the law would allow; but there were conditions under which the law would not allow public authorities to do as much as they would like to do. There were only two voluntary agencies connected with asylums, one of which they had heard about; but there was another one in existence. The great difficulty about Dr. Roxby's society was that it was a poor one, and whenever he was asked for a subscription towards it he always paid it willingly, because his conscience would not allow him to send cases to him without sending a subscription. The other voluntary agency which had not been mentioned was the Brabazon Society, which was also doing a

considerable amount of good work in the country. The chief aim of that conference, he believed, was to create public opinion, and that was the best thing they could do.

The CHAIRMAN said it seemed to him they wanted something more than after-care by a private association. They wanted a kind of quarantine, both before and after. They wanted some form of control by which they could control their lives and promote their recovery. Those who worked with the borderland cases knew the difficulties they had to contend with. They were impracticable people who would go their own way. They refused to follow the dictates of their fellows, and as to the dictates of their own conscience he was afraid they had precious little. It was out of order for them to send up any recommendations as to how the questions they had in hand should be deal with. All they had to do was to try to educate people with a view to promoting legislation. He had no doubt that in time legislation would come so that they would be able to deal with those who were mentally deficient in a proper and effectual manner.

Fourth Day, Friday, June 2nd.

MORNING SESSION.

(*Joint Meeting with the Education Section.*)

The chair was taken by Sir William Chance. The subject discussed was THE TREATMENT OF MENTALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Training of the Mentally Defective in Special Schools.*
By Dr. W. A. POTTS.

2.—*Mental Tests for Defective Children.*
By Dr. A. R. ABELSON.

Training of the Mentally Defective in Special Schools.

By W. A. POTTS, M.A., M.D.
(Chairman of the Birmingham After-Care Committee.)

WHEN discussing Special School training it is necessary to consider the age at which this should begin. I am one of those who believe that the best results of education are obtained when there is little or no formal teaching before the age of 7. The sensitive brain of a little child should be left to develop naturally in response to the stimuli proceeding from its ordinary environment. In the case of mentally defective children the policy of avoiding any forcing process in the early years of life has even stronger claim for support; in them the brain is weaker, and the physical condition often, though by no means necessarily, inferior to that of ordinary school children. Postponing going to school till 7 is, however, a counsel of perfection; it should certainly be recommended when the child has a wise mother or other relative who can devote a certain amount of time, especially if the child lives in the country. But often the alternative to school at 5 years of age is such an unsatisfactory environment that we may well approve of the arrangement whereby mentally defective children, although not compelled to attend school till 7, may do so at 5 years of age. When such a child does come to school there should be no ordinary school work; time ought to be occupied with regulated play and with those forms of training which I shall describe as the necessary preliminary education for every feeble-minded child. In this connection it is important to remember that while certain types of the mentally defective can be diagnosed at a very tender age a considerable number cannot be satisfactorily differentiated from those who are merely dull and backward, till they are 7 or 8 or even older. While it is wise to defer literary education, it is equally important to arrange for the training of a feeble-minded child to commence in infancy.

Nowadays teaching babies to walk is an obsolete custom; normal infants give up crawling readily enough when their muscles are sufficiently developed. The case is different, however, with the feeble-minded; they lack the faculties of observation and imitation so characteristic of a healthy child; they may, therefore, have to be taught to walk and to do many other things that their better endowed brothers and sisters learn naturally. It is matter of common knowledge that the capacity of a feeble-minded child can often be roughly appraised by ascertaining the ages at which he began to talk and to walk; the sooner he does so the more hopeful the outlook. Far more teaching and far more patience are required than with ordinary children. One of the first essentials is to develop the faculty of attention, which is so noticeably feeble. The lethargic ament can sometimes be appropriately stimulated by throwing at it a bean-bag or something similar; in the earlier stages this can be used to arouse attention; later on it may be used to elicit powers of self-preservation, by directing it at the child's face and showing how it may be warded off by an upraised hand. Another item of great importance is speech; defective children are often fond of music; sometimes encouraging them to make the fundamental sounds to a note on a piano or other instrument is a great help. So important is the gift of speech for every individual that it should receive special attention all through the child's career; on the staff of every school for the mentally defective there should be at least one teacher who has made a study of voice production. If ever the child is to go out into the world and try to hold his own, his chance of getting work depends largely on how he talks when he applies for a situation. These defective children also require careful training in washing, dressing, and feeding. It is astonishing in how many homes this training is neglected or attempted only in a stupid perfunctory way; on any one particular occasion it is easier for a mother to put on a child's shoes than to show him the difference between the right and the left and how to tie his own laces; once he has acquired the art, however, the gain to the mother is enormous; many mothers lead the lives of a galley slave simply because they never set to work to train their children properly; the time necessary for teaching a defective child is longer, but the ultimate gain is proportionately greater. Learning to dress and similar accomplishments will not only save the mother, but is the best means available in early life of drawing out the child's latent powers. One of the worst troubles with defective children is bolting their food: as a matter of fact, most children require some teaching in masticating well; for the feeble-minded, long and patient training in eating properly is necessary. In institutions for the feeble-minded it is usually best to allow no talking at meals; in this way alone can gobbling and bolting of food be prevented. On such lines as these should the preliminary training of the defective child be conducted; the sooner it is begun the better; we must always remember that the defective child can only learn very slowly, and that the period of life during which he can learn at all is distinctly limited; the ament seldom, if ever, goes on developing all his life as some of our most able men and women do; after 16 there is little chance of further improvement, whether he has more teaching or not; once he is out of his teens he may become more dexterous in doing what he has already learnt, but he will learn scarcely anything new.

Let us next consider what form the instruction should take when the feeble-minded child really goes to school at seven years of age. We shall arrange this best if we first of all frankly admit that with rare exceptions the child who requires education in a Special School will also require special care and supervision during the whole of its life, either in its own home, if that is a suitable one, or in an

institution or boarded out under the supervision of the local committee responsible for its care. We must recognise that the Special Schools should regulate their curriculum not with a view to their pupils leaving them to compete in the world on ordinary terms with ordinary men, but with a view to their spending the rest of their days under kindly supervision in an industrial home or a farm colony. Prominence, therefore, must be given to manual work, so that later on chopping wood and using the spade will not be tasks of insuperable difficulty. Boot-making and simple carpentering for the boys will either pave the way to other useful work later on, or will develop into their life-long occupations; cooking, rough sewing, and laundry work will bring out what is best and most useful in the girls. Literary work must be relegated to a second place. If possible, reading should be taught, for it is a useful accomplishment, but we need not trouble about arithmetic beyond the simplest calculations, nor about writing. As a matter of fact, for those who are to spend their lives in institutions, writing may be a source of danger, for they may utilise that accomplishment to send objectionable communications to one another. It is important for us to remember that when reading is learnt with extreme difficulty and no great fluency attained, the reading of books and papers can never be a source of pleasure, and tends soon to be a lost art.

Experience has shown that with manual training we shall make the best of our feeble-minded children; experience, however, has also shown that we must not expect too much from it. We should not look forward to their work being first class; feeble-minded boys can be taught to make boots which will be quite serviceable for them and their fellows to wear in an industrial colony, but those boots will lack shop finish, and put on sale in the open market would never bring in a penny. Lads of the same type can do useful farm work, but it will be done slowly, and to get it done at all there must be some responsible person within call. In confirmation of these views I may remind you that in our last Birmingham Annual After-Care Report we stated that although some of our cases have been at work for more than ten years, only twenty-one of the 650 on our books earn as much as 10s. per week, and only three earn 15s.; the average wage has not increased for some years. At the age of 16—that is, just after leaving school—we have the largest number of workers, and these earn the average wages. After 16 the number of workers decreases, and the wages go down. We have only eight cases over 20 years of age who are doing any remunerative work. On the other hand we all know that when an industrial colony is tacked on to a Special School, and the discipline and training of the latter maintained, useful and happy lives may be led for many years.

While speaking of natural training, I should say that as a preliminary to the more technical work, such as cooking and boot-making, the child must learn to use his fingers; he must begin by threading beads, folding and cutting paper, and so on. As a matter of fact, even before attempting such comparatively simple tasks he requires a course of sense-training. For this purpose it is best to have the usual kindergarten bricks and models, only made about three times as large. The wooden bricks should be six inches long by one inch square, and the cones six inches high; each must be painted one of the primary colours. The child is given a coloured brick and told to move round the table on which they are till he finds another matching it in shape and colour. Then he must learn to fit a model into the hole in the piece of wood from which it was cut.

For taste and smell wide-necked bottles with characteristic substances are handed to the child who has previously been blindfolded. For hearing,

instruments making different noises such as rattles, whistles, and balls are required. For touch, a collection of rough and smooth objects, bricks, toy animals, pieces of cloth and wool can be put into a bag; the child dips in and guesses what he has taken hold of without using his eyes. These lessons—and indeed many others—can be made as enjoyable as a game. I need hardly say each particular lesson should be short, and the class-rooms bright and airy, prettily decorated with appropriate pictures and other objects of interest. It is impossible at first for the children's work to be of any practical use, and even later on it is often wise to intersperse more serious work with the making of toys in wood or other material; the sooner, however, the child can learn to knit, to make rugs or manufacture something really useful to himself or other members of his community, the better. Simple games are very useful; it takes a defective child a long time to learn to catch a ball, but doing so is profitable training. The games should be organised and under supervision; left to themselves, the feeble-minded have so little initiative and energy that loafing is inevitable. Small gardens pave the way to farm work and develop the powers of observation.

Just to sum up in two or three words the training required in a Special School, I would say we must first give *toilet* lessons; we must teach the child to tie his boot-lace, brush his hair and teeth and cut his nails; much of this should have been previously taught at home. Next we must teach him to converse and make simple drawings; in a word, to *express himself*. Then we must teach him to dust and put things tidy—that is, *to use his muscles profitably*. Fourthly, we must teach him how to behave, particularly at meals. This lesson again can take the form of a game; to give a realistic touch some fragments can be supplied by the cooking class. This we can call teaching him to be a *member of society*. Lastly, we should, if possible, teach something about *Money* and *Number;* this is best done with a large model shop.

There is one point I wish to make in conclusion. We know now that sometimes it is not a case of the whole brain being equally defective; there may be serious defect in one direction and moderate ability in other departments. This is seen particularly in the case of *word-blind* children. Such children, while perhaps normal in almost all other respects, can never be taught to read; they fail because the area of the brain whose business it is to recognise printed or written words is either absent or has been destroyed by injury or disease. Genuine cases of this kind are rare, but there are many feeble-minded children whose defect is inclined to be of this type. These cases should be recognised, for it is waste of time to attempt to teach them to read by the ordinary method, unless the corresponding area of the brain on the right side, which is the one not usually called into play, is intact and can be stimulated by training the child to be left-handed. Children of this type who belong to the working classes are best turned on to manual work at once, for the only method of teaching reading that is available is so slow and laborious that it will usually be barren of result without individual tuition. Children of this type, once we have strengthened their power of attention and taught them expression, can learn much by conversations; indeed, the conversational method may be freely used for all types in Special Schools; talks on history and general knowledge are more popular and also more fruitful than the study of a primer. There are, of course, other special types besides the word-blind child; I have not time, however, to discuss them now, nor would it serve any useful purpose to do so. In a Council school for defectives we can only arrange for a limited number of types; my final point, however, is that we must consider the individual.

Mental Tests for Defective Children.

By Dr. A. R. Abelson.

Some time ago a gentleman connected with one of our special schools happened to pick on a certain child and asked him his name, age, and one or two other questions. The visitor at once turned to the teacher and said: "This child has no right here. He is no more mentally defective than I am"—a rather unfortunate remark, for the child happened to be one of the teacher's most hopeless cases. I have since found that remarks of this kind are not uncommon from those who are not constantly in touch with mentally defective children. I begin to wonder what this same gentleman would have said had he seen some of these children performing, as they have done during my investigation, complex mental operation, remembering and carrying out a long string of commissions and interpreting the meaning of a difficult picture. I suppose he would imagine he were dealing with a school for geniuses.

It must be remembered that many of these children are deceptive. Often bright-looking children are to be found amongst the most defective. Many are to all outward appearances no different from normal school children. There are some who astonish everybody with their precocious conversational powers. Some of the lowest grade defectives possess remarkable cunning, which is often mistaken for intelligence. For instance, the mongol at a school in the Islington district is up to all sorts of dodges for getting into Sadler's Wells without paying, but from the standpoint of educability his case is hopeless.

On the other hand, many children are sent to the special schools who to all appearances seem hopelessly defective. Amongst these are to be found some of the most hopeful cases—children who are eventually sent back to the elementary school.

It is important to determine in a reliable way whether a child is mentally defective.

It is true that some very interesting work has been done showing the different types of mentally defective children and their physiological peculiarities. But, in the first place it must be remembered that comparatively few feeble-minded children belong to the distinct types, and in the second place even if one is easily able to recognise the mongol, the cretin, the hydrocephalic, the microcephalic, and the other forms, interesting and important as this study is, this alone cannot give us an accurate idea as to the degree of the defect.

It is also true that physiologists have noticed certain peculiarities in the structure of the brain and the cortical nerve cells of mentally defectives; but this, again, cannot help us for our purpose, for we cannot open the living child's brain to see what is the matter with it, and even if we could, I doubt whether it could help us very much. Furthermore, the so-called stigmata of degeneration, although more common in feeble-minded than in normal children, are sometimes found on the latter, and many of the former are quite free from them. Moreover, their presence or absence does not give any indication of the degree of mental defect.

It is left to the psychologist, therefore, to devise means for testing as accurately as possible the mental condition of the child, and if possible to detect the nature of the defect.

It must be remembered that it is not usually a difficult matter to recognise feeble-mindedness in its marked forms. But it is much more difficult to diagnose mental defect when it is present in a very mild form. For this reason my observations have been confined to those children who belong to the "backward" type—children who for some reason or another are unable to cope with the work in the elementary school, but who nevertheless make considerable progress in the special school. Many of them seem to be suffering from arrested development of a temporary nature; others, I suppose, are slightly mentally feeble, but much can be done to ameliorate their mental condition.

Furthermore, investigation into the mental condition of these children is most valuable from another point of view, for they represent the first step, as it were, along the road of degeneracy. It is therefore important to discover how they differ from the normal individual. Thus it furnishes a new line of investigation of the greatest importance. Not only will further knowledge of the normal and the backward child be obtained by observing the nature of the deviation from the normal and the peculiarities shown by these children, but it is probable that by examining different grades of feeble-mindedness further insight will be gained into the course taken by at any rate one form of degeneracy.

The investigation, which lasted over a period of three years, was carried out in eight of the London County Council Schools for feeble-minded children. In all, eighty-eight girls and forty-three boys were examined.*

For the purpose of this investigation we chose those tests which we considered would bring into play all the various mental processes—tests where fineness of discrimination, association, reasoning, judgment, imagination, memory, quickness of perceptive power, of motor co-ordination and efficient motor power were brought into play. It was then found necessary to correlate one test with another to see what relation there existed between the results of the tests.

And now I come to what I fear is a difficult but most important item in this investigation. There can be no doubt that unless these tests are carefully controlled and the results rendered reliable, little advance will be made upon the present unsatisfactory state of affairs. It must be remembered that Binet does not take this matter into consideration at all.

As a result of their excellent pioneer work Binet and Simon have been able to draw up a standard scale of intelligence according to age. But I think that they have, unfortunately, for want of better methods, been forced to judge the value of their results by general impressions, a procedure which is certain to involve considerable exactitude. The results of all investigations of this character will have to be carefully controlled and standardised before their value can be determined.

I do not wish in this instance to underrate the value of Binet's investigation. On the contrary, it is only due to this great psychologist to emphasise, as Dr. Langdon Down has done, the considerable progress that has been made in the study of the intelligence by Binet and his collaborator during the last few years.

On the other hand, these investigators have been placed at a great disadvantage inasmuch as they have no method better than pure inspection for judging the value of their results. Hence, crudities are certain to arise. Some of the tests that seemed to give Binet good results we have found to be of little value. For instance, "immediate memory for numbers" and "discrimination of weight" tests have not in the present investigation turned out altogether satisfactory.

* In three schools 11 boys and 11 girls, in three others 11 girls, in one school 12 girls and in the other 10 boys and 10 girls were under observation.

And now it will be necessary to explain the theory which underlies our ideas on the existence of a central factor, intelligence of ability, common to all mental processes.

Let us take a certain mental performance—say crossing out o's. This seems to be a test measuring quickness of motor co-ordination—quickness of hand and eye movement. A little thought will show us that the performance is made up of two elements. There is the special aptitude which a child may possess for hand and eye movement, and bearing upon this to a larger or smaller extent is the child's "general ability," both making up the whole mental process.

The following tests were employed in this investigation: (1) Tapping; (2) crossing out rings; (3) crossing out sets of dots; (4) memory for sentences; (5) memory for names of objects; (6) memory for commissions; (7) interpretation of pictures; (8) discriminating length; (9) geometric figures.

In this short paper it is impossible to enter into an account of the statistical method for measuring correlation, and why this is so superior to judging results by mere inspection. But means have been devised by which classifications of children in order of their proficiency in different ways can be compared, and the amount of agreement between the classifications measured. Thus, if two classifications are identical, the relation between the two is complete, and is signified by 1.00. On the other hand, when there is no agreement, the relation is spoken of as 0.00. A value above this shows positive correlation, and one below this, a negative correlation.

Again, Binet has judged the value of the results of his tests by comparing them with the teacher's estimate of their scholastic ability. But how far is he justified in assuming that the school work is a criterion of "general mental ability"? The results of my investigation show me that scholastic attainment does not correlate very highly with "general intelligence," or, as it is more correctly termed, "general ability"—not so highly that it should be considered a criterion of general mental ability.

I asked the teacher in each school to draw up a list of the children in order of their "practical intelligence." In every case I carefully explained how this judgment was to be made; scholastic attainments and progress were for the moment to be entirely disregarded. The criterion was to be common sense for every day worldly matters. The teacher was to ask herself which of these children she could soonest entrust on a difficult errand, and to take this into consideration when drawing up her list.

The teacher's task, it will at once be seen, was beset with a certain amount of difficulty. The children not only vary very much in age, but sometimes a child showed common sense in some ways, and backwardness in other directions.

On the whole, however, the teachers showed considerable insight when drawing up their lists, and the results are very significant.

The teachers were also asked to draw up a list of the children in order of their scholastic attainments. Reading and arithmetic were chosen for the purpose, and two gradings were drawn up for each set of children—one in order of reading ability, the other in order of scholastic ability.

Thus, if the children were given an examination in these subjects, the results would in all probability come out much the same as the lists given by the teachers.

The results turned out to be highly interesting. All the tests employed correlated quite appreciably with the teacher's estimate of practical ability; and when all the tests were thrown together the correlation between practical intelligence and this amalgamated result was quite high. On the other hand, it was found

that neither reading ability nor arithmetic ability correlated very highly with the tests or with practical intelligence. On the whole, even arithmetical ability which correlated highest, was not as good as an average single test. This clearly indicates that Binet's judgment is quite at fault when he considers scholastic attainment as the supreme criterion of general ability. It also indicates that the earliest investigators were unwarranted in claiming that tests for measuring innate ability are adequate for classifying the children for scholastic purposes.

Moreover, our results have shown important sex differences. Thus, there is every evidence to show that the central intelligence plays a somewhat more important part in the mental processes of the girls than it does in the case of the boys. There are other important sex differences which, however, cannot be discussed in this very short paper.

Thus the child at school does not seem to rely very much on his "general intelligence." There seems to be something of the special aptitude involved where scholastic attainment* is concerned, especially in the case of reading. It is possible that with mentally defectives a certain amount of word blindness somestimes exists. Whatever be the nature of this defect, it is to a great extent local. Inability to make normal progress in reading is often found in a child of comparatively high intelligence.

And now arises the very important question of the examination for mental defect. There can be no doubt that the examination at present in vogue is inadequate. In the short period of two or three minutes the medical officer is expected to label a child mentally defective or normal. He also examines under the same circumstances those children who are recommnded for removal from the special to the elementary school. Thus he has to give his decision after two or three *minutes*, and is expected to know better than the teacher who has recommended them for promotion, and who has been with them day after day for perhaps twice as many *years*. This is obviously fair neither to the medical officer, nor to the teacher, nor to the child.

Many teachers have informed me that some of their brightest children are sent to the doctor for examination, and fail altogether through sheer nervousness. Needless to say they are sent back as unfit for promotion.

I am inclined to believe *à priori* that the younger the child is the more difficult it is to gain a correct diagnosis of his mental condition, especially in the case of mentally defective children. For until the intelligence begins to develop it is difficult to tell what possibilities there exist for future development.

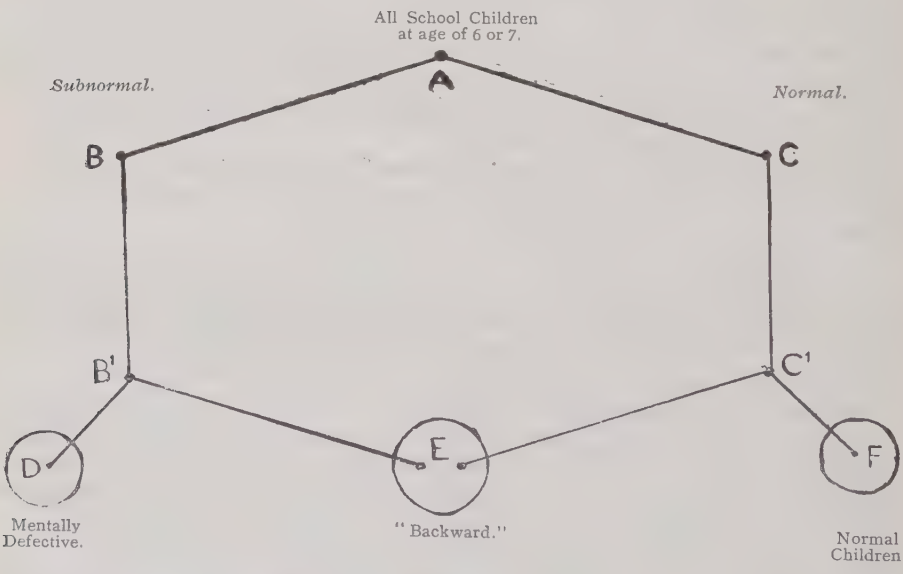
Thus, to the teacher in the elementary school, the mentally defective child seems to be educationally hopeless. Until he is removed to the special school he remains a drag on the class. But once he is sent to the special school he is under different treatment, and he often slowly improves, showing that under favourable and sympathetic conditions a seemingly hopeless case sometimes makes considerable progress. More than one teacher of mentally defective children has shown me a report to the following effect, which was drawn up by the child's teacher in the elementary school before he was removed to the special school: "This child is dull-looking, obstinate, bad-tempered, sulky, lazy, etc." But the teacher in the special school cannot understand how such a report could have been drawn up. One teacher informed me that one child with a report of this kind had been with her five years, and had never shown the faintest sign of ill-temper, but was on the contrary of a very amiable and willing disposition.

* We must not lose sight of the fact that some children may be backward in their school work through continued absence or some other similar reason.

And I would like to emphasise the words of Mr. Shoosmith, when he points out that "only under the most encouraging conditions, only in the hands of a kindly sympathetic teacher, can a child, more or less mentally defective, make any real effort and have a real chance of developing. Under opposite conditions, the second state of the child becomes worse than the first. And, be it said, there is no danger in allowing this kindly sympathetic encouraging attitude to overflow towards those who are labelled "mentally defective." Education is very largely a physiological art; and teachers have to take practical recognition of such facts as these, that while fear and similar emotions are accompanied by a decreased blood circulation, opposite emotions are accompanied by increased circulation of the blood, and you cannot starve the brain of blood and fairly expect increased mental activity!"

And in conclusion, I would like to deal with the eugenic and social aspect of our problem. There is no doubt that a proper classification of feeble-minded children will help us considerably to remove this undesirable element, to considerably prevent destitution by segregating those who are incapable of earning a living, and who are most likely to bring into the world a large number of undesirable children dependent on local authorities.

While on this point, what I would like to urge is the necessity for an intermediate school for "backward" children. In a brief way I will explain what I consider would be the best plan for dividing up the three different types of school children—the "normal," the "backward," and the "mentally defective." The figure shows diagramatically the plan I would suggest—



Thus all children at the age of 6 or 7 are divided up into two rough classifications as at present. But at the age of 9 or thereabouts a much more careful diagnosis would be necessary. All the children classified as mentally defective should be again divided up into two classes. The most hopeful cases could be now sent to the "backward" school, and those children who showed signs of marked mental defect must remain in the mentally defective section. Again, those classified as normal at the age of 6 or 7 ought to be re-examined later. The dullards should

be removed to the "backward" school to join the hopeful cases from class B, the other cases remain in the schools for normal children. Thus the intermediate or "backward" school could be conducted in much the same way as our present special schools.

There is no doubt that continual sifting will be necessary from time to time between the three types of schools, for the children may show all kinds of possibilities in different stages of their mental development.

Moreover, this system would be very useful from the segregation point of view. I think that any governing authority segregating Section D from society would certainly be erring in the right direction, and could do so without any qualms of conscience whatever. There can be no doubt that the present conditions of our system of education is neither efficient nor economical. Dr. Kerr has long emphasised the fact that "an educational system which tries to cram all children into the same curriculum is inefficient." His scheme for an intermediate school for "backward" children will do much to overcome this difficulty, especially, I think, in the way suggested above.

The fact that these mental tests are so highly correlated with "practical intelligence" is of great importance from the eugenic standpoint. For it stands to reason that the class that fails at the mental tests—*i.e.*, Class D—are lacking in practical common sense, in practical adaptability, and unless they are segregated from society, they remain a drag on the nation; they cannot do anything for themselves, they have to be provided for, and they are eugenically hopeless, and what is worse still, a menace to the race.

Discussion.

Dr. Dickinson Berry asked for an exact definition of the class of people that was being considered. Even now people had different ideas as to what they meant when they talked of "feeble-minded." She thought Dr. Potts meant children in the special schools. It seem to her they were dealing with different groups and different standards in different parts of the country. If they had in England the system which was adopted in some parts of Germany, of the backward class—where children unable to go through the whole of the ordinary curriculum followed the same lines but more slowly and to a less distance—they would weed out in London about one-third of the children in the special schools, who would not be considered as mentally defective. She had been interested in the remarks of Dr. Corner the day before on the question of the permanent care of the feeble-minded. He referred to the feeble-minded who came before the medical expert, and he showed that a person could not possibly be told to be feeble-minded from one examination; they could only decide from history or after segregation. Dr. Corner suggested that the asylums should use the powers they had—or the State should make them do so—and deal with these children, leaving the voluntary associations to experiment as to the best way of permanently caring for the really feeble-minded. People held different views on the question of reading in special schools. In Birmingham, she gathered, if they got a child in the second standard, they considered reading was not much use afterwards. That was a higher standard than in London, where if they got a child in the second standard they thought they ought to send it to the ordinary school. It was held that by teaching a child enough to read the names of streets and the addresses on parcels they had put the child, especially a boy, in a better position for earning a livelihood. There was another point on which she absolutely varied from Dr. Pott. She was surprised to find among the parents who brought

up their children for examination that a large proportion of both the mothers and the fathers could not read or write, because they could not learn at school. Sometimes the father might say that he could not learn at school, but that he taught himself afterwards. She thought that a good many of those children who could not learn at school, whilst under 14, were able to learn afterwards. She was interested to hear the statement that mental defectives did not develop after they left school. She would like to know on what extended investigation that was based; it could only be proved by extended investigation. And what class of feeble-minded did it refer to? If it was quite a low class, it might be true. As regards calculation, she was entirely at variance. By calculation she did not mean getting the children above the first standard. The first standard included all that the ordinary person who had a low-class kind of work required. She thought it was very important indeed to teach calculation. She quite agreed with what Dr. Pott said about the age of leaving. As to those who left to do work—and there were a certain number even when they had permanent care—she doubted whether they were in a better position to get work at 16 than at 14.

Miss BANNATYNE (Glasgow School Board) said she felt strongly the importance of not classifying a child as feeble-minded too early. She did not know whether others had fallen into the mistake which they made at Glasgow. They began by choosing as feeble-minded children who were only imbecile or idiot children. Then they went to the other extreme and selected children who were slow of development or backward, but who were scarcely feeble-minded. They had got out of both dangers by adopting rather a simple plan, and that was to make it a rule that every child should go into the infant department of an ordinary school for at least one year, and that no child might be transferred to an established class (unless in extreme circumstances) without a previous year in an ordinary infant department. That occurred between 5 or 6 and 6 or 7 years of age. The work done in the infant departments was such as Dr. Pott had referred to—games, development of sight, etc. With regard to the difficulty of judging of feeble-mindedness, the doctor who examined the children in Glasgow, especially in cases of mental illness, took the wise plan of practically always accepting the head teacher's recommendation in regard to passing in and out of special schools. In the few cases when they differed the doctor postponed the matter for a month or until he and she could see eye to eye. It was not only when they were quite young, but after the age of 7 sometimes, that they developed powers and capacities that entitled them to be returned to the ranks of normal children; and in view of future legislation they who represented educational authorities were extremely anxious that whatever was done there should be no complete removal of those schools for mentally defective children from the control of the education authorities. A good many people had said to her lately that they did not intend to start those schools or develop them because they hoped they would be under a different State authority. She thought that would be a great pity for the sake of the children who at some point before they reached the age of 14 became practically normal, though perhaps not of a high standard. There was another point. Their experience was that it was not wise to expect too little on the literary side of the education of these children. Dr. Berry said first and second standard work could be obtained in London. In any large section of mentally defective children – she meant fifty, sixty, or upwards—they were very disappointed if they did not get a certain number able to do good third standard or low fourth standard before they left. She thought it was very much a question of discretion, commonsense, and ability on the part of the teacher whether that could or could not be reached. The experience went to prove that there were plenty of children who could do that work and yet were clearly mentally defective, as one would realise if one spent the whole day with them. The reading, writing, and arithmetic were an enormous help to them afterwards for them to find employment. With regard to manual training, she was sure in the defective schools, until there was more legislation enabling them to supervise after school age, they should not waste too much money on a variety of industrial occupations, because, roughly speaking, those children did not find work in the skilled employments. They did not go to tailors, and so on. If they had colonies, it would be excellent to teach them to do the work themselves. With regard to the leaving age, their rule was whenever a boy or girl was likely to benefit by leaving school at 14 they agreed, but they did not exempt the child until they found a place for him or her that satisfied them. They attached a condition of attendance at the examination, not in order to enforce it strictly if the

child kept steadily at work, but in order that they might have the power of bringing the child back to school if the child lost its place and the parents made no effort to support it. They found in Scotland that the mentally defective delinquent was fast disappearing. Most of the boys and girls were perfectly willing to go to school, and therefore did not appear any longer as delinquents. It was important to keep the children under supervision. She was disappointed to find that the Children's Act did not apparently take into account the raising of the school age for defective children. She would be glad to know if there was any way of evading the difficulty. They had made an experiment with regard to backward children which she thought would be successful. They had taken a census of all the children in all the schools whom the headmasters considered backward, not mentally defective. They were starting classes for those children in the schools where there was a sufficiently large number to justify a special teacher, roughly speaking, for every twenty. They started them at all stages, and left the children in the schools just as long a time as was necessary to bring them into line with the ordinary school. She thought that was a perfectly simple arrangement for getting over what was a very serious problem, and it kept their special schools free of the child who had no right to be there. The number of classes and teachers employed in the work of training the backward children would probably be twice or three times as much as those for the special classes, but they did not require the special accommodation, the special training, or the special curriculum to the same extent that the others did. It was much easier also to work in with their ordinary elementary school system.

Mrs. Hylton Dale (Hon. Secretary of the Bermondsey Care Committee) said it was found that the environment of the mentally defective child was not ordinary. In a vast number of cases the parents, one or both, were mentally defective, therefore it could not be possible for the child of such parents to have at home the ordinary environment which they considered so good and necessary. As to manual work, she did not think they had given it its proper place. The L.C.C. Education Committee had two very fine schools, where deaf children from 14 to 16 were taught very good manual work. The children went out from there and earned their living, and many of the boys came back to see the headmaster in after years. They were well set-up boys. One of them said he had saved £50. Therefore she asked, why were these things not done for the children in the special schools. The work of the After-Care Committee was simply futile because the children had not been properly trained in manual work. She agreed with what Dr. Potts said about blindness, but one child she knew in Bermondsey who could not be taught to read made a splendid street trader. Starting with 1s., he could always come back having made 5s. They must consider the individual.

Alderman Rogers (Durham County Asylum) asked Dr. Potts what success they had had in the schools with associated games. Was it observable in any way that Nature compensated for mental defects by any abnormal development in any other power? Could he tell them the number of children who were really mentally defective whom they could send away from those homes after a short experience? One word on the subject of the difficulty of selecting children, and how easily the ordinary person might be quite wrong in his judgment as to the mental fitness of the child. In a ward where they had a considerable number of imbecile children, he told a boy who asked for a cigarette that cigarettes were bad for him. The boy rejoined, "Oh, that is only a rumour." At his works they had a telephone boy who seemed unfit for the position. When he asked the foreman about him, the foreman went to the boy's desk and brought out a paper on which the boy had written, "The speaker with a flourish of his arms said, 'What we want is Tariff Reform.' A voice from the other end of the room shouted, 'What you want is chloroform.'" (Loud laughter.) He (the speaker) altered his judgment of that boy.

Dr. Potts was sorry he could not answer the question about associated games, as they had had no means of testing it. He could not say that Nature developed any special capacity except in extremely rare cases. There were cases of mental defectives who were also musical geniuses. As to the number of cases that could be sent away as mentally fit from institutions, his experience was that if the child was demented in the institution after 9 years of age he had never yet seen such a child turn out mentally fit. He had seen children who had been said by others, and who he suggested himself might be mentally defective at 6 or 7, and he had seen them two years afterwards wonderfully different; in fact, normal. But he had not seen that happen after 9 years of age.

Dr. Fletcher Beach thought the special schools in England were not sufficiently numerous. They all knew the work in those schools was excellent, and could not be improved. But owing to the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899, being permissive, only about one-third of the defective children in London at the present time were taught. It was a great difficulty, of course, to get the Government to make anything compulsory. It seemed that that was the only way in which they could get those special schools. It seemed a great pity that hundreds of thousands of children at the present time were not being taught anything at all. In a pamphlet, Dr. Tredgold said one in every 250 of the population of England and Wales was feeble-minded. He agreed that after the children had been to a special school they should be sent to an industrial home or farm colony. He had visited Darenth ten days before and found a number of trades going on. If they could extend those trades in an industrial colony, very much would result; they would be able to reduce the cost of maintenance by the amount of work they did. With reference to Darenth, they did not infringe upon the outside public, because all the things that were made there were sold to the other asylums: so there was no trade unionism in the matter at all. One trade which he saw some years ago at the Cripples' Home at Alton, and which he thought might be introduced into some of these homes, was leather working. He sympathised with the gentleman who read the last paper in regard to backward children. When they heard that in Scotland they had a class where they taught backward children, he wondered whether it was possible to have a backward school or not.

Dr. Saleeby asked what was the correlation between the feeble-minded and the feeble-bodied? On the average, were those feeble-minded children strong? When they came through corrupt parents were they also physically defective? He wanted to quote Dr. Potts on that point to popular audiences. The first point of Dr. Potts and Mr. Ableson was that these children were not educatable. Were they to understand that they could not educate them at all, or that the limits were sharp and narrowly set? The hope that these schools would turn these children under special conditions into normal citizens was not a hope any physiologist could entertain. Further, it was a hugely expensive affair. There the argument of the eugenist, that the often idle education attempted at unlimited expense and infinite time was no real remedy for all our social ills, was borne out by experience. At the age of puberty there occurred a great crisis from the eugenic point of view, because then individuals became capable of producing new individuals, and therefore the educator had to decide what had to be done with them. There were three possibilities at this age of puberty: they might release the child, they might allow the child to become a member of the social organism; they might take care of it; or they might release it sterilised. It behoved them to consider which. He took it it might be argued that certain children came under each one of these categories. There was the child that ought to be released—the backward or dull child. There was the child that must be kept under care, because the individual child must be protected and the community must be protected. Then there was the imaginative case of the child who was competent to become a member of the community, and whom it would be cruel, perhaps, to segregate, but who was unworthy to become a parent; and it was arguable that in such a case the experiment of sterilisation might be tried. The great merit of the papers that morning was that these experts were enabling them to distinguish between those different sets of children.

Mr. Sherwood (Recorder of Worcester) spoke of the dreadful ordeal young girls—often young children—had to undergo before a magistrate when they had to tell a most sad and painful story. It too often happened that the child was of deficient intelligence. It seemed to him it should be possible to send children who came forward to tell some terrible story against a brother, a father, a brother-in-law, or an uncle, to some institution where they would be put to some of the tests which Dr. Abelson could suggest, so that the court should have something in the nature of a report to help it. Dr. Potts said sharpness and readiness were not inconsistent with mental deficiency. He was afraid that was so. Therefore they might have the opposite evil to the one provided by the dull child. There was a danger of the sharp child having learned a story too pat. The other danger was of the jury being too sympathetic with a child who told a pitiful tale.

Alderman Davis (West Ham) thought the papers were read and the speeches made from the standpoint of the middle classes. One particular aspect of the subject had been neglected. With the exception of a reference in Dr. Saleeby's paper, nothing

had been said about environment. He (the speaker) was taken to the coal mine when 8 years of age, and he had not had a day's schooling in his life. Would it have been any wonder if he had been in an asylum or a danger to the community? In the district from which he came, most of the cases they had to deal with in the asylum and in the special school came from the working man's home. Surely there was some reason for that? He was a strong believer in the laws of heredity. Supposing they succeeded in getting rid of the whole of the mentally deficient men and women and children to-day, and they still had society based upon the present conditions, in twenty years' time they would find things had gone back to the state in which they were now, or something like it. He would like to ask the readers of the paper what went to make brain capacity. He (the speaker) ventured to suggest it was the condition of the body. Dr. Hunter (the medical superintendent at West Ham) said he did not believe the problem was to be solved either by State control of marriages or by surgical operation; the true solution appeared to him to lie in the direction of the spread of knowledge among the people. If they wanted to prevent destitution they must consider the economic point of view.

Professor SADLER said he had been asked to sum up very briefly the impression which the conference had made upon the thoughts of one who in the Education Section had listened with all the care in his power to the remarkably valuable papers and the interesting speeches which had been delivered. He felt that what had been said, and, still more, the spirit in which things had been said, and the attitude towards the whole problem that had prevailed in those meetings had made a deep impression upon their thoughts. In him the conviction was stronger than it ever was before, that education was not a subject by itself. (Hear, hear.) Though in itself a subject of scientific investigation and special observation, it was inseparable from the study of medicine; it was inseparable, again, from the study of industrial and social conditions, a study historical on the one hand, objective and interpretative on the other hand; in the third place it was inseparable from the study in a living, human way, of economic theory; and fourthly, it was inseparable from a knowledge of, and a study of, that great body of organised statutory custom and legislation which they knew of under the name of the law. That had been the conception of the conference, to bring to them as educators in their section a more vivid understanding of the fact that at all points of the compass the subject must ally them to the experience of those different cognate branches of study and human knowledge. On the other hand, in effectively grappling with this awful problem of human destitution, education, even in its special sense, was as necessary to each of those great branches of effort, as, in its turn, their experience and their conclusions were necessary to it. It was by such minute educational observation as they had heard of that morning from Dr. Potts and Dr. Ableson that alone they would arrive at a position at which they could eliminate and stop certain permanent causes which, if not resisted, would over ever-widening areas increase destitution. Just as they needed in the study of education the inspiring influence of eugenics, so they needed in the study of eugenics the sympathetic use and the special methods and experience of education. What they needed more and more in modern life was in each individual that was educatable this combination of characters—alertness, self-adaptiveness, the resistance to momentary passion, the sense of duty, the power of instant action, and of reasoned judgment. They had got to conceive of education as the centre of influence—conscious and unconscious, physical, intellectual, moral, judicial—not only upon each individual, but each group of individuals. The moral of the conference was, How far did the present curriculum in the normal school really produce, or tend to produce, that special group of characteristics which modern life wanted? And that was a problem which needed exact investigation, an investigation which required wide and varied help from the State and from private benefactors, which, above all, needed, and could only be attempted with, the sympathy of large groups of social workers, realising how much our subject depended upon the issue of their special investigations. And from that point of view the whole of the discussions had been linked together. They felt from first to last that the study of the mentally deficient was absolutely vital in its importance both to educational and social science, because they saw in the abnormal those particular facts which existed in the normal case as well, but in a less exclusive form; and by a study of the abnormal they naturally helped to throw a light on the treatment of the normal case. Again the whole purview of education included the study of the home and environment as well as the work at the school. Therefore they agreed that medical inspection was throwing light upon

needs, and medical treatment was grappling with needs, which were essential from the educational point of view. Further, they had got to consider how education could help to supply training for future work. It must have regard to the work which children were doing out of school hours; and it must include much more manual work, more completeness and freshness of experiment; it must have regard to holidays as well as school work. Furthermore they must limit the time at which children entered into normal, profit-making employment. The State and local authority, for the community, must extend their powers of supervision over the whole of that, in order that the process of growth might be made more educative to the individual and also more likely to produce a sane, well-bred, healthy, manly future generation. To put it all into two sentences, he should say that the outcome of the discussion on the education question had been the need for more discrimination, the need for a closer study of the facts, and the breaking up of the large generalities to see how much those generalities really included their differences. Nothing had moved them so much as the speeches, often pointing to different conclusions, that had come from direct first-hand experience with human fact. But just as the conference had shown the need for discrimination, it had shown them the synthesis between different branches of study, between different grades of social workers whose experience had often been infertile because it had not been drawn together in the past; and the synthesis, above all, between public work and voluntary action; and that, from the administrative point of view, was the intellectual problem they were left with. To separate voluntary and State work into two groups was likely to be destructive to both. Voluntary work limited for financial reasons needed municipal aid; still more it needed the right temper on the part of the voluntary worker to submit to be used as a part of the great organisation; and temper on the part of the public administrator to be patient with variety of effort, a constant open-mindedness and a desire to learn in order that public administration might ever more and more adjust itself to the infinite variety of the human being.

Dr. Potts said Dr. Saleeby had asked if he could give any correlation between feeble-mindednes and feebleness of body. When he was investigating for the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded, he found a large number in the workhouse were congenital mental defectives. There were scarcely any mental defectives over 60 years of age, and none over 70; whereas there were a large number of ordinary inmates over 60 and 70 and over 80. The evidence showed that the expectation of life in the mentally defective was much lower than in ordinary people. He (the speaker) agreed with the learned Recorder of Worcester. There ought to be connected with every court of justice a medical expert. With regard to Mrs. Dale, it was obvious to him that they agreed on every point, even in regard to manual training. In Birmingham they provided just as good manual training for the mentally defective as for the deaf. Their Care Committee concerned itself with cripples, deaf, and mentally defective. In regard to the mentally defective, the results they had to show were very poor, but in the case of the deaf the results they could show were very good, not because the deaf were given better manual training, but because they were more hopefully received. Many employers were willing to employ deaf people, but not mental defectives.

LEGAL AND FINANCIAL SECTION.

Prefatory Statement.

The subject matter of this Section is the legal and financial responsibilty (other than the local rates of the Authority concerned) for the expenses incurred in the performance of the service. A Local Authority may look for recoupment to the person benefited, or to someone legally liable for him (Charge and Recovery or "Special Assessments"). Or it may look to the National Exchequer (Grants in Aid). Under each of these heads important questions arise.

I.—CHARGE AND RECOVERY: THE PRESENT POSITION.

The various Local Authorities, whether Poor Law or Municipal, now possess, in many cases, definite legal powers of charging the cost upon the individual benefited or the persons liable to maintain him. These powers differ from service to service and from Authority to Authority, alike in the amount or proportion of the expense that is chargeable, in the relation between what is supplied gratuitously and the extra service that is made the subject of a "Special Assessment," in the discretion allowed to the Authority to charge or not to charge as it sees fit, in the conditions attached to the charge or exemption from payment, in the degree of poverty entitling to exemption, in the degree of relationship entailing payment for dependents, and in the process of recovery and its effectiveness. It has been forcibly urged that "this chaotic agglomeration of legal powers, conferred on different Authorities at different dates, for different purposes, but all alike entailing on the individual citizen definite financial responsibilities, proceeds upon no common principle. Moreover, the practice of the innumerable Authorities concerned is even more wanting in principle than the law; varying, indeed, from systematic omission to charge or recover anything, up to attempts to exact from the individual an entirely prohibitive payment for the service nominally offered."

(i) The Law.

The statutory provisions with regard to recovery of cost in the Poor Law are three centuries old. Under the Poor Law Relief Act of 1601 (43 Eliz., c. 4, sec. 7) "the father and grandfather, and the mother and grandmother, and the children of every poor, old, blind, lame and impotent person, or other poor person not being able to work, being of a sufficient ability, shall at their own charges relieve and maintain every such poor person in that manner and according to that rate as by the justices . . . shall be assessed." Thus, this legal liability to maintain others applies only to certain specified cases of blood-relationship—to grandparents, for instance, though not to grandchildren; and to grandparents even though the parents are alive, and themselves able to maintain their children.

It applies, moreover, only to the repayment of the cost of the relief of the relations who are non-ablebodied, not, therefore, to any relief of an able-bodied son or father. And there is no obligation to repay unless there is "sufficient ability" to do so. In the Elizabethan statute there is no mention of the liability of husbands to maintain their wives, any more than that of wives to maintain their husbands. This omission has been rectified by subsequent legislation, under which a husband can be compelled to contribute to the cost of relief given to his wife, and a wife having a separate estate can (but in England and Wales only) be compelled to contribute to the cost of relief given to her husband. Except for this last change, and for the fact that in Ireland grandparents are not liable for their grandchildren, the area of liability seems to be the same throughout the United Kingdom.

It is entirely within the discretion of the Poor Law Authority whether or not it will ask for any contributions from any of the relations legally liable, and, if so, how much, and from which relations. If the relations do not comply with the demand it is open to the Poor Law Authority, if it chooses, to apply to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction—in England and Wales, the Justices in Petty Sessions—for an order charging the relation who is liable with the payment of a definite amount per week for so long as the person remains chargeable. The Court has to satisfy itself that the relation whom it is sought to charge is legally liable and of ability to pay, and has to determine at what rate, not exceeding the whole cost of the relief, the relation shall be ordered to contribute. When the order has been made, it is again within the discretion of the Poor Law Authority, in the case of non-payment, whether or not to take steps to enforce the order. It can summon for arrears and get an order of the Court for their payment, and eventually a distress warrant. If there are no goods on which to distrain, another summons is necessary, calling on the defendant to show cause why he should not be committed to prison for Contempt of Court. Upon the defendant appearing, the Poor Law Authority has to prove that he has the means of paying what is due, before an order for committal to prison will be granted. In short, though enforceable in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction instead of merely in the County Court, the contributions due from relations are, in law, merely civil debts; and are not (as are payments on orders made under the Bastardy Acts) payments enforceable as if they were fines or penalties by committal to prison, without evidence of means.

With regard to charges for maintenance and treatment in the municipal hospitals, Parliament has changed its policy. Under the Public Health Act of 1875, the Local Health Authority may, in England and Wales, make a definite charge for maintenance in its hospitals, for which it can sue the patient. No distinction is made between infectious and other diseases. But it is a personal charge only; the relations of the patient come under no liability. If the patient is a minor it does not appear that any such charge is legally recoverable; and if the patient dies it seems doubtful whether the charge could, in the absence of any agreement, be enforced against his estate. When, at later date, Parliament came to deal with Scotland and the Metropolis it took another view. The Acts relating to Scotland confer upon the Local Health Authorities there no power whatever to make a charge on their patients. Parliament expressly adopted this policy, so far as the Metropolis is concerned, first by a provision in the Diseases Prevention (London) Act of 1883, and then, in 1891, by omitting from the Public Health (London) Act of that year, all provisions as to making a charge or recovering any contribution.

The Local Education Authority, which is required by law to establish and maintain a supply of free school places in each district, may still normally make a charge for elementary schooling, but seldom does so. It is free to make a charge for any education other than elementary, and usually does so. If it supplies meals or medical attendance it is required by law to make a charge on the parents, but it is expressly allowed to forego any attempt to enforce payment wherever it thinks fit. Whatever charges it makes, though, like the charges made by the Poor Law Authority, they are dealt with by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, can, also like the Poor Law charges, be enforced only as civil debts, by distraint on goods; and by committal order only on proof of means and of Contempt of Court.

The position is otherwise with regard to the children dealt with by the Police Authority, or by the Education Authority as successor to the Police Authority. By the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Acts, now re-enacted in the Children Act, 1908, where children are maintained in schools established under these Acts either by County and County Borough Councils or by voluntary committees under the supervision of the Home Office, the parents are required, by Magistrate's order, upon proof of any means at all, to make some weekly payment, usually 1s., 2s., or 3s each, according to their means. The practice is to leave a definite sum per head (3s. per adult per week), over and above the rent, for the family maintenance, and to limit the order to such payment as can then be afforded out of the wages. In about 30 per cent. of the cases, mostly those in which there are no discoverable parents, or the parents are absolutely destitute, no order for payment is made. The payments are generally collected by the police, acting as the agents of the Home Office, and are paid in to the Exchequer. Failure to pay can be followed by an order by the Magistrate committing the defaulting parent to prison for a short term—not, as in the case of the Board of Guardians or Local Education Authority charges, on proof of means, for Contempt of Court—but in mere consequence of the failure to pay, without evidence of means, as if the amount due had been a fine or penalty. This difference in procedure may depend on the Order having been, in the first instance, very carefully based upon the then ascertained means.

There are other cases in which the Local Health Authority is authorised to make charges upon, or to recover cost of service from, individual beneficiaries or those responsible for them. Thus, where extra wear and tear is caused to a highway by "extraordinary traffic" in excess of the common user of the road, the Local Authority may make a charge, and may enforce this as a civil debt. It may, under certain circumstances, take steps to abate a nuisance, and even to execute substantial drainage works on private property, apart from the owner's consent; and may then charge and recover the cost thereof as a civil debt. It may, moreover, by arrangement with the owner, execute works of drainage and road-making on his estate; and similarly recover the cost.

(ii) The Authorities.

The Local Authorities concerned in these "Special Assessments" for recovery from individuals of some contribution towards the cost of exceptional services are, in England and Wales (1) the County, Borough, District or Parish Council on the one hand; and (2) the Board of Guardians on the other; whilst in Scotland they are (*a*) the County or Town Council, (*b*) the School Board, and (*c*) the Parish Council. The different Authorities in the same place are not in communication on the subject. In no case is there any statutory provision

as to any common register of the different charges to be made against a single family; or any statutory provision for arranging that the claims against a single family of different Local Authorities, or even of different committees or departments of the same Local Authority shall pass through the same hands. Thus families may sometimes be simultaneously harassed by proceedings against them taken by two or more different Authorities.

(iii) The Facts.

Contrary to common belief, the amounts actually recovered by these various "Special Assessments" are large and increasing. No complete statistics are available. To begin with the Poor Law, we learn from the Royal Commission Report that, whilst there is almost infinite variety of practice in the various Unions, alike as to what charges shall be made and as to how diligently they are to be enforced, " the special assessments levied on the relations of paupers, or on the paupers themselves, under this law and by this procedure, in the guise of repayments of the relief afforded, yield, in the aggregate, a large and steadily increasing revenue, having more than doubled in the last twenty years. In 1888-9, for England and Wales alone, it was £211,061, or about 2½ per cent. of the expenditure, and in 1906-7 no less than £442,355, or 3 per cent. of the expenditure. Unfortunately, none of the statistics of the Local Government Board enable us to discover in what proportion this amount is made up of certain very different constituent items. Mare than one-half, we know, comes in the form of charges made upon the relations of persons certified to be of unsound mind, and maintained in the asylums of the Lunacy Authority. The balance is nearly wholly made up of two distinct items, namely, the contributions obtained from the relations of persons admitted to the Poor Law infirmaries, and the contributions obtained from sons towards the Outdoor Relief afforded to their aged parents."

Considerable sums are also recovered by some Local Education Authorities, but, of these, not even aggregate statistics are available. We are told that " in London and in some other large towns where there are residential schools for mentally or physically defective children, the parents are required by the Council to pay 1s., 2s., or 3s. per week towards their maintenance, which charges are in practice agreed to by the parents, and are then recoverable as civil debts. Where the parents are really unable to pay (and this is, in London, the case only in about one-eighth of the families) no charge is made. There are even some scores of blind or deaf children 'boarded out' by the London Education Authority, so that they may reside near schools suitable to their needs; and in these cases the parents are charged a weekly sum. Taking the whole of the defective children thus provided for by the London Education Authority, paying and not paying, a sum of 11d. per week for each child was, in 1906-7, actually collected from the parents. In the day schools for blind, deaf, or crippled children in London, which contain nearly 3,000 boys and girls, meals are provided for all the pupils, towards which the parents are required to make a weekly contribution for the cost of the food, and an average of 1d. per day per child is thus collected."

On the other hand, for school meals in the ordinary elementary schools (supplied as these are only after inquiry, and presumably confined to destitute families) there is, very naturally, nowhere any appreciable sum recovered. It remains to be seen whether medical treatment of school children will be confined in practice to the necessitous, in which case there can, of course, be practically

no recovery of cost; or will be extended to all the poor, in which case recovery of cost may be considerable.

Complaint is made of "the absence of co-ordination among the different Local Authorities with regard to their decisions as to personal assessments. It is nothing short of scandalous that the Education Committee of the Town Council should be putting a father in prison for not contributing to the maintenance of one of his children in an Industrial School, at the very moment that the Board of Guardians is granting him Outdoor Relief to maintain his other children. It is equally absurd for a Board of Guardians to be levying a contribution on a man for the maintenance of his aged father, whilst the Education Committee is exempting him, on the ground of poverty, from paying for the meals supplied at school to his hungry children. It does not seem reasonable that the Medical Officer of Health should be supplying an infant with milk and medical advice absolutely free of charge, whilst the Asylums Committee is insisting on being paid by the father for the maintenance of the mother as a person temporarily insane. Still more objectionable is it that the practised and unscrupulous "cadger" can get help free of charge from all the different Authorities in the town—his children fed and medically attended to at the school, his wife gratuitously taken in for her confinements at the Workhouse, and his own ailments cured in the comfortable hospital of the Public Health Committee—all without any of these public Authorities necessarily having any knowledge of what the others are doing."

II.—GRANTS IN AID: THE PRESENT POSITION.

The grant, out of the National Exchequer, of annual subventions towards the expenses of Local Governing Bodies was unknown before 1832, and can hardly be said to have become a part of our financial system until 1846. But especially in the past quarter of a century Grants in Aid have steadily grown. At present, out of an aggregate expenditure by the Local Authorities in the United Kingdom of about 165 millions sterling, the National Government contributes about 28 millions, or about 18 per cent.; and this sum bears something like the same percentage to the total that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has to provide for annually.

(i) The Law.

The complications of the statutory provisions with regard to these Grants in Aid in each part of the United Kingdom cannot be unravelled in this brief summary. We must note the effort made in 1888 by Mr. (afterwards Viscount) Goschen to simplify the relation between central and local finance by substituting a single Local Taxation Account for all the multifarious Grants in Aid then existing (with the exceptions of the Education Grant, the Grants to Industrial and Reformatory Schools, and the contributions in lieu of rates on Government buildings). By the Acts of 1888 and 1890, which set up this Local Taxation Account and determined of what it should consist, there was to be paid into it the proceeds of certain Licence Duties, of part of the Estate Duties, and of certain surtaxes on alcoholic liquors, etc., less Tithe Rent-Charge Rates (1899), which are deducted by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue out of the sums payable by them to the Local Taxation Account in respect of the Estate Duty Grant. To these revenues were added, by the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, a fixed sum annually in respect of the deficiency in local revenues then created by

the provisions of that Act. Out of the Local Taxation Account has to be paid (*a*) practically all the multifarious Grants in Aid which had been instituted down to that date (except the pre-existing Education Grants to Industrial and Reformatory Schools); (*b*) certain additional grants towards Police Superannuation and Education other than elementary; (*c*) the fixed grant to make up the deficiency in rates caused by the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896. By subsequent Acts, various other payments made by the Government (such as the expenses of measures taken against swine fever) have been charged to the Local Taxation Account, and the Grants in Aid correspondingly reduced. Somewhat similar provisions have been made with regard to Local Taxation Accounts for Scotland and Ireland respectively.

Apart altogether from these arrangements stand the direct Grants in Aid of Local Education Authorities, which rest upon the Education Acts and the regulations of the Board of Education for England and Wales, the Scotch Education Department and the Irish Government.

There remain apart, also, the Grants made by the Home Office under the Industrial and Reformatory Schools Acts (now codified in the Children's Act, 1908).

Quite a new addition are the Grants made under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, by the Local Government Board.

(ii) The Local Authorities.

In England and Wales an attempt was made under the Local Taxation Account to make the County and County Borough Councils the sole recipients of the Grants payable from that account. The County and County Borough Councils were required to pay over to Boards of Guardians, Councils of Rural Districts, Urban Districts or Non-County Boroughs and other Local Authorities, any sums that they had been accustomed to receive. The Board of Education Grants in England and Wales are paid direct to County and County Borough Councils; with the addition, however, of those larger Non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts which administer their own elementary schools. In Scotland and Ireland all Grants have continued to be paid direct to the County, Burgh, or Parish Council, Board of Guardians, School Board or District Board of Lunacy, whose finances were to be aided. The same course has always been followed with the Grants in Aid of Industrial and Reformatory Schools, which are paid direct to the Managers of such schools, whether these are voluntary committees or Local Education Authorities.

(iii) The Facts.

Of the 28 millions sterling of Grants in Aid, nearly 23 millions go to Local Authorities in England and Wales, $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions to those of Scotland, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions to those of Ireland. Between 11 and 12 millions sterling come through the Local Taxation Accounts of the three kingdoms, and over 17 millions do not come through those accounts.

We may most usefully classify Grants in Aid according to whether or not they are (*a*) so far fixed in amount as to be independent of any action of the Local Authority receiving them; (*b*) varying in some relation to the amount spent by the Local Authority; (*c*) dependent on certain specific services being undertaken by the Local Authority, but not increasing in proportion to the amount spent.

Among the fixed Grants may be included such items as the Deficiency

Grants under the Agricultural Rates Acts, the proceeds of taxes on alcoholic liquors (or the Grants in lieu of these under the Finance Act of 1907) now definitely assigned to Higher Education, the Grants to Boards of Guardians based on the amount of certain expenditure in a particular year long past, etc. But in a sense, all the sums paid through the Local Taxation Accounts are part of one fixed Grant, as the aggregate sum is independent of any action by the Local Authorities, and any increase in some items is little more than a matter of book-keeping, as it merely diminishes the unallotted margin. The aggregate amount of the fixed Grants, including on this ground all the payments through the Local Taxation Accounts, is between 11 and 12 millions.

The Grants dependent on the performance of certain services, but not varying in proportion to the expenditure of the Local Authorities, are mainly the Education Authorities' Grants and those to Industrial and Reformatory Schools, amounting in the aggregate to about 15½ millions sterling.

The principal instance of the class of Grants varying directly with the expenditure of the Local Authorities was the Police Grant, which is still nominally made on the basis of half the local expenditure on the service, subject to a certificate from the Home Secretary as to efficiency. Other instances are the moieties of salaries of medical officers, or of the cost of medicine and drugs. But these have been in effect merged in fixed Grants by the operation of the Local Taxation Accounts.

The net result on the finances of the several Local Authorities of a simultaneous receipt of these heterogeneous and varying Grants in Aid, some distributed on a valuation basis, others on a population basis, and others again on an expenditure basis, can only be described as extraordinary. The amount of relief to the ratepayers of different places is (as the Report of the Poor Law Commission declares) "entirely irrespective of their circumstances; whether the test be population, area, poverty, amount of pauperism, efficiency of service, or economy of administration." We may give an example—not worse than others that could be cited from Great Britain—from Ireland. "Throughout the whole of Ireland the Government Grants are arranged almost as if it had been deliberately designed that those districts which needed help most should receive the least assistance, whilst those which required the least aid had this aid heaped upon them in profusion. We have worked out the figures for six of the richest and six of the poorest Unions in Ireland:—

Union.	County.	Death Duty Grant, 1906-7.	Medical and Teachers' Grant, 1906-7.	Agricultural Rates' Grant, 1906-7.	Total Grants in Aid, 1906-7.	Population, 1901.	Valuation, 1906.	Valuation per head.			Grants per head.	
		£	£	£	£		£	£	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Dunshaughlin	Meath ...	399	332	2,383	3,114	7,979	105,242	13	4	0	7	9
Trim	Meath ...	485	408	3,568	4,461	13,973	109,054	7	16	0	6	4
Celbridge ...	Kildare ...	579	456	2,122	3,157	14,225	106,057	7	9	0	4	5
Delvin	Westmeath	316	250	1,717	2,283	8,477	53,200	6	6	0	5	4
Croom	Limerick	597	402	2,677	3,676	10,806	63,836	5	18	0	6	9
Kilmallock ...	Limerick	1,477	757	6,104	8,338	25,551	140,273	5	10	0	6	1
Glenties ...	Donegal ...	669	539	1,059	2,267	33,191	22,314	0	13	0	1	4
Dunfanaghy ...	Donegal ...	364	194	392	850	15,781	12,036	0	15	0	1	0
Belmullet ...	Mayo ...	504	304	765	1,573	13,845	10,942	0	16	0	2	3
Oughterard ...	Galway ...	393	366	921	1,680	17,732	16,053	0	18	0	1	10
Swineford ...	Mayo ...	758	490	2,123	3,371	44,162	42,374	0	19	0	1	6
Clifden	Galway ...	507	370	1,020	1,897	18,768	19,010	1	0	0	2	0

"In the Dunshaughlin Union, amid the rich grazing lands of Meath, where the valuation amounts to no less than £13 4s. per head of population, the Government relieves the occupier from his burden of local expenditure to the extent of as much as 7s. 9d. per head. In the Dunfanaghy Union, amid the bare rocks of Donegal, the Government relieves the occupier of his local burden to the extent of no more than 1s. per head."

First Day, Tuesday, May 30th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was taken by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, and the subject discussed was CHARGE AND RECOVERY OF COST OF SERVICES RENDERED BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES. The following paper was read :—

What Public Services, particularly in the sphere of the Education Acts, should be made the subject of Charge and Recovery.

By Mr. J. G. LEGGE, Director of Education, Liverpool.

What Public Services, particularly in the sphere of the Education Acts, should be made the subject of Charge and Recovery.

By J. G. LEGGE.
(Director of Education, Liverpool).

THERE was never a time when the public conscience was more alive to the need of social amelioration. New functions designed for the betterment of the race are continually being bestowed upon local authorities, and there is the possibility of important re-adjustments of the duties undertaken by various public bodies, notably a transfer to county and municipal authorities of some at least of the duties hitherto undertaken by the Poor Law authority—a transfer which, if effected, can hardly fail to widen the sphere of operations in each department concerned. For those engaged in administration, the question, "What services rendered by local authorities shall be the subject of direct charge as against the individual" has become a vital one. The following paper is an attempt by one who has been an official all his life, engaged in the work of administration, and who by his official position has been debarred from taking up the attitude either of a partisan or a propagandist, to record without prejudice conclusions which are the result of a survey of the existing position. The paper may be found to consist apparently of little more than a cento of quotations; but an official is not necessarily an expert, and in any case he is a poor sort of expert who is not prepared to recognise the authority of other experts, and to found his opinions largely upon authority. The author hopes it will be found free from "expertise," a finicking French term for which the unsophisticated have as little respect as for that other—"doctrinaire."

No one engaged in administration during the past few years can shut his eyes to the following facts:—

(1) In dealing with the problem of social reform the principle that is commending itself daily to a wider circle of the community as the logical, the practical and the desirable basis, is not the relief, but the prevention of destitution. In the application of the principle it appears to be a logical necessity that we should recognise a national minimum not merely, as at present, in the way of sanitation, of safety, of leisure (secured for many workers by regulations which in themselves are the result either of legislative enactments, or of contract), but also in the amount of income or wages.

(2) The person who will eventually be bound to pay a large portion of the bill in the future, as in the past, is none other than our old friend the ratepayer, who will retain the characteristics of the ratepayer, however much we dress him up in other clothes, however much we talk of the State, of the community, society, the public interest, public opinion, and even of the people.

(3) If, then, we wish to secure the passage of effective measures of reform involving any public charge, whether it be a new charge or an old charge under a new name, the individual whose characteristics have constantly to be borne in mind is the ratepaper.

With regard to the ratepayer it has to be pointed out that he is very clear on two points: (*a*) the incidence of rates requires re-consideration with a view to the more equitable distribution of the burden of public services, not only as between the central and the local government, but also as between one class of ratepayer, or property or occupation, and another; (*b*) the services of a public nature which benefit certain individuals and not others, or certain individuals markedly more than others, should so far as possible be paid for in the one case by those individuals who derive the whole of the benefit; in the other by individuals in just proportion to the benefit they obtain.

With (*a*) this paper will have nothing to do, though it is satisfactory to note that it may be the subject of discussion in another section, and is indeed, under deliberation in "another place," to use parliamentary phraseology. But of (*b*) my paper will have a good deal to say.

On the question of the policy of a National Minimum three observations are called for: (i) In principle the device of a National Minimum is not new. It has long been adumbrated in discussions on the distribution of taxation. The attitude of public finance in the matter, up to the year 1892, is thus summarised by Professor Bastable:—"Taxation on the minimum of subsistence must, by the nature of the case, be paid by somebody else. . . . the doctrine known as 'the exemption of the minimum of existence' is widely spread. Among its supporters, in one form or another, may be reckoned Justi, Bentham, Sismondi, Hermann, and J. S. Mill, and it has received recognition in the English system of taxation, since there are no duties on the necessaries of life, and . . . incomes under £150 per annum are free from direct taxation."* (ii.) The policy as a plank in the platform of social reform has yet to be clearly defined. It is rare indeed to discover in any writings of Mr. and Mrs. Webb either want of clearness or of local coherence. But on page 774 of "Industrial Democracy" (ed. 1902), the National Minimum is thus spoken of:—"The minimum wage for a man or a woman respectively would be determined by practical inquiry as to the

* "Public Finance," Bastable, Ed. 1892, p. 294.

cost of the food, clothing, and shelter physiologically necessary, according to national habit and custom, to prevent bodily deterioration. Such a minimum would, therefore, be low, and though its establishment would be welcomed as a boon by the unskilled workers in the unregulated trades, it would not at all correspond with the conception of a 'living wage' formed by the cotton operatives or the coal miners." On page 817 there is another story:—"Thus we arrive at the characteristic device of the doctrine of a living wage, which we have termed the National Minimum—the deliberate enforcement, by an elaborate Labour Code, of a definite quota of education, sanitation, leisure, and wages for every grade of workers in every industry." It is scarcely clear from these statements read together whether the National Minimum contemplated is a fixed sum below which in no case must wages fall—a scale which may no doubt vary with changes in "national habit and custom," or whether a whole series of National Minima is in view, a variety of scales, each applicable to a particular class or grade of workers, a proposition which involves the prior establishment of what does not exist yet, a legally constituted hierarchy of workers in every conceivable branch of industry. Further, it may be suggested that there are many other considerations to be borne in mind than those spoken of on page 775, viz., the relation which the National Minimum for adult men should bear to that for adult women, possible differences between town and country, and whether the standard should be fixed by national or by local authority. One such additional consideration may be raised here, a question as important to raise as it is difficult to answer. In fixing the National Minimum for the adult man is he to be regarded as a family man or as a bachelor? The passage quoted from page 774 of "Industrial Democracy" seems to indicate the single individual as a basis, but one gathers from the spokesmen of the Labour Party that the family man is in mind. Mr. Crooks prefaced his recent resolution in the House of Commons with the preamble "that the right of every *family* in the country to an income sufficient to enable it to maintain its members in decency and comfort should be recognised." In an album of Golden Opinions I recently observed this contribution from another eloquent leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons:—

> "To mak' a happy fireside clime
> For weans and wife,
> Is the true pathos and sublime
> Of human life."

(iii) In any case, whether apart from such considerations as the above, or in connection with them, the amount of the National Minimum to be determined upon must be vitally affected by the amount of public services which, by Act of Parliament or by local by-law, or other regulation, are gratuitously rendered to the individual. The greater the amount of "public assistance" the smaller will naturally be the National Minimum of wages due to the individual.

It may be suspected that some may meet the point raised at the end of (ii) by such an answer as this:—The National Minimum must be fixed for the individual adult as an individual, as a childless individual, and the economic equality of the family man and the bachelor must be maintained by the gratuitous provision of public services in respect of children. This is a proposition which should be stated, though there is now not the time, nor perhaps is this the occasion, to argue it out. I must content myself with pointing out that it is in direct conflict with the views, quoted above, of leaders of the Labour Party, and appeal

in support of my view that so sweeping a charge on public funds is unjustifiable to the general argument of my paper, based as that largely is on certain emphatic pronouncements to be found in the pages of the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law.

The clear, cool outlook of that report, its logical development of an almost endless chain of argument, re-enforced here and there by seemingly irresistible appeals to common sense, and illuminated with illustrations apt as ingenuity itself can make them, the triumphant acceptance of apparently inevitable conclusions, and the uncompromisingly definite terms in which those conclusions are announced, has shocked some—and they are not a few—who either have not read the report itself but contented themselves with summaries served up by not always friendly critics, or who mistrust logic, either perhaps because they know little about it and are unaccustomed to its use, or because they hold the old Oxford Professor's view that logic is neither a science nor an art, but a dodge, and who prefer as they say "to feel their way," even though it be broad daylight and their eyes are open. But that anyone should be scared by it under the mistaken idea that it preaches unbridled communism is incomprehensible. Nothing could be further from the fact. The report bristles with suggestions directly counter to communism: it furnishes a whole armoury of arguments in favour of the maintenance of the family and the enforcement of responsibility upon the individual—two principles which are to be found at the back of every Englishman's head, and which nothing will knock out of it.

I shall perhaps be rendering a public service if I endeavour to make plain this important aspect of the Minority Report.

To their scheme of reform the signatories of the report state* that they "have been driven by the facts of the situation," and prominent among the dominant exigencies of which they have taken account are two which lie at the root of the question we are discussing, and which are here quoted almost textually:—

> (i) The demoralisation of character and the slackening of personal effort that result from the unnecessary spreading of indiscriminate, unconditional and gratuitous provision of relief through the uncoordinated rivalry of separate local authorities, as well as of voluntary agencies.
>
> (ii) The expediency of intimately associating the specialised treatment of each class calling for relief with the standing machinery for enforcing, both before and after the period of distress, the fulfilment of personal and family obligations.

Equally prominent among the features of their scheme of reform is "the more systematic enforcement by means of . . . co-ordinating machinery, of the obligation of able-bodied persons to support themselves and their families."†

It is, indeed, to be one of the functions of a special officer, the registrar of public assistance, to see to this: "He should have the duty of assessing, in accordance with whatever may be the law, the charge to be made on individuals liable to pay any part of the service rendered to them or to their dependents, or other relations according to their means, and of recovering the amount thus due."‡

In this clause are contained four principles which may be accepted:—

> (i) The individual in receipt of the benefit of a public service may be called upon to make payments in return.

* Minority Report, ed. Longmans, 1909 (quoted subsequently as M. R.) p. 516.

† M. R., p. 517.

‡ M. R., p. 529.

(ii) What precise amount, if any, he shall pay must depend upon his means.

(iii) His liability may extend to payment in return for benefits rendered not to himself directly, but to dependents or other relations.

(iv) The law must determine in a consistent code the conditions of charge and recovery under each of the foregoing heads, or, to be more explicit, must determine "which public services should be charged for, to what extent relations of different degrees of kinship should be made to pay for those to whom they are akin, and what amount of earnings or income should be held to constitute ability to pay."*

The question of what public services should be charged for holds an important place in the study of finance. In principle there is a kinship between the three problems of the relation between the local authority and the State, between the local authority and the individual, and between one class of individual within the municipality and another. As Professor Seligman has stated: "When the State makes the individual give up a part of his property, it does so primarily through the power of taxation, which in this wider sense denotes a forced contribution. Governments may levy, and have always levied, these forced contributions according to different principles—either that of benefit or that of ability."† What we have to worry out is the extent to which the principle of benefit is to be applied.

Most striking has been the emergence in modern days of this principle of "benefit." But this has been a natural process. So long as the State contented itself with vast services, so general that the benefit of the individual could not possibly be particularised, the principle of "ability" might stand alone. But when the State began to take in hand particular services, the beneficiaries of which would readily be identified, the principle of "benefit" was bound to assert itself.

Of the various attempts to classify public expenditures, the most useful to adopt for the purpose of this paper is that of Professor Cohn, of Göttingen, which has been endorsed, not only by Plehn in his popular "Introduction to Public Finance," but also by Seligman, perhaps among living men the most scholarly expositor, and keenest critic, of the subject. Professor Cohn calls his analysis the "economic analysis of civic house-keeping." It is thus summarised by Plehn,‡ "There are, acccording to this suggestion, four groups. The first consists of those functions which confer so definite a benefit upon the individual, and are so clearly performed solely for the benefit of the individual, that he would naturally be expected to meet the cost of them. The second group consists of those functions which confer a common benefit upon all members of the State, of such a character that it cannot be parcelled out and each portion definitely assigned to the respective members. This group embraces the prime functions of the fundamental institutions of the State. These are the two extremes. Between them are two more groups. The third consists of those functions which confer a special benefit that might be separately assigned to particular persons, but in which such assignment is wholly or partly waived, because there is also sufficient common benefit to justify making such functions a total or partial charge on the general ability. Finally, a fourth group, which consists of those functions that confer a special benefit on certain individuals more or less unable to assist in bearing the charges, and which are consequently treated as though

* M. R., p. 531.

† Essays in Taxation, ed. 1905, p. 343.

‡ Introduction to Public Finance, p. 29.

they conferred a common benefit upon all the members of society." Re-arranging the groups in the order of their importance we have the following four classes of expenditures:—

> First, the largest and most important, those which confer a common benefit on all citizens.
>
> Second, those which confer a special benefit on certain classes that is treated as a common benefit, because of the incapacity of these classes.
>
> Third, those which confer both a special benefit on certain persons and a common benefit on all the others.
>
> Fourth, those which confer only a special benefit on individuals.*

Now it is true that the experience of the past shows a constant tendency for these expenditures to pass from the fourth class to the first. The same tendency has been seen in the relation between local and national finance. Mr. Watson Grice in his "National and Local Finance,"† has claimed that these relations "must, from the nature of the two parts of the combination, be progressive. Services which were originally parochial may become provincial, and then national"; but it is quite possible that so far as local finance is concerned the rate of progress from one category to another has been checked, and that it will proceed very much more slowly in future. The cost of local government has now become so great that the ratepayer even of progressive views is not merely content with schemes for a readjustment of charges as between the State and the local authority, or for the re-distribution of the burden as between one class of ratepayer, or one class of property, and another. He scrutinises more closely, and opposes every fresh attempt to transfer expenditure from class four through classes three and two to class one. This tendency is admitted, though not as amply as would have been warranted by Mr. Grice. He admits the attempt "with more or less success under modern conditions to meet local requirements from combined sources of which some are estimated according to the principle of 'ability to pay,' others according to 'benefit received.'"‡ We are back at the same point. The ratepayer is fully alive to the basis of "benefit," as an alternative to the basis of "ability," or as capable of combination with it. If fresh charges are imposed upon him, the benefit secured by which touch him only remotely, he will not be satisfied unless the beneficiary pays as much as he can. His view is natural and reasonable. Natural, because he looks at the matter of school feeding, medical treatment, etc., as Professor Seligman and Americans generally do at betterment. "The theory of the betterment charge, or assessment according to benefits, is very simple. It rests upon the almost axiomatic principle that if the Government by some positive action confers upon an individual a particular measurable advantage, it is only fair to the community that he should pay for it. The facts may be in question, for it may happen that the particular advantage is only ostensible, or that the special benefit is not measurable, but the facts being given, the principle seems self-evident."‖ Reasonable, because without denying that it is not in the public interest that there should be ailing or underfed children, and being, therefore, prepared to pay something towards the cost, he is not prepared to pay the share of those who can without hardship be called upon to pay all or a portion of the cost. The ratepayer's view

* Introduction to Public Finance, p. 30.

† p. 3.

‡ National and Local Finance, p. 309.

‖ Essays in Taxation, p, 352.

is well expressed in the words of the Minority Report: "After the appropriate service has been rendered to the person in need of it, the question may quite properly be raised whether a special assessment ought not to be made upon him in repayment of the cost."* He attaches the same importance, as does that report, "to enforcing payment from those who are legally liable and of sufficient ability to pay for what they receive."†

To the question then "What services rendered by a local authority should be the subject of charge and recovery," my general answer is, All existing and all new services where the direct benefit does not extend to all, but where the individual benefit can be measured and the direct beneficiaries named—subject to two conditions: (*a*) The ability of the beneficiaries to pay at least a portion of the cost; (*b*) the recognition of the duty of the community to establish and maintain a certain standard of education, sanitation, and general well-being, and, in the interest of the community, to pay out of public funds so much of the cost as cannot, without hardship, be recovered from the individual beneficiaries. This general answer I shall expand by a brief discussion of particular instances of the application of the principle enunciated, and I may conveniently do this in association with a word or two on methods of assessment and recovery.

There is one simple device whereby a local authority can at once protect itself against the danger of stinting the services which it can fairly be called upon to pay for, and, at the same time, safeguard the merely financial interests of the community; and the device can be applied in two ways. That is to say, the local authority can fix certain standards which have to be satisfied before a particular service is rendered gratuitously. The standards may be entirely different in kind, and yet, in the case of all falling outside those standards, a charge may be made and recovered by ordinary legal process. As an illustration of one method, let us take the provision of education in the older and narrower sense of the term. Primary education is practically free. In the case of the few schools still permitted to charge fees, the fees are in the nature of voluntary payments; for if the parent demands free education, it has to be furnished to him, if not in one school, then in another. The charge for primary education having jumped from class four to class one, having ceased to become a charge on the individual, and having been assumed by the public, it is idle to suggest that any attempt should be made to disturb the existing position. To do so would be simply impracticable. But the case is different with higher education. It is necessary in the interest of the community that there should be ample provision for continued education, whether secondary or technical. At the same time the community has not yet felt that circumstances call, as in the case of primary education, for compulsory secondary or compulsory technical education. While it may be admitted, in the public interest, that some general charge ought to fall on the community, it may also be claimed that gratuitous benefit should be restricted to those whose ability and interest are such that the mere possibility of their being deterred by poverty from pursuing their education must be obviated. This is secured by the fixing of a standard of ability or industry which entitles those who reach the standard to free education, or even to an additional sum for maintenance. This is the principle on which is founded the system of scholarships and free places which carry deserving children on from the elementary to the secondary or the technical schools. The principle, and the method of applying it are sound, and should be maintained, though it is possible that some

* M. R., p. 543. † M. R., p. 567.

modification may be called for if, and when, some measure of compulsion is applied, to secure continued education after the primary school stage.

But another kind of standard can be adopted. The local authority can fix a standard of weekly income, and restrict so far as possible the bestowal of gratuitous benefit to those who come within that limit. In that case the local authority only proceeds for recovery when there is reason to believe that the services have been rendered under a misapprehension, or the benefits secured by misrepresentation; and this method can be adopted without detriment to the interest of the community if there are legal sanctions enabling the local authority to compel those who can pay to discharge a duty which they are evading. This is the method adopted by most local authorities in the case of the feeding of school children. The scheme at Liverpool which corresponds pretty closely with that adopted in many large county boroughs runs briefly as follows: Necessitous cases are sought out and, when ascertained, supplied at once with emergency coupons entitling the recipients to free meals for a specified period—in Liverpool a fortnight. The parent is at once notified of the condition of the child and, if he desires his child to be fed at the public expense, he is required to sign a declaration stating that he is unable to provide food for his child, and that he desires it to be fed at the public expense. School attendance officers are detailed to investigate the economic conditions of the family, and their reports, together with the applications, are considered by rota sub-committees, when the applications are duly passed or rejected. The standard of income naturally varies in different localities, but as a general rule special consideration is shown in the matter of rent, and a wide discretion permitted in the case of widows. Periodically all cases on the list are revised, and they are either continued or struck off as the facts warrant.

I believe this system to be sound, and that within the limitations of human endeavour it is successfully applied, successfully both as regards the provision of food for those who need food, and the prevention of abuse. The more efficiently the system is worked, the fewer will be the cases calling for charge and recovery. Personally, I doubt the call for taking any measures in regard to recovery for meals supplied on emergency coupons covering the period of the first inquiry. This may fairly be considered an administrative charge. But one important consideration has always to be borne in mind—the necessity for following up cases where, though the parent can feed, he will not feed his child. A child has to be fed, and no mercy should be shown to parents who neglect a duty they are capable of performing. Ultimately, in obstinate cases, it may become necessary to prosecute the parent, under the Children Act, for neglect.

The provision of meals for necessitous school children has only become a public charge in Liverpool since September, 1910, prior to which date voluntary funds had sufficed to meet the expense. But the following may be given as the results of the experience of the working of the scheme outlined above during the past autumn and winter:—

(1) Parents have not resented the inquiries made; they do not regard them as an inquisition, to use the picturesque terms sometimes applied to such investigations by critics of the scheme.

(2) The scheme does not, in working, prove to be a cumbersome one.

(3) The requirement that the parent shall make formal application for the feeding of his child brings home the responsibility to him. It has been found that, with some fathers, the letter from the Education Office was the first intimation the father, leaving home for work in the early morning, had had that his child

was not, as a matter of fact, being fed out of the money he was paying his wife weekly for the purpose. It has been found that fathers have pulled themselves together on receipt of the notice, have realised that they were in danger of sacrificing their children to their self-indulgence in drink or amusement. Last, and not least striking of all, cases have occurred where parents have voluntarily come forward, before their case was due for revision, and stated that they have found work, that circumstances have improved, and that they desire to withdraw their children from the list of children to be fed at the public expense.

(4) The number of cases fed has not gone up by leaps and bounds since the charge came on the rates. The daily average of children fed since August last is markedly below that for 1908, which was, it is true, a year of exceptional distress. It compares very well with that for 1909. On the other hand, it is in excess of the early part of 1910, though it is to be remembered that in the latter part of 1909 (as also in the first six months of 1910), a period during which the Education Committee and the City Council were discussing the advisability of transferring the charge to the rates, the numbers actually fed were lower than may be taken to represent the normal, legitimate demand. It is a striking fact that taking the daily average in each of the last eight weeks up to Easter, the limits of deviation are only 906 and 978.

But there are services for which a charge should be made, and which cannot be dealt with by either of the above methods. There are cases where it is necessary to render the services and then recover from the individual beneficiaries so much of the cost as each is found capable of paying. This is the method adopted in the case of day industrial schools and special schools. In the case of day industrial schools, it is in some instances possible to come to voluntary agreements with the parents to pay so much weekly. Failing such agreement, application may be made to a court, and the court makes the charge after inquiry into the means. At first sight the amount recovered in the case of day industrial schools is small. The total net cost of the Liverpool Day Industrial Schools in 1910, after deducting the Government contributions, and also after deducting the cost of education, which would in any case have to be a public charge, amounted to £8,243. Against this the contributions collected from the parents was £539. But be it remembered that this amount was made up of small sums ranging from 3d. to 1s. 6d. per week; 6d. a week, indeed, may be taken as the sum representing the bulk of the orders; so that the small amount of £539 represents 1,011 cases, or from 800 to 900 families in each of which the feeling of parental responsibility was being kept alive. The cost of the collection was considerable; but as will be shown later the collection more than covers the cost. The same principle is applied in the case of the charge against parents for meals, conveyance, and medical attention in the day schools for defective children, and also for maintenance in blind and deaf schools. The amount recovered in the case of special schools was, in 1910, £514, as against a total cost for the particular services in question of £2,487. Here it may be remarked that the £514 represented 932 individual cases, and a collection proportionately higher is only to be expected than in the case of day industrial schools, for the children attending the special schools do not necessarily, like children attending day industrial schools, come from the poorest families in the city. In the case of the schools for the blind and deaf the amount recovered in 1910 was £274, representing 162 cases. The total cost to the city of blind and deaf children for 1910 was high, amounting on 211 children (131 of which are boarders and eighty day scholars) to £3,323. The children attending them are not necessarily the children of poor families,

and yet in hardly a single case is the family wealthy enough to pay the full cost. Still it will be observed that a higher contribution is obtained than in the case either of the day industrial schools or of the special schools; and the feeling of parental responsibility is here, too, kept alive.

There remains one curious little charge which is also the subject of recovery by this third principle, namely, the provision of spectacles. Spectacles were provided in Liverpool long before the introduction of medical inspection, for it was found that the necessity of sending certain children with seriously defective vision to an expensive blind school might be obviated if glasses were provided which enabled such children to receive the instruction provided at an ordinary day school. The collection of the charge for glasses has been remarkably successful. Rather more than two-thirds of the cost of spectacles has been recovered by the Education Committee. Taking the calendar year 1909, it may be stated that the cost of glasses supplied was £33 5s., the amount repaid by parents £23 9s. 3d., the cost of glasses given free £4 8s. 6d., the amount of payments originally imposed but remitted 11s. 9d., so that the amount outstanding at the end of the year was only £4 15s. 6d. With the advent of medical inspection the call for the supply of glasses is likely to increase by leaps and bounds, but it is to be hoped that the system of charge and recovery, where no hardship is involved, will be maintained.

This last item leads naturally on to a consideration of the question what is to be the attitude when medical treatment is undertaken by local authorities. Medical inspection, of course, is free, and must remain free, and properly so; for every child passing through an elementary school will receive the benefit of it, or at least have to undergo it. But the position is quite different with regard to treatment—to only a certain number of individuals will this service be rendered. On the whole, I venture to think that the safer course will be to proceed by the third method spoken of in this paper, *i.e.*, the present method of dealing with the charge for education in day industrial schools, and for the recovery of cost of spectacles, than by the second method, dealing with the feeding of necessitous school children, though it would be possible to combine the two methods. But that the matter will have to be closely watched is clear. Much has been heard of recent years of hospital abuse, and nowhere is there a more scathing indictment of gratuitous medical relief than in the Minority Report. In concluding an argument in favour of a unified medical service and the adoption of the public health principle of searching out disease in its incipient stages, the report says:—"And the treatment need not be gratuitous. As we have seen, there is at present great diversity of practice as to which diseases shall be treated gratuitously and which shall be charged for. The tendency, under the present system, is to increase the range of gratuitous treatment; and it is significant that even whilst we were inquiring into the matter, the responsibility for the gratuitous treatment of phthisis (including maintenance in hospital when required) has been formally and explicitly assumed by the local health authorities of Scotland, under the authority of Parliament and the Local Government Board. The whole question of the pecuniary basis of the public treatment of disease seems to us to need further consideration, with the object of securing the maximum results from whatever expenditure the nation decides to afford. But when charges are decided on by Parliament they ought to be impartially enforced; and for this no adequate provision at present exists or has been included in any other proposals. We rely for this purpose on the establishment in every district of a Registrar of Public Assistance, unconnected with the medical service

and bent on really enforcing whatever charges may be legally imposed on those for whom hospital maintenance is provided. This may well lead to an actual decrease in the area of gratuitous treatment, which, under the present system, is shovelled out, with the very minimum of inquiry, to all who ask for it."*

The important question has still to be considered how far in the collection of small debts is a local authority to go in its zeal for the enforcement of individual responsibility and the maintenance of the family principle. To the official the collection of such debts is weariness of the flesh, and it is far pleasanter to scatter benefits without the annoyance of having to collect payments. But as pointed out earlier in this paper, the ratepayer is more alive than ever to the desirability of keeping a close scrutiny on public expenditure, and of stiffening the official back. People are less easily put off than they used to be with the suggestion that it is not " worth while " to collect the petty sums in question; and fortunately we have here again a pronouncement of the Minority Report to guide us. In support of the argument for the appointment of a Registrar of Public Assistance it is urged that the discharge of his duties in enforcing payment in suitable cases will more than cover the cost of collection. " We feel no doubt that the additional revenue which would thus be obtained from patients and from the relations legally liable for their maintenance—even after exempting all those who were not of sufficient ability to contribute—would be very large, and would more than cover the entire expense of the registrar and his establishment."†

This, then, is the principle. General considerations, such as the enforcement of individual responsibility and the maintenance of the family principle, justify charge and recovery if the amount collected exceeds the cost of collection. If I were asked, Are not your sacred principles worth more than that? why not drive right home the " disciplinary supervision "‡ commended by the authors of " English Poor Law Policy "? To this my answer must be a regretful admission. We are not a nation of philosophers, but of business men. Judged by that standard, how does the collection of small debts by the Liverpool Education Committee stand? The total amount collected in 1910 in respect of day industrial schools, special schools, schools for the blind and deaf, and spectacles, amounted to £1,357. The total cost of collection, including salaries of officers, clothing allowance, etc., amounted to £663. The collection is justified.

In conclusion, I venture to record my emphatic conviction that the subject of what services rendered by a local authority should be the subject of charge and recovery, is one of vital importance, and that the Minority Report does not exaggerate the confusion both in principle and method that obtains at present. As regards a settlement of priniciple, no better suggestion can be made than that put forward in the Minority Report, namely—the appointment of a departmental committee " to consider the whole question of what forms of public assistance can properly be made the subject of these ' special assessments,' and upon what persons these assessments should be made, in order that the law may be amended on some definite principle, and consolidated by Parliament into a single statute."§ As regards method, here again,—and I now acknowledge my last debt to the Minority Report—I support the recommendation‖ of the appointment of some officer, as the Registrar of Public Assistance described in that report. But I have two qualifications to make—first, such an officer will have to be of very high standing indeed effectively to discharge his duties, and I am inclined to think that *he may even be required to possess similar qualifications to those of a stipendiary*

* M. R., p. 567. † M. R., p. 532. ‡ p. 316.
§ M. R., p. 400. ‖ M. R., pp. 529, 532, 539

magistrate; second, it should not pass the wit of man to devise a scheme whereby such an officer will not altogether replace, but co-operate with those rota sub-committees of education authorities all over the kingdom which have performed so much devoted, admirable, and, I shall add, effective work in the past.

Discussion.

In opening the discussion, Mr. ARNOLD FREEMAN said that while he was in complete agreement with the general spirit of the paper, he did not think it gave any clear criterion as to the way in which they could judge whether any particular public service should be made a subject of direct charge against the individual. They wanted to realise that the "national minimum" meant a national minimum of personal environment. That was to say, a national minimum of education, sanitation, wages, and leisure that would enable a person to reach a certain standard of efficiency, and they were realising as a nation that they must give that sort of environment to every individual in the country. The rich could get it better than most people, and the State had no further concern with them; but with the poorer classes the State had to provide definitely a minimum of education and of health, and it was attempting to undertake a minimum of wage and leisure. For that part of national minimum the State should make no charge. Those services were universal, and it was easier to collect the cost from the taxpayer than to provide special assessments upon individuals. But after they had given everyone the environment referred to, they would find that a good many people did not come up to the national minimum in respect of efficiency. For instance, there would be cases where a man fell ill by his own fault or owing to his own carelessness, or where a child failed to take advantage of education and was sent to an industrial school or reformatory, that were the child's or the parents' fault. In those cases they should make a direct charge against the individual. That, it seemed to him, would provide some sort of criterion to decide which charges should be put upon the general body of the taxes and what should be assessed upon the individual. With regard to the registrar, he doubted the advisability of making him an important public functionary. He thought it would interfere with the harmonious working of local government. English people hated any very authoritative public official, and the work would be better done by a subordinate official.

Mr. ROBERT LAMBIE (Lanarkshire County Council) said the difficulty he felt was where were they going to draw the line? Who was to be the authority to say what services were to be charged for? For weal or woe, education was now a State charge. They found families with the same environment, with the same health conditions as the poor people referred to who were able not only to pay their way but to save money. If an individual member of the State did not conduct himself in a certain way, the State would have to take charge of him or her. He knew the good standard cry, "You are interfering with the individual," but the moment that the individual needed State aid he gave up his own individuality, and they had to deal with the man from that standpoint. If an individual went off the rails and could not do his own "turn" and there was any misconduct, he would not object to put him on the rails again; but if he again failed and they put him into employment again they should say, "We will husband your pay for you." The sooner they did that the better it would be for the nation. They must deal with the man or woman who deliberately wasted the substance. With regard to the registrar, if he was a man with the widest sympathy for human beings, he would get on with the public. They wanted someone to guide them firmly, who would say to the individual, "You will either work or want." There were certain people for whom it was the State's duty to provide—the children, for instance, who were the State's greatest heritage. If the father would not provide for the child, the State should do so at the father's expense.

The CHAIRMAN said he looked at the matter in a different light. He had had for over thirty years to deal with public administrative work, and he looked at it, perhaps more than he should do, from the public administration point of view. He found no difficulty in getting large sums from the ratepayers. He could always get £100,000; but if they asked for a tooth-brush they talked over it for hours. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) It was the duty and the advantage of the State to get all they could out of the subjects of the State. (Hear, hear.) That was the principle they had to start with. It was true there was the risk that they might offer a child education and that child did not take advantage of it; but if they did not educate the child at all they would have to provide for it in some way. For what the citizen received they ought to make the citizen make some return. The system he should like to see carried out was this. He agreed with the Minority Report that the unit to govern should be the county. He thought they had gone so far in local government and they had given so many powers to the County Council that in the interests of local government there should be no rival authority with partial powers. If they were to save money and save overlapping, there should be one authority. At the present time a clever person could get aid from the State from all sorts of different persons—Poor Law relief, free meals, medical assistance—because they went upon the strictly religious principle of not letting their left hand know what their right hand did. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) He should like to see a system where the whole power of giving relief, whatever it was, given to one body. He rather agreed with what Mr. Freeman said about not making the registrar of public assistance too great an officer. He would have to be an officer who would have considerable control over his assistant officers, and he wanted to see the assistant officers, whether education attendance officers or relieving officers, improved. At present they got the wrong class of person, and thought anyone would do. In his own county they appointed a publican as relieving officer, because everyone went to his place and he got to know all about them. There might be something in that, but he did not think that was the qualification for a relieving officer. Nor did he think the police ought to carry out any of the work; their interference would be resented. They wanted special officers. There was no doubt the school attendance officer and the relieving officer had what they all had—their favourites. The duty of the school attendance officer would be to ascertain whether the children were being cared for or not, and not to wait until the parent went to ask for relief. If he found they were not being cared for, he should report the matter, and it ought to be the duty of the authority to step in. Then there was the question of payment. He felt strongly that there ought to be some judicial authority who should say what the parent should pay. He did not like any mere committee-doing that. He would sooner what was provided in the Epileptic Children's Act was carried out—that the authority should go to the magistrate and get an order as to what should be paid per week. Whatever the sum, a certain sum should be paid. They might ask how were they going to enforce the order. He would do it in this way. If they knew the man had got any property they could get a garnishee order; otherwise he would say that the magistrate's order, or whatever it was, should be taken to the employer and the employer should pay to the authority whatever sum was ordered out of his wages. If a man knew he had to pay and that it would be got in that way, there would be very little difficulty, and they would not have half the shirking they had at the present time. The State had to get the best out of its citizens. It should get out of everyone who did not do his duty to his children such sum as was necessary to enable that duty to be done. In one form or the other he believed that could be done. If that was so, they would have gone a long way to solve that question, but it could only be done if they had one authority and one set of officers to carry it out.

Mr. F. H. BENTHAM (Bradford Union) thought the paper reader did not make it clear as to whether he was in favour of instituting a national minimum of existence. Another speaker drew a distinction between individual benefits and what might be considered to be public benefits obtained by all, and he (the speaker) thought the writer of the paper agreed that there should be no charge for the public benefits, but that individual benefits should be the subject of charge and recovery. School feeding, he (Mr. Bentham) should think, was an individual benefit; did he understand the author of the paper to say he would be in favour of charging that against the individual? Personally he (Mr. Bentham) believed that was the proper course to pursue. The total income of a family was probably sufficient to feed the children, but in the opinion of someone connected with the educational authority the children

were not supposed to be sufficiently well fed, and they would be fed at school and a charge made upon the parents. The parents would then look after the children better. All the procedure of charge and recovery could be carried out by Boards of Guardians with their great powers. Why not in this case transfer the relief that might be given to persons of that kind to be a charge against the Guardians? It was for the Guardians to work in co-operation with the education authority and let them provide the means. It was absurd to say that the powers, being in the hands of Boards of Guardians, should not be put into operation, but if in the hands of another body they should. If the operation was a correct one, it little mattered to the individual what authority enforced it. With regard to the national minimum of existence, he thought it was definitely shown in the Minority Report to mean a national minimum up to which no person should pay for any service whether public or individual. The person who was searched out as requiring assistance was to be asked no question by the searcher as to whether he was able to pay or not. Their duty was to give the assistance necessary for the family and report to the registrar of public assistance, who alone had to deal with the charge and recovery. It was suggested that if the income of that family was below a certain minimum for the number of the family no charge was to be made. If that process obtained, it meant that all persons who fell below the national minimum of subsistence would be able to obtain at the public expense all that was necessary to bring them up to the level and no charge could be made against them, no matter what the behaviour or habits of life might be, because it had been given to them without their asking. The registrar of public assistance meant the institution of a national minimum of subsistence. Were they prepared to face that position? Did the reader of the paper realise that that was what was meant in the Minority Report, and did he agree with it?

Mr. McFie (Govan School Board) said in Govan they had a minimum of 20s., below which they did not compel anyone to pay for anything—they were prepared to relieve freely. Above that they took every circumstance into consideration. If a man had five or six in the family and the income was 26s. they were prepared to give special consideration to his case. If the parent were ready to do something for one of the children, the Board would do something for the others. As to secondary education, they had an examination of every scholar, and notes were sent to the parents to say that the authority was prepared to give free education and books for secondary education if the children passed that examination. Unless the child had a certain capacity, they felt there was no good it being sent to a secondary school. As far as possible they got the children to stay at the secondary school three years, in order to receive full benefit. In regard to a medical order, where they had to send cases to institutions, they found that the parents were willing to aid them by sending a certain sum per week. He thought it would be a mistake if a registrar was appointed with a hard and fast rule that relief should not be given if certain conditions existed. The sum that was necessary in one district would not meet a case in another district.

Mr. Luke (Middlesex County Council), referring to the means adopted for the fixation of the amounts chargeable and for their recovery, said as a Justice of the Peace in a populous part of Middlesex many applications were made to him at the instance of the Home Office as to boys sent to industrial schools in regard to whom an order had been made.

Mr. Legge said he was speaking of the day industrial schools.

Mr. Luke added that they found among the class who furnished the majority of boys of that description that the income was hardly specified; it was so extremely vague and variable. A man might appear himself in reply to the summons to hear the amount of the charge fixed; but the man might produce only a part of the income. In the district of which he was thinking numbers of women earned incomes which were more properly the family income. The man's income went largely for his own personal requirements, his indulgences and tastes, his sports and pastimes; but what the woman earned was very often the substantial income of the family, and it was upon the woman the brunt fell. The order might be 2s., and it held to the age of 16, and once made, was not variable, he believed. It stood. Was he wrong?

Mr. Legge: I think you are.

The Chairman: I think you are right under the Industrial Schools Act.

Mr. Luke said he was under the impression those orders were not variable. Whatever the circumstances of the family might be, until the boy was 16 years of

age that amount had to be paid, and it rested with the Home Office to allow any indulgence. If the amounts were paid irregularly the parent was summoned, and he said, "What can I do? You have taken away one of my children." The absence of one child out of the family made no difference whatever in the family budget. They could never find that the domestic expenditure varied to any degree by one or more being taken away. The difficulty of recovering those items was very great. The matter was surrounded by so many difficulties. It made the difficulty of dealing with the child very great, and with every desire to maintain the full parental responsibility he was bound to say that in the long run the parents would be relieved altogether and they should look at the matter solely from the point of view of the child.

A DELEGATE thought the problem of education was not helped by being treated from the point of view of the national minimum. Education was something positive, whereas the problems of health were negative. They simply confused the problem by tacking the two together. In the matter of education the object was to give to everybody who was capable of getting advantage from it a good education. That was a different problem from that of preventing certain people being neglected in infancy and of enabling people who were ill to be treated in hospitals. He thought they realised that in the matter of education the parents were not capable of giving complete education to the children, whereas in normal cases parents could keep their children in health. If they could not afford to pay doctors' fees or hospital expenditure they should pay part of it.

Mr. LEGGE thought a good many of the points had arisen through want of clearness on his part, due, perhaps, to putting his points too concisely. As regards the criticism of Mr. Freeman, who questioned whether he (Mr. Legge) had given any clear criteria for deciding whether to make a charge or not, he did not think Mr. Freeman had helped matters much. He (the speaker) had given in general terms a number of criteria of great importance. He considered the main criterion was whether a service was or was not rendered to one particular individual as compared with another; if it was rendered to one particular individual and not to another, then he thought, *prima facie*, there was a case made for charging that one individual. The criterion submitted to them by Mr. Freeman was that they should not make a charge where the individual did not come up to the national minimum. Surely that was relieving of all charge those who could pay and insisting on making a charge where it was absolutely certain they could get anything. So he did not think that was a criterion to help them. The next point Mr. Freeman raised was the question of the registrar of public assistance. There he (Mr. Legge) admitted he was wrong in attempting to put his point so shortly. He thought there was a great deal of weight in Mr. Freeman's and the chairman's criticisms of the Minority Report. He accepted their recommendation with one qualification, namely, that he must be a very important person indeed. What he meant was that the registrar should be divided into two. There should be a stipendiary magistrate and there should be an official of the Council, under whom the work of the minor officials and the officers of local committees should be co-ordinated. But he should not give that official any judicial power whatever. On the other hand, he thought just as in large centres of population it had been found necessary for the discharge of the ordinary business of the Police Court to appoint a stipendiary magistrate, so for the immense amount of what they might call elementary or primary civil business they wanted a similar kind of magistrate, and he thought such a gentleman would find in course of time that many of the difficulties which had struck Mr. Luke were less formidable than they seemed. With regard to what Mr. Luke said, the conclusion he (Mr. Legge) would come to on the evidence that was brought forward in the case of the reformatory or industrial school was not that the parent should be relieved of all responsibility, but that there should be simplification of the machinery. First of all he should urge that the recommendation of the Minority Report (that a Royal Commission or Departmental Committee should be appointed to decide finally what services should and should not be made a subject of charge and recovery) might well produce a most fertile report. Then, having got a consistent code as to what charges should and what charges should not be made, he thought they would find such an immense volume of work cast upon the judicial authority that it would be necessary to appoint a special magistrate. With what Mr. Bentham said and Mr. McFie, he felt himself in agreement. Evidently in Govan they applied all the methods to which he (Mr. Legge) called special attention in his paper. He was prepared to admit what Mr.

Bentham asserted with regard to the appointment of this special officer (the registrar of public assistance), or even the appointment of special magistrates, but he did not think that implied the suggestion of the national minimum. His idea with regard to the national minimum was that it was the sort of thing that was clear-cut as paper, but when they tried to work it out in the concrete it was enormously difficult. He was not certain whether it was not ultimately found to be nothing more than a sort of intellectual concept which they got in their minds, but which they could never realise. Perfect justice was a natural concept in their minds, but no one would say that they ever got perfect justice in this world.

The CHAIRMAN, in conclusion, said if they had not come to any practical conclusion, they had perhaps cleared the air.

Second Day, Wednesday, May 31st.

MORNING SESSION.

The chair was occupied by The Hon. Mr. Justice Phillimore, who delivered his Presidential Address. The subject discussed was THE ESTIMATION OF THE ABILITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO PAY FOR THE VARIOUS SERVICES RENDERED BY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Chargeability.*
By Mr. J. W. WILLIS BUND, Chairman of Worcestershire County Council.

2.—*The Basis of "Ability to Pay."*
By Mr. ARNOLD FREEMAN, Lecturer at London School of Economics.

Presidential Address.

I HAVE accepted the position of President of this section in order to show my sympathy with the general objects of the Conference. But the business of our section is so much one of detail that I am not sure that the inaugural address, which must perforce deal with generalities, will be of very much service. Still, as I have had experience of local government in town and county, I will offer some observations which may be a contribution towards our deliberations.

The Law of Nature is the survival of the fittest.

The Law of the State has changed this and ordains that the thrifty, and the sons of the thrifty, who have succeeded to the wealth made by their forbears, should pay for those who have not succeeded. It is a more Christian doctrine. The question is how far it is to be carried? Will the prevention of crime, of disease, of ignorance, lead to a survival only of those who are fit. From an economical point of view that is what we have to consider.

We are to discuss what services ought to be made the subject of charge and recovery; what should be the scale on which payment by the person to be charged should be made; and the machinery of enforcing payment.

Quite a separate matter which we have to discuss is the division of the burden to be imposed on the community between the local area and the United Kingdom.

I propose to say something upon both subjects in order. To begin with :—

Are there any services other than those at present gratuitously rendered by the State which ought not to be the subject of charge and recovery if possible? At present the State requires the Church to bestow the Sacrament of baptism without fee. The State registers the birth and supplies vaccination gratuitously. There, till quite lately, was the limit of gratuitous service. But for the last twenty

years the State has given to the parent of any child who chooses to avail himself of the common schools, the benefit of gratuitous elementary education for his child, or looking at the child as an independent citizen, one may say that the State gives the child this gratuitous benefit.

This was a great change in our social order. Does it logically compel us to go further? I think not. There was no common law duty on a parent to provide instruction for his child. Every parent was bound to educate in the sense that he was bound to bring up his children to lead religious and moral and non-criminal lives. But that could be done without sending them to school, though it can also be done at school.

There was some moral duty in this matter according to public opinion, but only some. It was expected of parents who had themselves received literate instruction not to allow their children to fall short of their standard and to have them taught at their own expense if necessary, that is if admission to no charitable foundation for gratuitous or cheap education could be procured.

As to the illiterate, public opinion expected them to take the benefit of any such educational foundation as I have mentioned, and there was a growing feeling that they ought to try and find the weekly pennies for the *three R's*.

Upon this state of things came compulsory education, a new duty and only gradually imposed, not finally till 1876, by statute,* and from the first with a provision that parents who could not pay the weekly pennies should be relieved.† It being necessary to relieve some, it was only fair to the others nearly as poor but more thrifty to relieve them in like manner, as was done by the Act of 1891.‡

Having got the children compulsorily, but on gratuitous terms, to school, questions as to other State services to be rendered to them, and as to the duty of parents to repay the State for these services, have in their turn arisen. These stand on a different footing. By the common law a parent is bound to feed, clothe, and house his child. He or she is also bound to care for it in sickness and supply such medicines as are at hand, and obtain medical advice where means allow; while by statute the parent is bound, if means fail, to apply for medical advice under the Poor Law. The moral duty upon the parents to do all these things for the children whom he and she have brought into being is unquestioned. Is the parent not to be charged when the State does the duty for him or her? Is the parent not to be deterred when possible from throwing this burden upon the State?

First in order comes the question of school medical aid, including provision for eyesight; next to that school-feeding; some would add boots to come to school in; next again, treating in special schools or under special conditions of sickly, crippled, or mentally infirm children; and last, I think, in the scale, the maintenance of wild, or wicked, or criminal children.

Probably some of the writers and speakers in our section will think that some of these services should be rendered without charge, and will draw lines at different points in the scale. I do not presume to dictate where these lines should be drawn. I can quite understand that none of these matters should be gratuitous, that parents should be charged for all of them, and recovery obtained if possible. But I do think that I have arranged the scale in the right order, and I also venture to think that if in respect of any of these items, parents are relieved, it should be understood that it is not because they have a right to call

* 39 and 40 Vict. c. 79, s. 4.
† Sect. 10 of the same Statute.
‡ 54 and 55 Vict., c. 56.

upon the State to supply any of these services gratuitously, but because it is so important to the State that these services should be rendered, that the State must render them whether repaid or not; that it will be impracticable to get repayment from some, and therefore fairest to all that all should be paid for.

When I say "impracticable" I use a convenient forensic term, costing more to get the money back than the money itself.

I also suggest that the consideration must never be lost sight of that as human nature is at present constituted, that for which nothing is paid is not valued as much as that for which we pay.

So far I have dealt with the child as an attendant at school; but the general scheme of our conference contemplates the whole life of children. Here again I would make a scale in which the charge for the necessary segregation by reason of contagious and infectious diseases (divided again into acute zymotic diseases and tuberculosis), for sanitation and for the prevention of overcrowding would rank in the order indicated, being more ready to relieve the parent from charge for State service in the earlier divisions of the scale than in the later.

I pass from the child to the "young person" of our modern statutes. There are the feeble-minded, whom all agree must be placed under some form of restraint and supervision, probably an expensive one. It is hard upon a parent to have to pay for this expensive treatment. But if the feeble-minded was left at home the parent would support him or her, and of this charge, at any rate, the parent should not be relieved. Such part of the costs as represents ordinary nurture should be recoverable.

Lastly, we come to the adult. Him or her the State now cleans if verminous, shuts up if insane, and sends to a fever hospital if afflicted with acute infectious disease and not adequately provided for at home; and it is a great pity that a sentimental agitation of some forty years ago still prevents the State from taking action in the case of diseases of another class. Further, at his request the State finds for the adult under the Poor Law medical and surgical aid for sickness and accident, gives him or her outdoor relief and casual relief, and through Distress Committees provides in some cases with employment—or in the last resort relieves in the workhouse. Should not he or she if, and when it be possible, be made personally to repay?

The liability of relatives to pay or contribute is another matter. But I submit that the law as at present administered is not far wrong, and that children, at any rate, should be obliged to assist the State in saving their parents from sickness or want.

And that leads me to the second branch of the first division of our subject—Should the basis of the scale of income which imports ability to pay differ for different services?

I have ventured to indicate an opinion that parents should, if possible, be made to provide for their children that which every child ought to have. But if misfortune befall them, such as the birth of a child congenitally crippled or defective, or the catching by a child of a contagious or infectious disease, or an accident crippling the child during tender years, the law ought to be lighter in its pressure upon such parents, and in these cases it may be that for ability to pay should be substituted ability to contribute for the common and natural services. For these common and natural services, however, payments in full should be got if possible; if not payments in full, at any rate contribution. And even for those with whom I have expressed the greatest sympathy, they should pay contributions, and an increasing scale of contribution when the special need

of the child can be traced in any way to the fault of parents. No parent should have the temptation of escaping from the ordinary liability to maintain his children by reason of the child being, for instance, removed to an asylum or a reformatory.

Though I know the objection to leaving this point to the discretion of local authorities, I do not think it possible to lay down a scale of income which would apply throughout the country. To my knowledge a labourer in Oxfordshire is in comparative comfort with 18s. a week, even if he has a wife and a young family; while the condition of such a man in London, with London house-rents, would be hard.

Our syllabus indicates that we may expect from our writers and speakers careful analysis of the way in which income is estimated. I have considerable experience as Bankruptcy Judge of the High Court in dealing with judgment debtors and inquiring whether they have means to pay their creditors.

Generally speaking, though not always, the debtors that come under my cognizance start from a former position of greater affluence than those whom we are in the habit of calling "the poor," and whom our Conference specially contemplates. They have been in a position to get credit for £50, £100, or even more. But by the time they come before me many urge at any rate that they are destitute. I know what ramifications of source of income, and charges upon income, such as previous County Court judgments, old loans, money due for furniture let on the hire purchase system, for rent, etc., have to be inquired into.

If for disciplinary purposes a man ought to be made to pay or suffer, it does not much matter whether these inquiries are made; but if the object is to make the wage-earner pay or contribute what he or she can, and yet keep the home together, there must be the most careful inquiry into these ramifications, and the order to pay must be drawn up on business lines. There must be no foolish rivalry between authorities as to the order of priority of their judgments.

Then comes the third branch—The machinery of enforcing orders.

There would be cases where the person to be charged is really substantial, especially under the Lunacy Law. In such every form of compulsion known to the law should be unsparingly, and, if necessary, cumulatively used—execution against goods, distress, attachment of funds, or wages, and imprisonment. But in the generality of cases, the execution against goods, or distress, would only make a home less sanitary, and the children more miserable than if the service had not been rendered to them. In such cases there remain but two modes of enforcement: attachment of wages before they are paid by the employer, and imprisonment.

Both are open to objection, but both, it seems to me, should be available for use on proper occasions. The real objection to both is that they diminish the chance of wage-earning. If the employer is not likely to dismiss the man or woman, I should have no hesitation myself in tapping the wages at the fountain head; but there is the danger of dismissal. The objection to prison—the most salutary punishment for those who in their family relations conduct themselves like brutes—is that while the individual is in prison no wages are earned, and that when the imprisonment is over, employment may have been lost. I do not know whether the trades union objection to prison labour so conducted as to get a really commercial return for the labour expended still prevails. If not I should like to make the shirker, whose indolence has brought his family to want, earn under compulsion in prison or workhouse enough to maintain them. It is, in any case, worth considering whether the State should not make some return

to the local area for the labour of a man employed in making, say, mail-bags in prison. And those earnings with which he is credited, and which he gets when released from prison, might then be divided between him and the local authority which has probably had to maintain his wife and children in his absence. As things are, in all probability the effect of sending a man to prison is to throw a greater burden on the rates.

Here we miss some of the older forms of punishment. A brother judge now retired from employment, once observed to me out of his great experience that it was perhaps a pity that short and sharp punishments—such as the stocks and the pillory—had been altogether abandoned. The same observation may apply to the use of the lash.

I have spoken generally, and must leave particulars and details to our writers and speakers; and so ends my contribution to the first division of our subject.

The second division of our subject leads me to the consideration of Grants in Aid. This matter must be considered in connection with our system of taxation by rating.

I have long been of opinion that rating according to our present practice is a most objectionable form of taxation. By the Statute of Elizabeth rates were intended to be in the nature of an income tax. Traces—as is well known—remain of this principle in the rating of the unfortunate rector and vicar in respect of his tithes, a grievance which has been recognised and partially remedied by recent legislation; and in the Act, which is still an annual one, exempting stock-in-trade from contribution to rates. But these are only traces or indications of what was originally intended, and the working out of the Statute of Elizabeth by judicial decisions and supplementary legislation has turned rates into a charge on immovable property, and a tax upon all improvements of land, from better farming to what is now called development.

One of the justifications for Grants in Aid is that they tend to equalise the burdens upon poor and rich areas. But to my mind the greater justification is that indirectly in this way persons liable to income or property tax pay a quota which as small ratepayers or non-ratepayers they would escape from paying.

This last object might be obtained if the income tax could be local and the local authorities, instead of levying money by way of rates, were to levy a local income tax of so many pennies in the £. I wish this could be; and I sympathise with the resolution moved by the Lord Mayor of Bradford at the annual meeting of municipal corporations on March 22nd last.* But after much reading and reflection I recognise and admit the great difficulty of localising income tax or income tax payer—difficulties which are pointed out in Chapter V. of the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation in 1901, and which I can supplement from my own experience.

Anyone who has tried, for himself or others, to frame a statement of all his taxable income so as to bring it down to the level where relief is granted, or to balance the pros and cons of his income for super-tax, or to decide—as I have had to decide as Revenue Judge—whether income has been earned in this country or in a foreign one, knows full well the difficulties in this matter. I still do not despair that some financial genius will achieve this problem and abolish rates, and merit a statue in Whitehall. But till this is done I urge that there shall be a large application of the principle of Grants in Aid, as the only means of getting at the income tax payer.

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* *Westminster Gazette*, March 22nd, 1911.

The other ground—that of equalising the burden between different areas—tends to disappear if the areas are made larger; but still remains.

On both grounds, therefore, I come to the conclusion that Grants in Aid must continue.

How, then, are they to be measured? Various suggestions have been made, in the Majority and Minority Reports of the Poor Law Commission, in the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, and elsewhere. These provisions are complicated. I should like a simple way, and my principle would be the maximum of demand upon the income tax payer consistent with a sufficient inducement to the local authority to be thrifty.

I would suggest that half of all rates should be borne by the Treasury. Such a division would leave the local authority sufficient inducement to be saving and thrifty, and should be accompanied by a control by the appropriate Government Office, which would assure efficiency as a condition of the payment of the Government contribution, and would be allowed (subject to some form of appeal to the Courts) to reduce or take away its half contribution, as it can do now in matters of education; and, as it is suggested in the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission (Chapter X.), should be done generally.

There is another form of Grants in Aid of which I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing my opinion. I refer to the Equalisation Rate in the metropolis. It is, as I think the Commissioners who signed the Minority Report intend to say, wholly bad.

It was usefully criticised in detail and in its incidence upon the borough of which I am mayor, in a report made to the Kensington Ratepayers' Association in 1906.

There is no doubt there is a good deal to be said for making the metropolis one area with one rate for all matters in connection with the relief or prevention of destitution. Then the spending and the taxing authority would be one. The present system only tends, as is pointed out in the Minority Report, to laxity and the discouragement of thrift.

With these preliminary remarks, which I trust may be of some use and guidance, I commend the subjects of our discussion to the consideration of the Conference.

Chargeability.

By J. W. Willis Bund.
(Chairman of the Worcestershire County Council).

In the theory of the English law every English man or woman has a legal settlement somewhere in England and it is a liability of the occupiers in that place, when once it is ascertained that it is the place of settlement, to support the man or woman for the rest of their lives if they are unable to support themselves. Obviously such a doctrine gives rise to numberless questions. A century ago there was no better school for a young lawyer who desired to learn his work than a close study of the law of settlement. No reforms in the Poor Law have been greater than the various measures that have to a great extent done away with the

law of settlement. No reform would be greater than the total abolition of that law. It, however, survives, and its total abolition is not, at present, likely. Therefore the next best thing to be done is to bring about, if possible, some reform in cases where now it works most harshly. These are the cases where a charge is placed on a parent or person liable to support a child or relation who will come on the parish for support if the person legally liable fails to carry out his liability.

The subject is so large that it is impossible now to give a satisfactory outline in the limits of a paper. It will be better to refer to some specific class of cases, point out the hardships that arise as to it, and suggest possible remedies.

Leaving out, therefore, the very wide and very difficult questions of chargeability for aged and sick relations, chargeability for bastards, chargeability for sick and infirm, the cases of persons who are defective and who therefore are unable to work and to become a charge on the rates, will alone be considered.

All County and County Borough Councils are bound to provide and maintain a proper place for the reception and accommodation of pauper lunatics, that is, for persons either in actual receipt of poor relief or persons in such circumstances as to require relief for their proper care. As soon as the justice who makes the reception order is satisfied as to the person belonging to one of these classes and signs the order, the alleged lunatic becomes chargeable to the union in which he is settled. The alleged lunatic must then be sent to an asylum. If the medical officer of the union is called in to see the alleged lunatic and he charges the cost of his visit to the union, the alleged lunatic is in law deemed to be in receipt of relief. So the justice has no option, if he considers the person to be a lunatic, but to send him to an asylum. Sending the patient to an asylum involves a weekly payment by the guardians to the asylum so long as the patient remains there. It will thus be seen that nothing is easier than for a person to get into an asylum. As soon as a person enters an asylum chargeability begins, and with it the power of the guardians to recover the cost to which they are or may be put, out of any property the alleged lunatic may possess, or from any person legally liable for his maintenance.

The evils of this condition of affairs are twofold—(i.) the guardians are desirous of getting the alleged lunatic discharged at the earliest possible moment so as to get rid of the liability of the union to make the weekly payment; (ii.) the persons legally liable for the lunatic's maintenance are desirous of getting the alleged lunatic discharged as soon as possible to escape their liability to make a payment that often severely taxes their ability. When it is remembered that the cost of the weekly rate of maintenance of a lunatic varies between 7s. and 9s. a week, even for a working man with a family to pay a quarter of this is a very serious burden on him, which he does all he can to escape.

The law aids him and the guardians in getting rid of their liability. If the person chargeable will agree to take care of the lunatic and that the lunatic shall not become chargeable to any other authority, the asylum visitors may hand over the lunatic to the care of such person. The guardians then get rid of the charge on the rates, the person liable for the lunatic gets rid of the fixed weekly payment, and the lunatic regains his liberty. So everyone is pleased at this unsatisfactory result of the working of the law of chargeability. As in most cases, there is another side. The alleged lunatic returns home, and the first thing he or she thinks about is the reproduction of their species, and they proceed at the earliest available moment to take the necessary steps for this purpose, with the result that in a few years instead of one person being chargeable to the

rates there are several. Such is one effect of the present system of chargeability—to further increase the number of persons chargeable to the rates. It is no fancy picture—no mere theoretical possibility that has been described. It is what is going on daily in our asylums, and what will continue to go on so long as the charge for the lunatics in asylums remains a local charge on the particular district where the lunatic may happen to be at the time he is first detained.

If it is true lunatic or defective parents produce lunatic or defective children, and it seems to be assumed this is so, the present law as to chargeability works a further evil. Unfortunately, every parish has its idiot or lunatic, possibly harmless, certainly injurious, in that he or she is almost certain to add to the number of imbeciles. Defective parents cannot work or rather are not able to earn more than will yield a bare sustenance, even if they can do that. Defective children therefore become, either from birth or very soon after, a source of chargeability. How is this to be met?

The answer usually given is, There is the Act that enables the local Education Authority to deal with them by sending them to homes or other places where they can be educated. That is true, and in various cases children are searched out to be sent to institutions. Here again chargeability comes in. The local Education Authority say, and truly say, the fact of a parent having defective children should not free the parent from paying something towards the child's support. The parent, however, says he will not pay, and will not consent to the child being sent to the home; and it is doubtful, if he takes this line, if he can be compelled to allow the child to go or be compelled to pay. The parent says he can keep his child at home for less than he will have to pay out weekly if it goes to a home. Why should he let it go, and rob his other children? So he refuses, the child stays at home and grows a confirmed imbecile, and a danger to itself and those about it, producing more idiots. The law of chargeability is responsible for this, and the local Education Authority does not want to incur the cost of the child, and is above all things anxious to save the ratepayers' pockets; the parent does not want to have to pay a fixed sum per week, and above all things wants to protect his own pocket. Finally there are the Guardians, who consider that the time may come when the family will be chargeable to the Union, and want to do all they can to keep the case off the rates. It is true there is the law, but it is a permissive not a compulsory law, and all those who are interested in the matter desire to prevent, and are working to prevent, the law being put in force. Can it be wondered that in the face of such opposition that arises round every case the forces of resistance to the Act are too powerful to be overcome?

But if the child is sent, and an order made that the parent shall contribute some small sum per week, the difficulties are by no means over. The father neglects to pay. He is summoned. The Justices nowadays are often members of the Boards of Guardians, and think that if they send the father to prison they will have the whole family on their hands. They therefore make no order, with the result that it is now found out by parents that they run but little risk of punishment from fines, and they will not pay. Imprisonment means not one person receiving relief, but the whole family. So in the interests of the ratepayers the Justices make no order, and as the order cannot be enforced, no further steps are taken, as it is desirable for all that the child should be maintained at the county charge without any contribution from the parent.

In other words, if a parent is crafty and knows how to play the game, he can get a child provided for until it is 16 at the cost of the county.

This is only one form of the difficulty. There is also the point if the father is ill or gets out of work, who is to pay the contribution? The answer is, Oh, the Board of Guardians should do so! But it is the last thing they are likely even to contemplate doing. Therefore, as the case stands, while an order that the father shall contribute to the child's support in a school for defective children can be made, it by no means follows that if made it will be effective. The parent may for various reasons find he cannot continue his contribution, so the cost falls on the rates, and the Guardians will do their utmost to avoid contributing to the support of a child in an institution by reason of the parent's default, assuming they have legal power to do so. Each of the contributing parties, parent or Guardians, are naturally averse to making good charges that will accrue year after year. Their objection to the Act directly arises from the working of the law of chargeability.

Two other aspects must be noticed. When the child is sent to an institution and paid for by one or other of the contributing parties, there is no security that the money spent will not be wasted. Under some power, known only to Government inspectors, and probably illegal, those officers say that if, in their opinion, the child that has been sent to school and all the difficulties in sending overcome, is not to remain there if in the inspector's opinion the child is not profiting by the treatment it is receiving. In two cases lately managers of institutions have written to say they will not keep a child because they are told by His Majesty's inspector it will be better that the child should be removed. So the child is sent back home to all its old surroundings and belongings, to all the dangers and difficulties that assault the body. All the money spent has been lost, and the parent, the local Education Authority, and the Guardians all feel that they have wasted so much good money, and naturally say that such a thing will not occur again. This is bad enough: it is a clear waste of money; but the next stage is even worse.

As the case now stands, defective children can only be kept at schools until they are 16. Then when they have reached the reproductive age, the State in its wisdom says to them, "Go and replenish the earth." They do it. Those who oppose chargeability say, and with some truth, that if idiots and defectives were left to themselves no one would marry them, they would be too repulsive; even an agricultural labourer would not saddle himself with a wife who was the village idiot—that is, the village outcast. But when they have been to a school, they get sharpened up and know how to make the best of themselves; they have been taught some trade or work whereby they can contribute something to the common stock, and neither male or female when they return from school are outside the marriageable circle. Added to this, the girls look as nice, if not nicer, than the ordinary village girls, and, to put it mildly, they are not inclined to repel the advances of the males, even if they do not encourage them. So that in effect, instead of having done good by sending these defectives to school, you have done harm; you have made the parents and the district chargeable, made them contribute for some years to turn out a number of defectives, who are far more likely to breed than if you had left them alone and done nothing with them; in fact, you are promoting the very evil you profess to cure. There is much truth in this argument, but if the law was altered it would be valueless. If there was power to detain a defective after 16 the argument would at once fall to the ground. Why the law will not allow defectives beyond 16 to be retained is one of those things that pass man's understanding, unless it is because it is thought the locality should not be charged with the support of a child after

it arrives at an age at which it should support itself. Even if this is so, from a national point of view it does not pay a State to increase the facilities for breeding lunatics. This is another result of the present law of chargeability.

From what has been said it will be seen that the present system urgently requires alteration, for as it now stands it is the interest of everyone concerned to discharge a defective from any institution so as to get rid of the weekly charge as soon as possible.

That defectives are discharged when they are still able to have large families, and that very often they do have families after discharge from institutions.

That both these points are promoted by the present law as to chargeability.

That defective parents are less able to work than others, and so less able to provide for or contribute to the support of their defective children.

That every encouragement is given to parents to resist sending their children to institutions.

That defective children not sent to institutions become chargeable sooner or later, usually after having themselves had a number of defective children.

That the present state of the law of chargeability encourages this.

That children sent to an institution and compelled to leave at 16 are a great danger to the State, as it is most probable they will help to perpetuate defectives.

The present state of the law as to chargeability therefore tends to perpetuate this state of things, which it was framed to redress.

Most persons who have any practical knowledge of the subject will agree with these propositions, but they will ask, what remedy do you propose? The answer is, Do away absolutely with the law of settlement and make the Government grants towards defectives an imperial not a local charge. If it is local it is in the interest of all who are connected with an asylum to get rid of any charge as quickly as possible, quite irrespective of the general good. If it is imperial, then it does not matter to any one locality more than to another if an individual is under restraint. It is a matter of importance to the nation to have in it as few defectives as possible. The State, and the State alone, can bring this about and set free the different localities from the lower personal standpoint, and by raising them to the higher national standpoint get rid of the present system of chargeability which has survived so long to the country's general detriment.

Discussion.

Mr. F. H. Bentham (Bradford), referring to the instance cited by Mr. Bund, did not think it was the fault of the law of chargeability that the person was induced to take his aunt out of the asylum in the first instance; he had no liability to contribute anything, since she was his aunt; but there might be a moral liability. If the person was not fit to be at large, it seemed to him undue pressure was brought by the County Asylum Authority or by the local Board of Guardians to get rid of the charge of the person. It seemed to him the whole blame was upon the administration. He did not see why they should want any change in the law of chargeability in order to remedy a case like that. What change could be made to make it better? Mr. Willis Bund put great responsibility upon the nation. Wasn't this a medical question?—(A voice: Yes) -and should it not be decided by the experts who had to decide whether a person was a lunatic who ought to be detained, or one who was fit to have his or her liberty. If it was a medical question,

it seemed to him (Mr. Bentham) that the visitors to the asylum were not in an unfavourable position. They had to let it be decided by the medical officer. The present position with regard to the lunacy question was unsatisfactory. While the duty seemed to be imposed upon the county lunacy authority of making provision for all pauper lunatics, yet they seldom did so in most counties, and they found that pauper lunatics could not be got into the asylums because the authorities would not provide sufficient accommodation. That imposed upon the governors the necessity of providing accommodation in workhouses, which was not a desirable thing at all. The whole fault lay in the administration of the lunacy laws, and if any improvement was to be made in the matter it would either be in the direction of transferring the whole of the lunatics to one authority or making the law more strict and obliging the local lunacy authority to make ample provision, whether the money was recoverable or not. There was always this: if a settlement could be found the local Board of Guardians must pay for the maintenance of the lunatic, and if a settlement could not be found it fell upon the county as a county charge. He could not see where the question of chargeability with regard to lunatics could be remedied by any new legislation except in the direction he had suggested. (Hear, hear.)

Sir GEORGE FORDHAM (Chairman of the Cambridgeshire County Council) thought they had been rather led away from the important parts of the paper by the illustration which had been somewhat laboured in regard to a particular case. He would like to bring the section back to the difficult question of chargeability. The question was raised in the last few lines of the paper as to whether the burden and responsibility of dealing with the defectives of a nation should be borne locally or whether they should be imposed on the State. That was a question which was momentous in all its consequences. The problem presented, of course, was a great dilemma, and humanity in its progress was always facing dilemmas. They belonged to a sentimental civilisation, a soft civilisation, a civilisation which had pity for the defective units of our race. They were breaking down natural law very much, the law of the survival of the fittest which would eliminate those defective units. Thus in building up a great body politic containing those defective units they had to face the great difficulty of how to replace those natural laws which they were breaking down by artificial laws based upon their present system of civilisation. Now the difficulty in which they were placed as regards the particular question of chargeability and local or central administration was a part of the great social question as to the duty of the State to the individual. For his part, though he met many socialistic ideas, he was very much surprised by the suggestion Mr. Bund made in his paper that the solution of these difficulties was for the State, or the community as a whole, to interfere with the status of the individual. It was suggested to them that the practical solution of the moment was to give to State officials the power of deciding, as to each individual, what were his defects and what was the quantum or value of those defects to society. They, acting upon their own judgment, were to be able to isolate an individual for the rest of his life. There they had a great question which he should like to see discussed. In dealing with the individual, were they prepared to give to the State the power of seclusion, apart from what was at present recognised as criminal tendency or actual lunacy. How far was that interference to go? It was a great difficulty. When they had the local authority, with its local circumstances and situation, the responsibility became very much more personal. In that case they were brought face to face with a lunatic in a village. He was brought before the justice by the relieving officer, and if he was found to be a lunatic by the process of law he was confined in the pauper lunatic asylum. As Mr. Bund had pointed out, all the interests of all the authorities were combined, and the whole tendency under the present law of local responsibility was to desire that a person, if it was at all possible, should be liberated. When they came to the State the position was not the same; they would have no local sentiment or interest; the prevailing interest would be that of the pure officialism which desired to take persons and place them in different grades of capability or incapability. He (Sir George) wanted more light on the whole problem as it had been raised by Mr. Willis Bund.

Mr. BENTHAM asked if anyone in the room knew of or could state a single instance where a Board of Guardians had requested the discharge of any lunatics from a County Lunatic Asylum.

A LADY DELEGATE referred to the case of a married man in her village who was

certified by the magistrate. After many local people had tried to get him discharged he took his own discharge, hid himself in a cornfield, and kept out of the way for fourteen days. With regard to the law, when he came home the authorities could not take him in. He lived with his wife, and a boy was born.

Mr. Willis Bund said he believed that it was perfectly true that if a lunatic escaped, and was not recaptured within, he thought, fourteen days, he had got to be re-certified before he could be sent back to an asylum. He should think that an authority was not doing its duty, knowing where he was, if they did not take steps to have him certified if he required it. He was asked if he ever knew of Boards of Guardians asking for a discharge. He did not know of their seeking for the discharge of an individual patient. He did not think they cared about an individual patient. (Cries of "Question.") That was his experience. He had known them do this on several occasions: they said that they thought that the medical superintendents were keeping the patients too long, that the patients might be discharged, or that there might be a greater rate of discharge. He thought that was even worse than asking for the discharge of an individual patient. He was told that the question he put was a medical question altogether. There was a section of the Lunacy Act—speaking from memory—that if the relations would undertake to keep the lunatic from going on the rates and from becoming chargeable to any union, and would agree to look after him permanently, then the Visiting Committee could agree to discharge the patient whatever the superintendent's or the medical officer's advice might be. It was not a medical question at all—but one for the committee. He had known cases in which the committee had acted deliberately against the view of the medical superintendent, and therefore he said the whole question was not a medical one, but one of chargeability and of the desire, very often, of either the family or the Guardians or the Visiting Committee to avoid the charges to which they were put in keeping lunatics. He purposely did not go into that much larger question which Sir George Fordham mentioned, because he wanted to hear it discussed as to how far the State was justified in keeping persons under restraint and making localities or the State—he thought it ought to be the State—pay for it.

Mr. Bottomley (Warrington Union) said if visitors to asylums were in the habit of discharging lunatics without a report from the medical officer of the asylum, did not the meeting think it was about time that a Royal Commission was appointed to go into the question of the discharge of lunatics, which at the present time was in the charge of County Authorities, because he failed to agree with Mr. Willis Bund that Boards of Guardians did as he suggested. He was prepared to say this: if Mr. Willis Bund could name cases, those cases were very, very few indeed; he did not think they would number six in the whole of the Union. What was more, when the Guardians did apply—if such a thing had occurred—

Mr. Willis Bund: I say they don't apply for the discharge of individual patients, but complain that the patients are kept too long.

Mr. Bottomley claimed that it must be in very rare cases the Guardians said patients were kept too long. He had never heard of it before. Then it must come before the Committee of Visitors. Did the committee ignore the Medical Superintendent's view? Even if Guardians made the application, they had the medical superintendent, and he was there to appeal to in considering the state of the lunatics. He was a medical gentleman, and would not pander to the wishes of Boards of Guardians or any other public body. The responsibility was upon his shoulders. On the top of that the Visiting Committee said, "We are not going to take notice of our medical superintendent. We are going to get these people discharged, although we know these people are not fit to be discharged." He (the speaker) entirely disagreed with that, and he suggested it did not occur in this country except in those particular cases to which Mr. Willis Bund happened to refer.

Mr. Craighill (Gateshead Union, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Association of Poor Law Unions), in view of the strong statements of Mr. Willis Bund, suggested that Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P. (who had assumed the chair), should put a question in the House of Commons for a return of all the cases of the kind to which Mr. Willis Bund had referred that had occurred during the last three years in England and Wales; then all who took an interest in the matter would be able to attach the proper amount of weight—and he did not think it would be found to be very much—to the statements of Mr. Willis Bund.

A Lady Delegate gave an instance to support Mr. Willis Bund. A lady had been

sent to the county asylum by the local authority. The sons and daughters who visited her made application for her release, and the only person who objected was the medical officer. The Guardians were paying every penny for the maintenance of that person. When the chief medical officer was away, a subordinate officer said the woman was as right as possible, and there was no reason for her being in the asylum, but he could not go over the head of his chief. A few days later the medical officer died, and within a fortnight the lady was brought home, absolutely discharged, and for the last nine years to her (the speaker's) personal knowledge the woman was as sane as any person in that room. She had been kept in the asylum for years purely on the authority of the medical officer.

Mr. J. C. KIMMINS (Gloucestershire County Council) said he had had a painful experience in exactly the opposite direction. He was chairman of his Board of Guardians. He was asked by friends to interfere and secure the release of a patient in a Yorkshire asylum. He was one of the visitors. He used his influence and endeavoured at that time to persuade the medical superintendent to release the patient. The officer warned him that he (the speaker) or his Board must take the responsibility, and the patient was discharged by the committee; but within a fortnight of that time the patient committed suicide. The policy of his Board for the past twenty years had been never to interfere with the discretion of the medical superintendent, and as visitors they would never dream of exercising the powers they possessed of ordering the release of patients unless they had the advice of their medical superintendent. If they could not trust him the sooner they got rid of him the better.

Mr. HALE (Govan School Board) said in another section of the conference it was stated there was some difficulty because the laws in Scotland were different from those in England. He would quote a case that happened in Govan, and ask how the rule obtained in England. In Scotland they had a most anomalous position in certain respects. If they found a person who neglected his children and sent them to school half clothed and half fed, the education authorities had got the power to take them before the court, and the court had power to send the children or child to a reformatory or industrial school; but the ratepayers had to pay for the maintenance of that child while in that institution. If, on the other hand, the parent asked the Board to endeavour to arrange to feed a child which had got out of hand, then the Board would be in a position to charge that parent for the cost, whatever it might be—something between 3s. or 4s. a week. A week or two ago they had the case of a man who left his children in a house—the wife was dead. The man went into a common lodging-house, and the eldest child followed him. Of the five children left, three were tiny little tots—the sister brought the children to the School Board offices. We said: "We are doing nothing; take them to the Poor Law authorities." Whether they did or not he did not know. The next notice they got was that the children were going before a Justice of the Peace at the court, and the Justice was to be asked to send the children to an industrial school. The man was in court, and facts were produced to show that he was responsible for the maintenance of the children in that school. The Justice of the Peace committed the children to the school. Nothing was done to the father of the children, who was responsible for the position, and the Govan ratepayers had to pay between 6s. and 7s. a week for the next seven or eight years. That was an instance of what happened in Scotland; he did not know whether that happened in England. While they were discussing those questions, and while no resolutions were permitted, it would be well that those who were in the House of Commons should bring such points as that forward, in order to secure some change in the direction they all so very much desired.

Mr. BOOKER (Sheffield Union) suggested that if Mr. Hills asked for the return mentioned by Mr. Craighill it should be published in the reports of the conference. He and a number of colleagues representing Boards of Guardians strongly resented the suggestion that had been made by Mr. Willis Bund and others. He represented a Union with 600,000 people in it and a county asylum, and he had never heard in twenty years anything that would give ground for the suggestion that Boards of Guardians suggested to their superintendents or Asylums Committees that patients were kept too long.

Sir GEORGE FORDHAM said that his experience as a visitor was that application was made by certain relatives to the visitors for the discharge of a person in an asylum. The visitors had the officer's report upon the state of health or sanity of the patient. They considered that, and also the circumstances of the persons who made the

application, because it was very obvious upon the report of the medical officer that the case was partially cured, that it might be that the surrounding circumstances would exercise a considerable influence on the case. Such circumstances must be justified in the opinion of the Visiting Committee. They were not questions for the medical officer.

Mr. Bowyer (Southampton Union) wished to complain of the fact that Southampton had to take care of lunatics who were deported from other countries. Ships went straight from a Continental port to New York, where the authorities refused them admittance. Those lunatics were sent back at the cost of the shipping company, and they were left at Southampton, which was a junction port. They were sent to the workhouse pending a ship leaving for the country from which they came. But there might never be a ship for that country. That was a case where the Guardians would not be to blame if they requested the withdrawal of the patient from the asylum. He thought that would be quite reasonable, because it was not his parish, and they could not recover. If a patient belonged to Portsmouth, they could recover the cost; but because a man was a Pole, a Swede, a Greek, or a Turk, they could not recover the cost. He thought some measure should be brought forward that would remove the incubus of the cost from the Southampton ratepayers. It was not fair, not only to the port where the alien happened to be, but it was not fair to the patients themselves, because at the first opportunity the union was going to get rid of them. They had had as many as twenty of these cases at one time. They had got the local Members of Parliament to look into the question, and they had got the usual stereotyped answer. (Laughter.) He wished Members of Parliament would interest themselves in the matter with a view to getting the chargeablity and the cost of maintenance of those alien paupers removed from the local ratepayers to the Imperial Exchequer, because it was really a national expenditure. Those people had often never been through the port of Southampton until they were dumped down on their way back. They should be able to make other countries repay them for the cost.

The Rev. P. S. G. Propert (Association of Poor Law Unions) said that the remarks of Mr. Willis Bund, though without intention, were in their nature a reflection upon a most important department of public service, and they felt, perhaps, if that statement went out to the public unchallenged, the public might accept it, and so be misinformed with regard to the administration of the Poor Laws. After twenty years' work, not only in a large Metropolitan union, but of conferences all over England, his experience did not support in any way the statement made by Mr. Willis Bund. That section, he (the speaker) thought, believed Mr. Willis Bund's reasoning to be illogical. He thought the return asked for would apply to the institutions in which the opinion of the medical officer had been overridden by Guardians or by Visiting Committees—cases in which the discharge had been demanded contrary to the medical officer. He hoped that was a point which Mr. Hills would bear in mind when he framed a question. He thought he was representing his brother Guardians when he said they believed in the principle underlyng the President's address—that chargeability, in accordance with the principles of the present Poor Law, should be first of all on the individual, and then upon his family. When it was found that all sources of recovery failed, then it was for the State to supply what was necessary. They hoped as Guardians that the fundamental principles of the great reform of 1834, imposing responsibility upon the individual, would be retained in future legislation.

Prof. W. M. Geldart called the attention of the Section to the fact that, after all, they were a section of a conference on destitution. A great deal that they had heard had turned on one simple point—whether Boards of Guardians failed to do their duty by disregarding the opinion of the medical officer. He did not think they made any imputation on Boards of Guardians. But assuming that Boards of Guardians always did implicitly follow the advice of their medical officer, did that really touch the main question? What was the question which the medical officer first of all had to answer? He (the speaker) supposed in the first place he would consider whether the discharge of a patient was likely to assist or retard the cure of the patient; and he would consider whether if the patient were discharged he was in such a state as to be dangerous to the life of other persons. Those who had read Mr. Willis Bund's paper would remember there was a very much larger question of more real public importance and interest than either the recovery for any particular patient or the danger of that particular patient to those about him. He meant the question whether it was

desirable in the public interest that persons mentally or morally defective should be allowed to be at large so as to propagate their species. That was the question which, he thought, underlay the whole of Mr. Willis Bund's paper. If a medical officer advised that a patient was not likely to be violent, that he was likely to recover completely, or would not get worse in his own home than in an institution, that officer would be perfectly willing that the patient should be discharged. If they had a brother of the patient who desired to avoid the expense of keeping a person in an institution, and if they had the natural motive of local authorities to relieve the rates from unnecessary expense, he should have thought, without suggesting anything improper according to the present conception of what was the duty of Guardians, there would be an enormously strong tendency to procure the discharge of such persons. Those persons would then go out and, like the person referred to by Mr. Willis Bund, could proceed to propagate the species and reproduce others like themselves, or worse. That was the great danger that was permitted by the fact that both local authorities and the person who was chargeable had the strongest possible motive for securing discharge. On the great question raised by Sir George Fordham, he (the speaker) should like to express his general agreement with the view of Mr. Willis Bund that that was a public duty—the danger of the degeneration of the species by the propagation of the individual. It was not only a question of persons who were absolute lunatics. Everyone saw in the villages numerous people who were obviously mentally defective. It might be difficult to certify them to be of unsound mind, but those people were going about and they were followed by other progeny who were very often of a like kind. He rather deprecated what Sir George Fordham suggested, that they got no light on those social questions by going back to the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. If they were going to make the fittest survive, they must rely, not on natural forces, but on the direct and purposed action of the community. Was it seriously suggested that if they simply allowed people to fend for themselves that they would promote the survival of the fittest. It was not the best class that propagated most. Did they suppose that starvation practically to any serious extent would diminish the increase of unfit individuals? In the first place they had got to make sure they would starve before they produced any offspring. They had to make sure that the most unfit of all would not survive by cadging and living on charity and loitering about, and the people who really starved were competent in some way, but had the moral strength not to try to support themselves in a degrading manner. He did not think that the biological question of the survival of the fittest and the old theory of the struggle for existence would carry them very far in the discussion.

Mr. MANTON (Vice-President of the Poor Law Unions Association) thought they were paying attention to particular instances—defective mentality. He gathered from the President's address that they were there to discuss the legal question of chargeability, and as to whether it should be local or imperial. Mr. Willis Bund that morning had rather confined himself to particular illustrations more or less to the point. The question of chargeability depended upon the discharge of a local duty which was also a sort of imperial or national interest. It resolved itself into this, as to how far the State should recognise its financial responsibility in dealing with the whole question. He quite agreed with the speaker who said that the local knowledge of cases were very useful for the consideration of local questions. He had a strong objection to referring anything to the State which could be done with any degree of efficiency locally. They eliminated otherwise the local element. There were two means to progress now carried on, as he understood it, in the direction of creating a higher and deeper local interest, and he did not much care about the House of Commons or the State dealing with what was local work proper. Members of Parliament often showed best when they were at home. They desired a larger recognition by the Imperial Treasury of a wider section of mental defectives. They had asked for years for a contribution of 4s. a week towards other sections of mental defectives. They had failed to get it. It was confined to those cases which were sent to country asylums. That was done to keep them out of the workhouse. They asked now as Guardians, as public trustees, for a wider consideration of the question of chargeability, not only as regards the sane epileptics or mental defectives who did not go to asylums, but also as regards the children when they were asked to look after them in their early years. Throughout the whole area of mental defectives, they asked that the State should take up a proper measure of financial responsibility. That was his (Mr. Manton's) position.

Councillor H. Lloyd Parry (Exeter) said his experience of cases was that at meetings of the Visiting Committee applications were made by the relatives. The medical superintendent advised whether the case was suicidal or dangerous. If not, then it was a case whether the relatives could take over the charge of the patient under proper conditions. It was for the Visiting Committee to decide whether the relatives possessed such control over him that they could protect him properly. In a case where application was made for a girl, the medical superintendent reported that she was so weak that as soon as she left the asylum "a young man would play the fool with her." It was for the Visiting Committee then to decide whether the patient should be discharged or not. In many cases patients might be so weak that if they were discharged they would have recourse to drink and return to the asylum. That raised the question of chargeability, and the question was whether the State should take over the chargeability more than they did now. It was mixed up with the question of the permanent detention of patients, and it should be considered at the same time.

Mr. Craighill thought Mr. Justice Phillimore's suggestion of the chargeability being partly borne by the local authority and partly by the State was a sane and sound solution of the question, and he asked all the delegates to reflect upon it.

Mr. Willis Bund was indebted to Mr. Bottomley for preventing the discussion being dull and for recalling their school days. Because when a boy at school was charged with a fault, every one jumped up and said, "Please, sir, it isn't me." (Laughter.) They had had various members of Boards of Guardians and clerks saying, "Please, sir, we never complained." (Laughter.) Mr. Craighill, he thought, had given his case away by asking for a return of all the complaints made by Boards of Guardians. (No, no.) That was what he asked for. (No.) Well, he thought it was. He (Mr. Willis Bund) agreed there ought to be a return. Mr. Bottomley was good enough to insinuate that he (the speaker) had no foundation for what he was saying. Mr. Bottomley had been contradicted by Mr. Parry, who spoke of cases of weak-minded or not strong-minded girls who had been discharged by the Visiting Committee against the advice of the medical superintendent. He (Mr. Willis Bund) was speaking from personal experience and of what he knew. If the result of that discussion was to prove to his Visiting Committee that they were acting contrary to all other Visiting Committees, he should be only too glad. Boards of Guardians did not make formal complaints, but said at the meetings, "We think the people are kept there much longer than they ought to be." That was what they said; if they read the reports of what Boards of Guardians said of their visits to asylums and what they said to the medical officer they would see it was true. It might not come to the ears of the chairman of the Control Committee or of the Board of Guardians, but that was what they said at the local meetings and what was really their feelings.

The Basis of "Ability to Pay."

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The term "ability to pay" is borrowed from the Elizabethan Act, which is still the basis of our Poor Law system. In Section 7 of the Act of 1601 we read: "And be it further enacted, that the father and grandfather, the mother and grandmother, and the children of every poor, old, blind, lame and impotent person, *being of a sufficient ability*, shall at their own charges, relieve and maintain every such poor person in that manner and according to that rate, as by the Justices of the Peace of that county where such sufficient persons dwell, or the greater

number of them, at the General Quarter Sessions, shall be assessed, upon pain that every one of them shall forfeit 20s. for every month that they shall fail therein."

The phrase "being of a sufficient ability" is obviously a nebulous one; it may be argued that the Elizabethan statesmen who coined it merely designed to exclude from contribution those who were almost destitute themselves. A careful examination of the whole section would seem to point, however, to the attachment of a far more positive and explicit significance to the words "sufficient ability." In the first place, it is remarkable that the clause not only expressly limits the obligation to "relieve and maintain" to those of a "sufficient ability," but, as if to emphasise this point, repeats the limitation a few lines later in the phrase "where such sufficient persons dwell." It would seem as if in the minds of the legislators it were a conscious intention to exempt other classes than the very poorest from liability. This is borne out by the rest of the provision. For example, the obligation is expressly stated as that of "relieving and maintaining"; that is, of undertaking the whole burden of maintenance, and not merely of making some contribution towards it. This would be impossible for any but the really "sufficient" persons. Again, not only is there no power of distraining or imprisonment given to the Justices—as would surely have been the case had the law been directed against the poorest classes—but the fine stipulated for failure to comply is invariable and exceedingly heavy. Had it been a fine to be imposed on the labouring classes, it would assuredly have been variable in amount according to the discretion of the justices, and it would certainly have borne some proportionable relation to the wages of those who would have to pay it. The fine proposed is £1 a month —equivalent to about £5 a month, or 25s. per week, in our own day. Now such a sum would be a larger amount than the average wage of the great mass of the manual wage-earners of that time, and it is therefore obvious that they could not have been expected to pay it as a weekly fine, any more than the working-classes of our own time could afford to pay 25s. It seems unquestionable that the Elizabethan legislators contemplated the exclusion from special assessments, not only of the classes bordering upon destitution, but also of the great body of the manual workers. Thus it would appear inconsistent with the intention of the Elizabethan Act to levy special assessments to-day upon casual labourers and agricultural labourers, if not upon manual workers in still more affluent circumstances.

Such, indeed, has been the fiat of Stone's *Justices' Manual* for many years. In the 1881 edition you may read: "It cannot be considered that the labouring classes were included." In more recent editions, the *Manual* states more tentatively—why, I do not know: "Probably when the original Act was passed it was not intended to apply to persons in the position of agricultural labourers." If a case were now taken to the law courts and authoritatively decided, there is little doubt that the judicial decision would be the one that is here expressed.* It is, in fact, probable that if an artisan earning as much as 30s. a week refused to contribute to the support of his child in a Poor Law infirmary on the ground that he was not possessed of "sufficient ability to pay" within the meaning of the Act of Elizabeth, and the case could be carried up to the High Court, he would be excused.

In history and in law, then, the phrase "Ability to Pay" has a generous connotation. Unfortunately, however, no authoritative ruling as to the exact basis

* The test case which came before the High Courts in 1902 (Rex v. Moore and others, *ex parte*, Saunby 37 L.J.N. 159, March 22nd, 1902), left the matter still authoritatively undecided.

of Ability to Pay has ever been given either by Parliament, by the Local Government Board, or by the Courts of Law. It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise that there are almost as many interpretations of the words "Ability to Pay" under the Poor Law as there are Boards of Guardians to make them. Or, rather, there is no consistent interpretation at all, for it is the almost universal custom to "judge each case on its merits." In only a handful of unions throughout the whole of Great Britain is there any attempt at a standard of Ability to Pay. Lambeth Union, for example, in its printed regulations, has decided to exact no contribution from any single person whose income is not 4s. when his rent is paid. Camberwell turns Lambeth's 4s. into 3s. 6d. A few other unions have private regulations which are not printed in the rules. Halifax, for example, allows an average of 4s. per head of family before it exacts any contribution; the neighbouring union of North Bierley allows 8s. Bristol exempts a man and woman who are earning 20s. only, and allows 2s. in addition for each child. But most unions have no rules in the matter at all, except rule of thumb.

In order to find out what was considered "sufficient Ability to Pay" in most unions, I have circularised or interviewed the Guardians and Clerks of as many as sixty, variously situated in different parts of England. My investigations indicate an extraordinary diversity of practice. Many rural unions still persist in exacting contributions from married agricultural labourers earning not more than 16s. a week. The general practice is, apparently, to make 20s. for an average family of four or five the minimum, and to exact contributions only when the total family income rises above this amount. But many unions are much more generous. Sculcoates makes 25s. a minimum, and allows 3s. extra for each child. Cardiff exacts contribution for a family of four with an income of 25s. Some unions would not even levy an assessment on a single man earning this amount as his weekly wage.

Attempts have also been made, outside the Poor Law, to define in economic terms the phrase "Ability to Pay." The London County Council, for example, for the purpose of recovering the cost of the medical treatment of children in its elementary schools, has adopted a scale which practically makes £1 a week the basis of Ability to Pay for an average family of five. The Report of the Department Committee on Imprisonment for Debt reveals the fact that County Court judges usually reckon that 6d. a day per family unit is a minimum below which judgment debts should not be enforced. This would work out at nearly £1 a week for a family of five. Judge Amphlett, referring to his jurisdiction under the Debtors' Act, recently stated that "In future no orders for committal would be sanctioned by the court in the case of any married man having children dependent upon him who did not earn at regular work at least 20s. a week." It should be noted, moreover, that under the Wages' Assessment Act (for Scotland), if a man gets into debt with his grocer or butcher, the tradesman may get a decree against him, but he cannot arrest anything when the wages are £1 or under. The Home Office, in making its charges for children in the Industrial Schools, reckons to leave intact an income of 3s. per adult unit of the family in addition to the sum required for rent.

In addition to these public or official efforts to lay down a scale, there are, of course, numerous private efforts. In some hospitals and dispensaries there is a definite scale, but in most cases those responsible for the management find it easier to fall back on the Poor Law method of "judging each case on its merits."

Now all these scales appear to be nothing more than guesswork. They represent a vague feeling that below a certain minimum of income it is unwise to press

for contribution. There is, indeed, something like a consensus of opinion among practical men that this income should be about £1 per week per average family, and many witnesses before the Poor Law Commission urged that such a wage should be taken as a standard of Ability to Pay. But it appears that no one has ever detailed the reasoning by which he has arrived at his standard.

In the past, perhaps, this has not been a matter of grave importance; but to-day, amid an even more swiftly-flowing stream of social developments, it is becoming a matter of serious consequence that some economic definition of Ability to Pay should be worked out. The classes who are not possessed of this minimum income would be those justly entitled to gratuitous State Assistance, whether in the shape of maintenance of dependents in Asylums, Infirmaries, Hospitals, Reformatories, and Industrial or Defective Schools; or in the shape of Free Meals, Boots and Clothing, and Medical Treatment for the Children, etc. But if we are to prevent these gratuitous services from expanding—as so many critics of our social progress assert that they must expand—into Socialistic services, providing gratuitously for four-fifths of the community at the expense of the remaining fifth—it is essential that we should limit most rigorously this gratuitous provision to those not possessed of Ability to Pay; and for those who are able, we must in every case either refuse public help altogether (as in the case of School Meals or Old Age Pensions), or institute a scrupulous system of Recovery of Cost (as in the case of Medical Treatment or Maintenance of a Dependent in an Asylum). These developments of State Assistance are inevitable. They are manifesting themselves in the programmes and in the legislation of all political parties. It is of grave moment that the community should be protected from indiscriminate State provision by a careful system of Recovery of Cost, and in the establishment of this system nothing is more important than the determination of what constitutes Ability to Pay.

Now it is obvious that if we are to prevent destitution the State must never be a party to any process which will lead directly or indirectly to the causing of destitution; and in this particular case, therefore, the State must never demand a contribution from any family income where such an encroachment will lead to an insufficiency of those economic necessaries which will cause destitution either at once or in the future. That is to say, Ability to Pay must mean that there is a surplus of income over and above that required for the maintenance of an ordinary average family in physical health. There is no Ability to Pay where the family has not lodging, clothing, and food sufficient to satisfy the requirements of adults, actively employed, and of growing and learning children. To demand contribution from wage-earners who have not sufficient to satisfy these elementary needs in life is merely to promote disease, ignorance, feeble-mindedness, crime, and want. Upon this question, indeed, there can be no great difference of opinion. The Majority of the Poor Law Commission, representing a somewhat conservative attitude towards social problems, state in their Report: "It would be unwise to exact repayment in cases in which it would prevent a man from insuring against such contingencies as old age, sickness, etc., for manifestly if these be not provided for, the man will again become chargeable when they overtake him."

Without taking so advanced a view as this, we may fairly say that Ability to Pay must at least be equivalent with what is called a living wage, or, as it was phrased in the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, "[Ability to provide] food, lodging, warmth, clothing and medical attendance, according to the normal standard of the times."

There have been numerous attempts to discover what this income is. In the United States of America especially the most careful investigations have been made into those questions connected with nutrition upon which the solution of the problem mainly depends. In England there have been several rather amateurish inquiries made, such as "An Inquiry into the Social Conditions of Certain Working-class Families in Dublin," "A Study of the Labouring Classes of Edinburgh," and, of course, Rowntree's and Booth's monumental researches. But it cannot be said that the matter is at all settled. Opinions, for example, differ to an extraordinary extent as to the amount of proteid required to keep a person in health. Carl Voit, whose word was until recently authoritative, declared 118 grammes of proteid per adult per day to be the necessary minimum; Professor Atwater, after very careful investigation, raised this to 125 grammes. More recently Professor Chittenden, basing his opinion upon prolonged experiment, has declared that "one-half of the 118 grammes of protein food called for daily by the ordinary dietary standards is quite sufficient to meet all the physiological needs of the body, certainly under ordinary conditions of life." In accepting the authority of any of the popular investigations into social conditions upon the question of a Living Wage, it should be remembered that possibly too generous a margin of proteid has been allowed for.

Keeping this point in mind, I propose to follow Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's conclusions as to what constitutes a wage sufficient to procure the necessaries of life, upon which it would not be economic for the State to encroach. In so doing I must apologise for accepting Mr. Rowntree's findings uncritically. This course, as I have intimated, is necessitated by the inadequacy of scientific research into this department of sociology. Mr. Rowntree considered 125 grammes of proteid per man per day (and proportionately for women and children) were necessary. The cheapest dietary sufficient to provide the requisite energy he considered to be that of the workhouses, and he accordingly took that as his standard. He then estimated carefully the cost of such a dietary to the poor, and concluded that for a week 3s. per adult and 2s. 3d. per child was "the necessary minimum expenditure upon food." By further careful and comprehensive inquiries he elicited the "necessary minimum expenditure" for clothing, fuel, and sundries. By totalling these items he estimated that the "minimum necessary expenditure" for a family of five (exclusive of rent) would be 17s. 8d. Of this minimum he speaks in the following terms: "A family living upon the scale allowed for in this estimate must never spend a penny on railway fare or omnibus. They must never go into the country unless they walk. They must never purchase a halfpenny newspaper or spend a penny to buy a ticket for a popular concert. They must write no letters to absent children, for they cannot afford to pay the postage. They must never contribute anything to their church or chapel, or give any help to a neighbour which costs them money. They cannot save, nor can they join a sick club or trade union, because they cannot pay the necessary subscriptions. The children must have no money for dolls, marbles, or sweets. The father must smoke no tobacco and must drink no beer. The mother must never buy any pretty clothes for herself or her children, the character of the family wardrobe, like that of the family diet, being governed by the regulation, "Nothing must be bought but that which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of physical health." Should a child fall ill, it must be attended by the parish doctor; should it die, it must be buried by the parish. Finally, the wage-earner must never be absent from his work for a single day. If any of these conditions are broken," Mr. Rowntree concludes, "the extra expenditure

is met, and *can only be met*, by limiting the diet, or, in other words, by sacrificing physical efficiency." He adds, further: "The above estimate, it should be particularly noted, is based upon the assumption that every penny earned by every member of the family went into the family purse and was judiciously expended upon necessaries."

Now, in no ordinary English family is every penny of the income "judiciously expended upon necessaries." The housewife has not the knowledge requisite for the purpose, even if her husband is willing to sacrifice his beer and tobacco, and the pleasure of giving his children pennies for sweets and toys. This irreducible minimum, therefore, of 17s. 8d. (excluding rent) needs augmenting considerably before it becomes a practicable, working standard of a Living Wage. Mr. Rowntree, realising this, persuaded a number of the most economical and industrious housewives to keep for several weeks budgets of their expenditure. In Class I. he places all those with incomes to disburse of less than 26s.—or about 22s. if we continue to exclude the amount for rent—and of this whole class he declares "An examination of this table reveals the fact that in every case the diet is inadequate." Each of these families receive only three-quarters of the amount of proteid which Mr. Rowntree considered necessary. If we are more modest in our proteid requirements, still it is obvious that each of these families receiving less than 26s. a week income will have either too little food or only just enough. And seeing that these families "represent the steady, respectable section of the labouring classes, who spend practically nothing upon drink, it may well be argued that an income of 22s. plus rent for a family of five is the lowest practicable living wage. Families with larger incomes will, of course, often be short of the necessaries of life; but upon this income it is just practicable for a man to maintain himself and his family in health. This is the opinion of Mr. Rowntree, and it was confirmed in a private letter—quoted in Mr. Rowntree's *Poverty*—from Mr. Charles Booth to the author.*

Throughout these calculations I have been careful not to lump rent with the other items of expenditure because it differs so considerably from one locality to another. It is plain that if we are to make our standard of Ability to Pay satisfactory, allowance must be made for this variation from area to area, and I therefore suggest that, under the general covering provisions of an Act of Parliament, it will be wise to leave to each Local Authority the task of making its own standard, and also of re-adjusting it to meet the kaleidoscopic changes that are always in progress in social conditions. The prices of food, clothing, and fuel are fairly identical throughout the whole of Great Britain; at least, they always tend to become so. High prices in one sphere of expenditure, moreover, are roughly balanced by low prices in another, and probably the cost of living for an average family, excluding rent, does not differ considerably in any part of Great Britain, and especially not in the urban areas, where the major portion of the population is aggregated. I suggest, therefore, that Mr. Rowntree's investigations, confirmed as these have been by other researches of a similar nature, make it plain that nothing less than 22s. per average family, plus rent, should be taken as an economic standard of Ability to Pay.

It is true, as we have seen, that the 22s. which we are taking as a standard is based upon assumptions and even on investigations that cannot be finally accepted. But so far as the conclusions of all authoritative social investigations go, there is a rough consensus of opinion that about 22s. is the correct minimum.

* Mr. Booth's own enquiries, however, did not include an investigation into food standards, etc. See the *Economic Journal*, March, 1911.

This is satisfactory, moreover, because—against following Rowntree—we can roughly apportion this income to the various members of the family in the convenient shares of 5s. for each of the adults, and 4s. for each of the three children. This will facilitate variations of the scale according to the size of the family. It ought further to be understood that in a matter of this sort, mathematical accuracy is impossible and even inexpedient. The elaborate London County Council scale for recovering the cost of medical treatment for school children is being found unworkable, not because Recovery of Cost is a chimera, but because this scale is too detailed and academic. What is wanted is a scale that is not unjust; that is convenient and easily understood both by administrators and by the recipients of public assistance. 22s. for an average family of five, or 5s. per adult and 4s. per child, plus rent, is a comprehensible and therefore a practicable standard.

This minimum is, of course, invariable for all kinds of public services. It does not matter what the State is offering the individual, whether it is medical treatment or the maintenance of a dependent in an asylum or reformatory, our conclusions are that it is uneconomic to encroach upon the 22s., plus rent, which constitutes the lowest possible living wage for an average family. What the charges should be; whether they ought to be progressive in their nature; how far it is desirable to make them in each service prohibitive or encouraging in their amounts—these are questions which can only be mentioned in a brief *résumé* of a big subject.

It is obvious, moreover, that allowances must be made, in determining what constitutes Ability to Pay, for judgment debts, for gratuitous public doles of breakfasts, dinners, milk, clothing, boots, etc. These are matters of detail which present no insuperable difficulty. It seems certain that if the Recovery of Cost is to be successful, every local authority must have some such machinery as is suggested by the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. The redoubtable Registrar has, in fact, been installed already in Derby and other towns. It would seem essential to the efficient working of the Recovery of Cost that it should devolve upon the Registrar and his staff to determine what families are possessed of Ability to Pay, according to the scale laid down by the local authority, and subject always to the supervision of the Finance or other Committee. There is no reason why he should find it difficult to determine what persons are liable for payment and how much they should pay.

One difficulty, which is insuperable at present, will disappear if the State accepts some such standard of Ability to Pay as is here suggested. Boards of Guardians, in their efforts to wring contributions from all who can be persuaded or bullied into paying them, find it quite impossible to ascertain the income of casual labourers of all sorts. Even if the man is honest, it is impossible for him to say what his wage will be next week. We may say of these under-employed, with incomes ranging from nothing up to 25s. per week, that it is futile to attempt to place them in public ledgers as earning any regular or definite income. In the same way it is almost impossible to discover what are the actual earnings of the agricultural labourer. It has often been made a subject for triumphant rejoinders in discussions on the Living Wage, that an agricultural labourer can bring up a rosy-cheeked family of half-a-dozen or so on 14s. a week. But this 14s. a week is merely the nominal wage of the labourer. Neglecting the assertion, which is frequently made, that the agricultural labourers add to their incomes by sinister methods, it is well-known that they augment their regular earnings in a dozen irregular ways. Sometimes they get a cottage and a patch of land given them, or let to them at a negligible rent. Often they are also given potatoes,

as much skim milk as they like, coal, occasional joints, etc.; the farmer's wife is usually ready to help considerably at a time of child-birth or illness; they get sticks from the hedges for fuel; they may keep bees or fowls; they may provide hot water, etc., for excursionists; the daughter of the family may do washing or help in the kitchen when there is company at the Hall. In such ways as these the incomes of agricultural labourers are considerably augmented, not—it is true—up to the requirements of the standard we have accepted, but far above the sort of existence that a wage of 14s. or 15s. would suggest to the mind of a person unacquainted with country life. Yet here again it is obviously impossible to determine what the real income is. It may, in fact, be laid down as a rough-and-ready generalisation that no income of less than about 25s. a week is regular and calculable; or, putting it in other words, if a man earns less than a Living Wage, his income varies considerably from day to day and is made up in ways that render impossible its expression in pounds, shilling, and pence. On the other hand, where a man's wage rises above 25s. a week, he is usually in a permanent position and has a readily ascertainable income. Our standard of Ability to Pay would exclude from special assessments all those whose incomes are for administrative purposes undiscoverable. On such persons it is unwise to levy special assessments, not merely because they cannot afford to pay them, but because it must lead to gross unfairness as between one man and another, to say nothing of the futility of attempting to enforce charges made upon drifting and casual workers. It would appear certain that the attempt to levy special assessments upon this class would be foredoomed to failure, and would, not improbably, imperil the whole system of Recovery of Cost. It will be wise to confine Recovery to those classes whose incomes are known. They correspond to those individuals who can afford to pay and whose responsibility can be enforced.

There is, after all, nothing so very forbidding about this proposal to give gratuitous medical treatment, etc., to so considerable a section of the population. In one way or another it is what we are doing already. It is being done by way of Old Age Pensions, free meals, free medical treatment at school, free maintenance of dependents in asylums and similar institutions; above all, it is being done clumsily and unsuccessfully by a myriad private and charitable agencies. We have assumed the responsibility, quite definitely as a community, for supplementing the wages of all those who do not earn a Living Wage by their own personal efforts. The new Crusade against Destitution is, in one aspect at least, merely an attempt to systematise and economise the efforts that are already being made, in the hope that what is now mere palliation may be transformed into prevention.

And again, to attempt to abolish destitution and at the same time to attempt the Recovery of Cost from those whose contributions cannot fail to throw them back into the morass of destitution, is to attempt to empty this morass with a sieve. What is the use of mending a child's infirmities if, *pari passu*, the parent is mulcted of so much of his income as will lead to the underfeeding of the child and the breaking out of other infirmities in the child's organisation? What is the use of curing disease and, for payment, inflicting the hunger that causes it? To exact contributions from incomes that are only just capable of providing the necessaries of life for a family is to impair the productive power of the wage-earner, to foredoom the mother to the bearing of inferior offspring, and to stunt the children just at the time when they most need generous feeding and a comfortable environment. That is to say that, unless we accept a reasonably

high standard of Ability to Pay, we shall not abolish destitution. We shall continue to manufacture the destitute.

It would indeed be the soundest economy and the wisest policy for the community to secure to its children much more than the marginal necessaries of existence that can alone be provided by the standard of income here suggested. It may even happen in the future that the State will vary its scale of Ability to Pay for the deliberate purpose of accelerating the birth-rate. Whether this be so or not, it is obviously wise in dealing with this great question of destitution to make every effort to prevent the birth and growth of children who are likely to be destitute. Old Age Pensions are no doubt of value, but it is infinitely more profitable for the community to rear up a generation of men who can, by their own efforts, accumulate sufficient to make them able to scoff at a beggarly pittance of 5s. a week in their declining years. Nothing really matters except the children. Now in two ways a low standard of Ability to Pay will decrease the opportunities of this coming generation. In the first place, it will deprive them of that minimum of personal environment in the way of food, clothing, fresh air, etc., which are essential to their healthy growth. In the second place, unless the poorer parents are offered some inducement to allow their children to enter employment where they will learn a trade to the sacrifice of an immediate money return, they will continue to send them, as they do to-day, into "blind alley" occupations, which doom the unlucky youth to almost certain unemployment and destitution when he reaches the age for marrying and having children. This social problem is perhaps the most serious just now confronting us as a society. It is of the gravest importance that every boy should be trained up to the age of 17 or 18 so that he can become a capable worker as an adult. Yet it is of no less importance to the poorer parents, hovering on the brink of destitution, that they should get from their boy every penny he can earn for the necessitous home. The only way out of the difficulty is to make it possible for these poorer parents to forego some portion of the boy's possible wages by giving them in return for their sacrifice gratuitous meals, medical treatment, and so forth. If they are asked to pay for these things, these poorer parents will refuse—and rightly refuse—to let their boys learn a trade at the expense of their hungry little brothers and sisters.

It might be added here, in parenthesis, that the importance of securing the best possible environment for the young, is in itself sufficient reason for not exacting from individuals, contributions for the maintenance of parents and grandparents, to say nothing of more direct relatives still. The standard of Ability to Pay would in any case be the same for all classes of dependents; but the income of the wage-earner ought to be expended as far as possible on his own wife and children, with a view to giving the next generation a standard of comfort more elevated than his own. It appears that financial responsibility should be restricted to parents for children, husband for wife, and wife for husband. This will lead to a concentration of attention on the children, and to a keener sense of parental and personal responsibility.

The prospect of providing gratuitous public services for so large a proportion of the population is after all not so alarming when considered in conjunction with the whole of the proposals that are being made for the prevention of destitution. The class needing gratuitous treatment is now perhaps a large one. But it promises to be a rapidly diminishing class. Every day sees some new social experiment which helps to provide an environment facilitating the annihilation of this whole mass of under-employed and destitute people. It is possible now,

at no considerable cost, to abolish the bulk of both unemployment and under-employment, and to give to practically every individual, not only a job, but a decently remunerative job. That is to say, the community can secure, and soon will secure, to almost every capable adult, employment and a wage sufficing for himself and those economically dependent upon him. Again, strenuous efforts are now being made to provide for every boy a proper training for a trade and to place him in satisfactory employment. These measures—to say nothing of the more general activity of the Public Health and Education Authorities—are rapidly tending to lift all who can be lifted out of that section of the community which is not earning a living wage. The residuum will be those whose wage-earning power is impaired by some special incapacity, bodily, mental, or moral, needing appropriate treatment at the hands of the Public Health, Lunacy, or Police Authorities. There is no reason why all the rest, who are now classed with these social failures as incapable of earning a Living Wage and needing gratuitous treatment, should not be gradually turned into citizens earning sufficient to make them able to contribute towards the cost of public services rendered to them as individuals.

Summing up, according to social investigators, no family which is earning less than 22s. a week, plus rent, can afford to spare a penny for any purpose without undermining the health of some or all members of the family. It is therefore necessary to exclude all such families from special assessments for meals, medical treatment, the maintenance of dependents, and other public services of a similar nature; to interpret Ability to Pay less generously would lead to serious difficulties in administration, and foredoom the task of preventing destitution to failure, by impoverishing the family and by setting in operation those very causes of destitution whose activity various public authorities are specifically engaged in preventing.

Discussion.

Mrs. HOMAN (Women's Industrial Council) referred to the women who obtained separation orders from the magistrates. The Women's Industrial Council had investigated a very large number of cases, and they found great hardship existed; and they found that it was almost impossible for the women to obtain the money which the magistrate had ordered them to have. The difficulties were very great and numerous. First of all they were obliged to find the recalcitrant husband who had been ordered to pay the money, which resulted in great trouble. Sometimes the children were sent to get the money, which was most undesirable. Again, the woman, to obtain the money, must summons the man, which cost 5s. It took a fortnight before the summons could be heard, and in the meantime the man had the opportunity of getting out of the country. It was those cases they must deal with if they were to stop destitution. How could those women possibly exist without money at all? He would mention two cases. A woman obtained a separation order after two years of married life, owing to the husband's drunkenness and neglect. They had two children, both of whom died. She earned 15s. a week. The husband was still in the town, but the woman had only received a single payment of 2s. from him, though the magistrate ordered 8s. 6d. She had paid 5s. to get a warrant against him, and he had had two terms of imprisonment, one and two months respectively, but he did not mind. Another case was of a woman who got a separation order after being eighteen months married. The magistrate ordered the payment of 8s. a week, but it had not been paid. The man was summoned twice, and each time it cost the

woman 5s. 6d., but there had been no result. There was a boy under school age. The woman earned about 16s. Those were two cases out of a great number of others. People at the conference knew something of legal matters, and if they could do something to get that put right some good would come out of the conference.

A Lady Delegate said, as secretary of a Boarding-out Committee for many years, similar cases had come before her. At the present moment they had a child boarded out in a London union, and the child's mother was living—or starving—in London trying to maintain as many of her children as she could. Her husband, who was separated for cruelty, and who was ordered to pay maintenance, was earning £3 a week somewhere in London, and no effort was made to find him.

Colonel Bethell thought the interest and importance of Mr. Freeman's paper centred not so much upon the discussion which had been embarked upon as to what was the lowest amount on which an average family could be maintained, as upon the very large assertions upon which he based the policy of the State assistance of the destitute. Mr. Freeman said they had assumed the responsibility of supplementing the wages of all who did not earn a living wage by their personal effort. That might mean that they had undertaken a responsibility to make up the difference between a certain minimum wage and what a man was actually earning. If that was so, it was obviously wrong to say they had undertaken that. It might mean they had undertaken to supplement in some way the wage of everybody who did not earn that minimum wage. In that case he (the speaker) thought the statement decidedly incorrect. They were told that the permissive Bill which enabled them to give meals to necessitous school children was a supplementation of wages, but the object was to enable persons to fulfil a statutory obligation. Even so there were many men who had no children of school age, and he thought there were many men earning much less than 26s. whose wages they could not be said to have undertaken to supplement. The question was what would be the effect upon a man of the State undertaking to supplement wages? First of all, a man had got 25s. a week. He was a little slack and feeling not quite disposed to go to work, or, drinking too much, he ran a little loose. According to Mr. Freeman, they would make up the difference because it was a difference in actual income. That was obviously a proposal that would tend to discourage the lower classes, or the class immediately above them. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at the meeting of the previous night, admitted that many cases of distress were due to defect of character and not environment. Therefore they could not consider the question of a contribution to make up the living wage as if it were an economic question of making up sufficient money without regard to its effect on character. At a meeting of the Geographical Society recently several speakers referred to the effect of a vigorous climate on people. First it got rid of the immense question of the aggregation of people; secondly, of the large question of emigration; thirdly, it got rid of the "submerged tenth." One speaker said Canada was a relentless country. "If they did not build a house over their heads and lay up store for the winter, then inevitably they would die." He (the speaker) did not suggest we should try to take the place of a climate like that, but they must try, in looking after the necessitous, to maintain the necessary strenuousness and vigour which was to keep the community up to the mark. He did not see how they could go on merely making up income according to what a man had in comparison with what he ought to have, without making it a great cause of demoralisation. Mr. Freeman seemed not to take any notice of the fact that men, after all, had their duties, and if the community was to remain effective there must be some means of seeing that those duties were carried out. They could not simply allow a man to go down hill for neglect of duty and still maintain him as if he had no such duties. It was obvious a man was not responsible for the existence in this world of his grandfather, but he was responsible for the existence of his children; and if they became a burden to the State, it seemed to him a very decadent sort of idea that a man should not be made in every way responsible. Mr. Freeman seemed to consider a man had done enough when he presented the State with a number of children, and that they were bound to be an asset to the State. There was the question of heredity. It was not from the classes which had the largest families that they wanted to go on recruiting the State most freely. Mr. Freeman spoke rather scornfully of the plan of deciding cases "according to their merits." If deciding a case on its merits meant weighing all considerations, which in each case were not the same, then it was right to decide each case on its merits. That was quite a different thing from saying they decided a case without any principles.

Guiding principles there must be, but a great deal could be said for being thoroughly acquainted with each family. As to Mr. Freeman's culminating statement that no income less than 25s. a week could be considered a permanent income, everyone knew that families had been brought up absolutely independent, comfortable, and reliable on much less than 25s.

Mr. W. P. Beale, M.P., said that if the last speaker had rightly understood Mr. Freeman's paper, he (Mr. Beale) had grievously misunderstood it—(hear, hear)—because he did not take it that when Mr. Freeman referred to what they might call a living wage for subsistence, he did not make any proposition that the State should make up a smaller income to that amount. What he (the speaker) took Mr. Freeman's idea to be was this: he only put it forward as providing a standard upon which they were to go in enforcing payment according to the ability to pay. What he said was, "That the State had undertaken to provide, not so much money, but that the people should be able to live and should have, at all events, those things which that minimum sum of maintenance would provide." What he meant was that at the present time somebody did that. A man ought to have that minimum before they could treat him as able to pay.

Mr. Luke (Middlesex County Council) thought this matter was, more than any other question, bound up with the question of willingness—willingness not only to pay, but willingness to earn. Many a man was not obliged to pay because he had not the willingness to earn. Many a man had only £1 or £1 1s. a week because he did not exert himself to obtain more. Such a man, according to the reader of the paper, would, he (Mr. Luke) presumed, be exempt. He did not think he should be exempt. His inability to pay was attributable to his unwillingness or his neglect of the opportunities he had. The question of willingness appeared in another aspect. He had a great deal of experience in regard to separated wives and the recovery by judicial means of the amounts due to them for their subsistence. He could only say that there was nothing that was more unsatisfactory in its general working than the levying of those contributions, the mode in which they were raised, and the means employed to obtain them. Occasionally orders were made for the payment by the husband, not to the wife, but to a third person, the missionary or the clergyman, and where that was done these other people were more likely to get the money than the wife was. There was enormous difficulty in ascertaining what a man did receive. The same reluctance that persons had in making out income tax returns was shown when a poor man had to confess to all the world what his income was. The position of married women separated from their husbands was deplorable, and something was required to bring pressure upon those men to fulfil their obligations.

Mr. Kimmins said the policy, to his mind, underlying the estimation of the ability to pay should be dependent upon the ability to earn. Again and again they sent children to industrial schools through the neglect of the parents, who could earn 5s. or 6s. a day and higher wages, but only earned enough to keep them in the necessaries of life and tobacco and beer. If they asked them what their income was, they would say it was less than £1 a week. If they said they would take the children off their hands, the temptation would be overwhelming in that class to neglect their family responsibilities. With regard to what was going into the home, they might have a family and a certain number of children, but whether the income was sufficient depended upon the age of the children. The growing child of 15 or 16 cost at least twice or three times as much as a child of 3 or 4. His (the speaker's) district was a place of low wages, but it was also a district of considerable comfort. They had very low rents—2s. for a cottage with a large garden was a very common thing indeed; and they found people in their declining years repaired to those places, and by means of a garden helped to eke out their income. As chairman of the Old Age Pensions Committee, he had been struck by the fact that those who appeared before them had never in their lives obtained more than £1 a week, and yet a great number of them, who had been in benefit societies and property societies, had as much as £200 and £300 in the bank as well as their house. He did not think it was possible to fix upon a standard of 22s. or 26s. a week without taking into consideration the character of the man and his ability to earn. The income was a fallacious thing altogether. In his district the women often earned more than the men. The man's income might be uncertain, but the woman's income was regular, and she could always obtain plenty of work. He did not think the discussion had taken them very far as to the basis they could go on as to the ability to pay.

Mr. Stewart Johnson (Incorporated Association of Hospital Officers) said as a

hospital officer he had had occasion to obtain standards of ability to pay, and he was struck with the variety of scales and with their extraordinary lowness in comparison with the scale, based upon scientific principles,, of Mr. Rowntree. In some cases people who were made to pay must do so at the expense of their diet. In an article in *The Nineteenth Century* about two years ago, on "*Can the Working Classes Save?*" the writer proved conclusively that the working man, particularly the builders' labourer, was able to save. He gave average diets, and they showed that the family was deficient by 30 to 50 grams of proteids daily. So if the man saved it was at the expense of his family. Even in Germany, where one would expect to find more scientific treatment, the standard for Berlin was 3s. 3d. and 4s. 3d., against Rowntree's 7s. Such low standards made one ask if Rowntree's was not too high. Speaking as a lay member of a hospital, he thought that Chittenden's standards had not been generally accepted for adults, and he certainly thought that for children or for expectant or suckling mothers the standard would be considered by doctors to be low. The experiments made by Dr. Dunlop and given by Rowntree were hard to resist. Directly they lowered the standard, they found the man losing weight. One must recollect that Mr. Rowntree supposed every penny to be judiciously spent. The scale of diets prepared by the postmen in their demands for higher wages was investigated by a Royal Commission. One found that the same items as were included in Mr. Rowntree's budget came to 27s., as against Rowntree's 17s. 8d. Therefore he thought all they could do was to accept Rowntree's standards of measurement. Amongst all the uncertainty, one thing is certain, the higher they fixed the standard the greater was their obligation to see that the money the family had was spent to the best advantage. He would keep them under supervision not only while they were in receipt of assistance, but practically their whole lives, and if any excuse were wanted it was that they were not self-supporting people. By the very terms of the definition they were only receiving three-quarters of the nourishment they ought to have, and in receiving only three-quarters they were not self-supporting, and should fall under the supervision of the public authorities.

Sir GEORGE FORDHAM referred to the return which employers had to make out, in the case of accidents, of the wages and emoluments of the workpeople under the Workmen's Compensation Act. This related to the fifty-two weeks preceding the accident itself. Those returns must be accumulating in the hands of the insurance companies, and if examined they would shed a light on the rates of wages in the country.

Colonel BETHELL said Mr. Freeman asserted that the only consideration to be taken into account in fixing the contribution which the public should make towards the support of a man was the amount of the man's wages. If that was so, would he say how he justified paying to that man anything less than the difference between what he was getting and the living wage?

Mr. FREEMAN thought his critics had been answered by other speakers. He found that most Guardians believed the poorer classes were gifted with a double dose of original sin, and there was a feeling that people were not earning a living wage because they were not willing. Let them assume that. Then was the only way in which they could deal with them to penalise them and the children by not giving them enough to live upon? That was the whole position in a nutshell. Were they to leave these people to starve and propagate unhealthy children, or supplement those wages, whether it was through their own fault or not that they were not earning enough? He did not suggest that they should supplement the wages in cash if they fell below the living wage. They had said they would not allow any man to starve in their midst, nor the children, and he said if the State did not do it, private charity did it, and did it badly. He did not think there could be any serious question about that fact.

Mr. BENTHAM asked Mr. Freeman when he said a living wage whether he meant the Rowntree standard.

Mr. FREEMAN replied in the affirmative. But they could not get a fixed standard, only approximations and convenient standards. That raised the further question of deciding cases on their merits. That was the practice with most Guardians, and it worked out with extraordinary unfairness. He had been through the books of his union and he found the most extraordinary variations in charges. One man earning as much as another and in the same position, had to pay double as much. The net result was that the wastrel got off, and the man who could not really undertake responsibility had had it placed upon him. He quite agreed that they should

emphasise the duties of the individual. The measure he suggested did not in any way lessen that responsibility, but increased it. If they gave the children meals, they could go to the home and say : " We give you meals, you must keep the home sweet and clean." In that way all those services were enabling the State to bring down its hand on the individual. With regard to willingness to earn, he agreed that in many cases where a man did not earn a living wage, it was his own fault. But they had one instrument which enabled them to decide that point. At the present time the potentiality of the Labour Exchanges was not at all developed. When it was developed they would be able to say, " Are you on the register of the Labour Exchange?" If he said " Yes," there might safely be some help or provision made for him. Every man registered at the Labour Exchange would be found a job or in some way maintained. If they found a man who was not registered, they would know he was a malingerer and would not work, and they should put him in prison or coerce him in some way. He agreed that the estimate of expenditure had been more or less off his own bat, because there had been very little research done in that direction. He had had to decide a scientific standard of ability to pay according to scientific requirements. The standard of 20s. was a mere minimum standard, and if the subject was approached from the standard of proteid requirements, they would have to raise that standard by one-quarter.

Second Day, Wednesday, May 31st.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair was taken by Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., and the subject discussed was THE EVIDENCE TO BE REQUIRED OF "ABILITY TO PAY" AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF PAYMENT. The following paper was taken:—

Modes of Recovering Payment for Services Rendered.
By Mr. C. M. ATKINSON, Stipendiary Magistrate, Leeds.

Modes of Recovering Payment for Services Rendered.

By C. M. ATKINSON, M.A., LL.M.
(Stipendiary Magistrate for the City of Leeds).

IN this paper it is proposed to bring to the notice of the conference the nature and operation of the various methods at present employed to recover payment for services rendered, my primary purpose being to emphasise the necessity for the introduction of remedial measures by way of co-ordination and otherwise.

No attempt will be made to depict the condition of costly confusion which results from competing efforts to enforce the conflicting claims of a number of authorities acting, for the most part, independently of each other, through distinct groups of officials, but often moving concurrently against the same family or individual. Nor are we directly concerned with the mischief and manifest injustice attending the inequalities of treatment which flow from the uncontrolled, if not capricious, exercise of discretion by countless boards, magistrates, and officials.

I propose to confine my remarks to the modes of recovering contributions from an individual by the process described in the prefatory statement as "Special Assessment." The application of Grants in Aid is treated separately in that statement; while the larger questions of administration are comprised in other branches of our sectional subject-matter.

Under the present laws there are in vogue several methods of enforcing the obligations which arise in respect of the various services rendered; but, except in very few instances, the ultimate sanction which obtains is that of "imprisonment," at the cost and charges of the taxpayer. Such imprisonment is, presumably, decreed out of deference to its *punitive* and *deterrent* qualities, for neither the periods of detention nor the conditions of incarceration would allow the play of any possible

reformative influence. They would, indeed, tend rather to induce depravity or moral insensibility, for such things as these

> " like poison weeds
> Bloom well in prison air;
> It is only what is good in man
> That wastes and withers there."

Let us, then, consider, in the first place, the more direct and drastic method, that is to say, the agency now applied when it becomes necessary to recover arrears due for the maintenance of children and young persons in industrial and reformatory schools.

This process may claim two advantages. First, it is extremely simple in its operation; secondly, it is more effective in inducing the payment of money than any known process, short of the application of mechanical instruments of torture. The debtor is just arrested on warrant without the necessity for preliminary notice* or any judicial assessment of the amount of indebtedness. The constable making the arrest has no authority to stay his hand or release the debtor, although the man may be prepared to discharge the debt and costs in full. When haled before justices, the defendant is required to pay forthwith the amount found by them to be owing, and, should he fail to do so, is committed to gaol for a term regulated by the provisions of the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, unless it appears that a distress levied upon his goods has proved sufficient to discharge the claim.

It is quite immaterial that the defendant has not, and never had, means to satisfy the claim. He will be detained in prison throughout the term decreed unless and until the whole amount, together with the costs incurred, be duly paid in full.

It is perhaps worthy of remark that, if the man had been cast into gaol on non-payment of a fine imposed for a criminal offence, say cruelty to a dog or aggravated assault on his wife, he would have been entitled at any time, on payment of any part of the sum due, to have his term of imprisonment reduced by a number of days bearing a direct proportion to the amount so paid in part satisfaction. But this alleviation of punishment is, by the Prison Act, 1898, confined to penalised criminals and does not extend to a mere debtor nor to a man or woman owing school arrears to a local authority.

For more than twenty years prior to 1901 such arrears were recovered by the milder process applied in the recovery of " civil debts," under which the debtor may plead, with success, that he has not had the means wherewith to pay. But by a few words inserted in a sub-section contained in an Act of that year, known as the Youthful Offenders Act, the law was fundamentally altered and the contribution order was made enforceable " as an order of affiliation." The particular sub-section has been repealed, but this clumsy device seems to possess peculiar attractions for the Legislature. Under the statute now in force (the Children Act, 1908), if one seeks to ascertain how such arrears may be recovered (say) against a married woman who has been deserted by her husband, we find a provision that the contribution order " shall be enforceable as an order of affiliation " (s. 75 (iii.)). That is to say, instead of being afforded plain guidance on what should be a simple matter, one is driven back on statutes and cases dealing with the

* The forms under the Children Act, 1908, contain what purports to be a " Summons for Arrears," but, if this summons be disobeyed, it is conceived that it would prove mere waste paper inasmuch as no "warrant to answer" could issue.

procedure for recovering arrears due from the putative father of a bastard child. The woman, being married, could not be imprisoned for non-payment of instalments due under a judgment order for the amount of her baker's bill, although she had deliberately refused to pay when means to discharge the debt were in her power. But, by virtue of these eight words in the sub-section, she may be imprisoned for non-payment of the school arrears, although she may have striven her utmost to meet the liability as it arose. Whether the justices have a discretion as to the enforcement of the order for arrears, or whether it is obligatory upon them to enforce it, is a question as to which one must seek enlightenment by reference to the decisions under the Bastardy Acts. Now, there is apparently only one authoritative decision on this point. It came before the High Court nearly thirty years ago, and, as the judges were equally divided in opinion, the case affords but scant assistance to an embarrassed magistrate.

Dealing with a similar provision in the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women's) Act, 1895, the present Lord Chief Justice said in 1909: "Once an order is made, there is no inquiry as to means when an application is made to enforce it. It would be strange if a man was to be sent to prison again immediately after coming out, but the magistrates may send him if they think fit . . . Imprisonment must only be ordered in circumstances in which the justices think that the defendant ought to be punished for non-obedience of the original order."

Such is the state of the law under which hundreds of persons are sent to gaol every year. It will hardly be denied that it is eminently unsatisfactory.

I have recently had occasion to discover that even the present law, crude and harsh as it is, may be administered with a due regard to humanity, and, at the same time, with efficiency and justice. But the credit for this result must be attributed to the good sense of the local authority, coupled with care and consideration on the part of their officials. It certainly cannot be assigned to the wisdom or foresight of the Legislature. Indeed, I adhere to an opinion expressed by me five years ago in the pages of the *Law Magazine*, that the procedure may well result, and has in truth resulted, in oppression and injustice, as, *e.g.*, "where a man was arrested for six shillings arrears, with a further sum of six shillings and sixpence to pay for the costs of warrant and commitment. His average wages for some months had been seven shillings a week, and he had seven young children to provide for; yet, as his furniture had all been sold to procure food, the authority were in a position to ask that he should be imprisoned forthwith. In some of these cases the order is for the maintenance of a truant child whose attendance at school the father has done his best to secure; in others, it has been proved that the man had actually given the money to discharge the weekly contribution to his wife who had spent it in drink. In one of such instances the man was arrested, whilst in bed, for the non-payment of five shillings arrears which he had not the slightest reason to suppose to be owing. No doubt these summary arrests, followed by commitments without any evidence of means, induce the payment of money—often by persons who do not owe it, or by the sale of the last sticks of the debtor's furniture. But, while certain idle and contumacious persons are thus compelled to recognise their obligations, many innocent victims thereby suffer grievous wrong. "I'll tell you wot it is, sir," said Sam Weller, to Mr. Pickwick, in the Fleet, "Them as is always a idlin' in public houses it don't damage at all, and them as is always a workin' when they can it damages too much."

The method in vogue for fixing the amount of contribution in particular cases is explained in the prefatory statement, but this practice is based on the supposition that the actual means can be and will be approximately ascertained by the court.

Now, the hurried and perfunctory examination possible in a police court, undertaken very often in the absence of the person to be charged, will not always allow of any such approximation. An allegation that the man's wages are 25s. a week and that he has a wife with three young children is often wholly misleading. It may be that, owing to sickness or scarcity of work, his actual average for weeks has been less than 18s., that there are County Court judgments against him on which commitments may issue at any moment, that he owes his landlord £1 and the doctor £2, that he is paying half a crown a week towards the support of an illegitimate child and 2s. a week under a guardians' order for the maintenance of his aged mother; in other words, that he is hopelessly insolvent and quite unable to meet his existing engagements. Indeed, there are cases where no attempt is made to resist an order or to explain the true circumstances. Things are so bad already that any added burden seems superfluous and of no account. I have known a relieving officer travel a hundred miles, at considerable cost, to make inquiries "on the spot" as to the capacity of a man to contribute a few shillings towards the support of a daughter, temporarily chargeable, and, on reaching his destination, find the bailiffs in possession for arrears of rent and the man himself in custody for non-payment of ten shillings for industrial school arrears.

We now turn to the recovery of contributions which must, if in arrear, be claimed as "civil debts."

Less than a century ago the law condemned an insolvent debtor, whose fortune had been reduced through no fault of his own, to imprisonment for the rest of his natural life, even although he were willing to give up everything he had in the world to discharge obligations, honestly contracted by him before the date of his misfortunes. Imprisonment for debt is now confined to a term of six weeks, and the jurisdiction to commit is based on what is known as "wilful default," *i.e.*, it is restricted to cases in which the debtor has deliberately withheld payment when the means of discharge were within his power. The terms of the statute suggest that, in order to justify the issue of a commitment, it must be shown that, since the date of the judgment order, the defendant has had means to pay the *whole* of the debt. But it is generally regarded as sufficient to prove that he has had means to discharge *a substantial part* of the judgment debt, subject to the obligation he is under to support his wife and family. It should be added, in the case of a "civil debt," imprisonment does not operate by way of satisfaction or extinguishment, nor deprive the creditor of his right to take out execution against the debtor's estate.

Such is the theory of "wilful default," sometimes regarded as being in the nature of a contempt of court.

In some courts a practice has arisen whereby commitments are issued without any evidence that there has been "wilful default." If it appears likely that the debtor will, in the immediate future, be in a position to make payments, although he has, since the date of the judgment order, been without work and without means, a warrant of commitment is issued and its operation is suspended for a certain time or on certain conditions. This usurpation of jurisdiction was emphatically condemned by Lord Herschell as an "irregular and improper proceeding." It is generally accompanied—and, indeed, can often only be made possible—by a direction for payment *in instalments*. At first sight such a direction appears to be in the nature of a concession to the debtor. But it is easy to show how it may, in fact, be used as an engine of oppression. We have seen that the period of incarceration must not exceed six weeks. The courts, however,

soon made short work of this statutory limitation by discovering that a direction to pay by instalments amounts to a separate order for each instalment. There may, therefore, be as many committals as there are instalments to be paid.

Conspicuous among the contributions recoverable as "civil debts" are the "special assessments" levied on the kinsmen of paupers under the Poor Relief Act, 1601, the scope of which may be ascertained by reference to the first page of the prefatory statement. It is limited to certain cases of blood relationship, and applies only where the relief is given to one who is not merely destitute but also wholly unable to work.

In some districts attempts are made to go beyond the law by applying the statute to cases of simple destitution, or by using it for the purpose of extracting contributions from sons-in-law, cousins, nephews, and others not within the purview of the Act.

By the Married Women's Property Act, 1881, a married woman with separate estate was made liable, during coverture, for the maintenance of her husband, children, and grandchildren; and, since 1908, she has been also liable in respect of the maintenance of her parents as though she were a *feme sole*.

Disobedience of an order for repayment of relief was formerly in the nature of a criminal offence punishable by penalties as on a conviction. After 1868 such an order became enforceable by distress and, if there were no sufficient distress to be found, by imprisonment. It is now, however, expressly provided by the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, that contributions of this kind shall not be enforced by imprisonment unless and until it is proved that the person making default "either has, or has had since the date of the order, the means to pay the sum in respect of which he has made default."

The procedure under the statute of Elizabeth is explained in Part I. (i.) of the prefatory statement; but it should be added that there is no power either to revoke or to vary an order when once made, an omission which has, on occasion, resulted in much inconvenience and injustice.

Other examples of cases in which the repayment of contributions is enforceable as on a claim for a "civil debt" are:

(*a*) A justices' order upon a husband for the maintenance of a wife who has applied to the guardians for relief.

(*b*) A justices' order upon a husband to pay for the maintenance of a lunatic wife who has become chargeable and been removed to an asylum.

(*c*) A justices' order on a married woman with separate estate whose husband has become chargeable.

Under such an order she may be required, out of her separate estate, to contribute towards the cost of the relief of her husband in like manner as though the application had been made against a husband for the maintenance of his wife.

A difference of opinion exists as to whether the order is *personal* so as to justify the commitment of the wife to gaol in case of failure on her part to comply with its terms. It is submitted that, as the order is only enforceable against the "separate estate," it can hardly be regarded as *personal*.

(*d*) In the case of *blind* or *deaf* children orders of maintenance may be made enuring till the child reaches sixteen. If the parties fail to agree, the amount of weekly contribution is settled by justices and payment enforced as for a "civil debt."

So, too, in the case of *defective* or *epileptic* children in special schools.

As to *meals* and *medical attendance* see Part I. (i.) of the prefatory statement.

We have not space to dwell in detail upon the various and peculiar remedies afforded by other statutes still in force though rarely put in operation, *e.g.* :—

Reimbursement by means of a justices' warrant to seize the goods and recover the rents of a husband or parent who has run away and left wife or child upon the parish.

The special provisions applicable to soldiers and seamen.

The enactments to secure repayment of relief granted to pensioners.

The recovery of money granted in relief by way of "loan."

The appropriation or recovery of money or securities in a pauper's possession with a view to reimbursing guardians for the amount expended on the pauper during the preceding twelve months.

This remedy gives the guardians a security additional to that dependent on their common law right to recover or prove against the pauper's estate for six years' arrears of maintenance.

How the common law remedy may be enforced was exemplified by an action brought by a Board of Guardians in 1909. A pauper, aged 73, was admitted to the infirmary in 1902. In September, 1907, his sister having died intestate, the pauper became entitled to £269. In December, 1908, the old man paid the guardians the sum of £156, being at the rate of 10s. a week for his maintenance. The guardians, however, claimed from him a further sum of £251, alleging that the actual cost per inmate per week was about 26s. a week, and judgment was given in their favour for £197 with costs. The amount awarded included a sum for "printing and stationery" as part of the establishment expenses, but a claim to debit the old man with part of the "rent for telephone" was considered somewhat doubtful and disallowed.

The Lunacy Acts also contain many provisions enabling guardians to seize a lunatic's property, obtain orders for expenses incurred in maintenance, or recover against his estate and against the persons legally liable for his maintenance.

It would be difficult to conceive a state of confusion more costly or worse confounded than the disorder which reigns under the existing system. Some escape from the bewildering chaos must be found; and, although this is not the place to propound detailed plans or to elaborate machinery, it may be worth while to suggest certain primary canons or cardinal principles of procedure, thus:—

(i.) The bodies which decree the rendering of services, delimit their extent, and control their operation, should be wholly independent of the tribunal of assessment.

(ii.) The tribunal should be of a judicial character commissioned to determine whether any (and, if any, what) contribution should be required from the individual or family receiving aid or benefit.

(iii.) All services rendered in the district should be reported to the tribunal and recorded, so that any contributions charged should be imposed with full knowledge of all the circumstances attending the varied claims and levied under a single assessment to be registered by the tribunal.

(iv.) All bodies and persons interested should be entitled to be heard before the tribunal, which should have power to direct inquiries by independent officials, the result of such inquiries to be stated in open court by the officials, as witnesses on oath and subject to cross-examination.

(v.) The tribunal should direct and control the levy of arrears, while distress and imprisonment should be employed as a sanction only in the last resort, the primary methods of recovery being by attachment of wages, forced labour outside the walls of a criminal prison, and the like.

(vi.) There should be power to revoke or vary any assessment, and appeal should lie on a point of law as from other inferior tribunals by way of special case.

Discussion.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said the subject for discussion was "The Evidence to be required of 'Ability to Pay' and the Enforcement of Payment." He had received a telegram from Mr. Atkinson, who was the writer of the first paper, that he was unfortunately ill and could not come. Mr. Schloesser had therefore kindly consented to start the discussion on Mr. Atkinson's paper, and also on a paper of Mr. Schloesser's own, which had not been circulated.

Mr. H. H. SCHLOESSER said his particular qualification for speaking to this section was not that he had had any public experience with the administration of relief, but that, as a Parliamentary draughtsman, he had been concerned in the preparation of a considerable number of Bills dealing in one way or another with the reform of the Poor Law, and his particular remarks would be a supplement to those of Mr. Atkinson in discussing the question of the future organisation of the machinery for charge and recovery. It was a most unfortunate thing that so distinguished a gentleman as Mr. Atkinson could not be with them that afternoon, but he understood that Mr. Atkinson's paper had been circulated, and what he himself would have to say would be rather what he had intended to put into his own paper, and not a glossary of what Mr. Atkinson had said and knew so much more about than he. The first difficulty with regard to the legal machinery of recovery was, he thought, that there were so many authorities doing this work. He did not wish for a moment to enter upon a discussion as to whether it was better to have one or many authorities relieving destitution; that was not a matter which concerned them that afternoon, but he thought everybody would agree that so long as they had the various authorities which at present existed, even when some such code as Mr. Freeman had suggested had been drawn up, it was very difficult to see what officer would have the work of making the charges and making the recoveries, and to what authority that officer would be responsible. Even in the Minority Report—which, as they knew, represented one end of the scale—the difficulty of co-ordinating the various authorities became apparent, for example, in Scotland, where it was not suggested that the School Board should be made a part of the county authority. Even assuming that a common register were set up and some officer were appointed to carry out the work of making the charges and making the recoveries, who was to control, pay, and give orders to this officer? In Scotland, what share was the School Board to take in saying when and how this particular officer should make these charges and these recoveries? Of course, in England, from the Minority Report point of view, it was easier, because, with the exception of the Poor Law authority, the various other authorities were now committees, statutory or otherwise, of the general local authority. But when they left the Minority Report—and he was not suggesting by any means that that was the right solution of the Poor Law problem—and when they came on to any other suggestions, or when they came to the existing state of things, the difficulty became even greater. Assuming they had a code, and assuming they thought it right to have the same officer, how was that officer, in fact, to be controlled? Would the Guardians consent that the work which was now done by their relieving officer should be taken completely out of their hands and transferred to an officer appointed by the County Council primarily for the purpose of assessing charges for public health work? Or was it possible to constitute some co-ordination committee, having on it representatives of the various authorities relieving or otherwise dealing with destitution, and to give powers to this co-ordination

committee to keep the register or to appoint the officer who was to carry out the work of registration? He believed there was a Bill now before Parliament—he did not know that it had yet been printed—which had for its purpose the setting up of a common register, irrespective of any other question of the Poor Law problem; and it was suggested, he believed, that this register and the officer, or whatever they liked to call him, who should make the charge and recovery, should be under the general control of all the bodies concerned. But of course to state that was merely to state the enormous difficulty which lay in this particular problem. He wanted to suggest that apart altogether from the difficulty of making codes and of having a uniform system, that there was the very great administrative difficulty; that so long as they had various authorities interested in destitution in this country, and had a different officer for each different authority, it would be an extremely expensive thing—it would be very difficult, in fact—to co-ordinate their efforts. Mr. Atkinson had pointed out, and it also appeared in the prefatory statement to the section, that the matter was very complicated at the present time by reason of the varying liabilities which attach to the relations or persons connected with the people relieved. Under the Poor Law, the one person who was not responsible was the individual himself; but his parent, or his son, grandfather, and so on, could be made responsible. Under the education authority, in the case of the provision of meals or in the case of medical treatment, it was the parent who was primarily responsible; but under the Public Health Acts, on the other hand, it was the individual himself who was apparently responsible for the treatment or for the service afforded, but not the parent. So far as London was concerned, under the Provision of Meals Acts, there was no power to make a charge at all. His object in opening the discussion was to ask practical administrators what suggestions they had to make for getting over this difficulty. Probably the right answer would be that any officer who was to have charge of this register and generally co-ordinate the relief of destitution in the district, would probably ultimately have to come under the Council. That of course would be the best. No doubt all Guardians thought that the Guardians would have representatives on the committee, who would be concerned with the direction of the officer; but he did not think to do this would be feasible or desirable, or that the Guardians should have complete control over the officer. As they knew, a very much larger proportion of the money which was expended in public assistance was expended by authorities other than the Guardians, although the Guardians expended a very considerable sum, and undoubtedly, so long as they existed, were entitled to a very great share in the appointment of this officer and the laying down of the regulations whereby he was to make the charges. But he was not at all sure that if they were to come to the conclusion that it was not possible—that it was not feasible—to appoint an officer representing and responsible to all the authorities relieving destitution in the district, he was not at all sure that any suggestions for a uniform code or a uniform system of recovery could possibly be enforced. He did not see at the moment how they could have a register unless that register was in the hands of one authority. It therefore seemed to him that any suggestions for the co-ordination of the public services dealing with destitution must, in this matter of charge and recovery, make them incline towards the setting up of one authority. He thought that was not at all to pre-judge this question of the abolition or revision of the Poor Law. For instance, in a little Bill which he drafted, and which was before Parliament last Friday, the London Poor Law Bill, there the London County Council was made the Poor Law Union for London, and having become the Poor Law Union for London, this particular difficulty of setting up officers for making charges and recoveries did not arise, London all being under various authorities; but the Bill in no sense altered or abrogated the Poor Law for the purpose of the poor family; the Council would remain as much a Poor Law authority as, for example, the union of Hampstead was to-day. Therefore, he said, they might find a way out of this difficulty, possibly in gradually getting their councils to become themselves the Poor Law authorities, with an adjustment of the various areas, without necessarily doing away with the present destitution tests. They might come to some compromise of the opinions of the various sections in that direction. At any rate, he should very much like to hear of the views this Section had as to the machinery and procedure of recovery, because in this connection he supposed they were all agreed that it was absurd that they should have one set of persons liable to pay the costs under the Poor Law, another set under the Public Health Acts, and

another set under the Education Act. (Hear, hear.) He did not think anybody could suggest that a grandfather should be more liable under the one Act than under the other. That must obviously be agreed. But it was when they came to this question of machinery and how it was to be organised that he thought there would be a difference of opinion. There was an almost insuperable difficulty in getting a uniform code or a uniform system of keeping any register unless it were a common register under the control of all the authorities in the district. He would like to say, in conclusion, that under the Minority scheme the proposal was that the Council should set up the co-ordination committee for the purpose of co-ordinating public assistance and keeping the register, and on that committee the School Board (in Scotland) were to participate in the appointment of the registrar, who was, however, to be an officer of the Council. He did not know that he had anything more to say, except to apologise for not having been ready with his paper. He did not know until too late exactly how much of the field Mr. Atkinson was going to cover, and as Mr. Atkinson had not come that afternoon, he was afraid the discussion looked as if it might have a rather ragged appearance, but no doubt the interest of the subject would fill up his deficiencies in the matter.

Mr. G. F. Horner (Nottingham Union) said he rather hesitated to open a discussion of this description, as he had not gone thoroughly through the paper. Like the representative who had just spoken, his opinion was one with which, probably, very few people would agree, and that was that he thought the Bill which was to be brought in for London was an exceedingly good Bill. If they were to do away with the present Poor Law Guardians, there was only one thing that could be done, and that was to have one governing authority in one locality, which, of course, naturally would be the Town Council, or the County Council, as the case might be. He could not speak from any experience of County Councils, having lived entirely in towns. At the same time, in passing, he thought that the arrangement of the Education Committee as a part of the Town Council, with co-opted members, was a very great mistake. He did not think that the Education Committee, as they found it to-day, worked altogether in a satisfactory manner. It would be very much better, in his opinion—he did not know whether many people agreed with him—for the Town Council or County Council to be the local authority, with no co-opted members, and for relief to be given by a committee of the Town Council. He believed he was correct in saying so—he was a member of a Town Council for many years—that the Town Council delegated its work to various committees, and he had no proof that these committees did not do their work in a thoroughly efficient manner, and therefore he did not see why a sub-committee of the Town Council should not be appointed for the purpose of carrying out the Poor Laws, even as they at present stood. If the Guardians of the poor were not to be done away with, then he thought that everything in connection with relief and the relief of the poor should be delegated to the Guardians, and they themselves, and only they, should be responsible for carrying out everything in the shape of Poor Law relief, whether it was the feeding of the children, outdoor relief, or indoor relief, hospitals, or anything else. The whole of it should be in the Guardians' hands, and there should not be this overlapping of one authority over another. They always found that one authority was very jealous of another interfering with its work. In fact, they found that when work was delegated to committees, one committee was very jealous of another interfering with the work which it carried on. And under these circumstances it appeared to him that that was the only way of getting over the difficulty. If they were to have one authority, let the Town Council or the County Council, whichever was the local governing body, have control of the whole of the work, and delegate it to a committee.

The Chairman said that if no other member of the Section wished to continue the debate, he declared the meeting closed. The Section would meet again at 10.15 a.m. on the following day to discuss the question of Grants in Aid. Mr. Harcourt Clare, who was to have given a paper, would be unable to give it, and Professor Cannan's paper, and also Mr. Ryland Adkin's paper, which covered the same ground to a large extent, would be read, so that they would have a single meeting on those two papers in the morning, and no meeting in the afternoon, unless the discussion was so prolonged that the Section would like to carry it over until after luncheon. He hoped they would all come on Thursday morning, because Professor Cannan had written a very interesting paper which deserved close attention.

Third Day, Thursday, June 1st.

MORNING SESSION.

The chair was taken by Sir H. George Fordham, and the subject discussed was GRANTS IN AID. The following papers were taken:—

1.—*The Principles and Limitations of Grants in Aid.*
By Sir W. RYLAND D. ADKINS, K.C., M.P.

2.—*The Principles on which Money Granted from the National Exchequer in Aid of Local Taxation should be distributed.*
By Professor EDWIN CANAAN, M.A., LL.B.

The Principles and Limitations of Grants in Aid.

By Sir W. RYLAND D. ADKINS, K.C., M.P.

IN dealing with the problems of local government on their financial side the consideration of Grants in Aid is relevant and important. Grants in Aid have in England played a large part in the financing of most of the services which are locally administered. The system of assisting the burden of local taxation from the State dates substantially from 1834. From this date to the year 1889 the assistance took the form of Grants in Aid voted annually by Parliament and appropriated to specific services. This is in sharp contrast to the methods both of France and Germany. In France there is a much more defined line drawn between central and local services and the more urgent needs of local authorities are met largely by special local taxes, indirect such as *octrois,* or direct in the form of certain taxes, such as slaughter-house tax and tax for street cleaning, or by additions to national taxes allowed by the Central Authority to be levied locally for local purposes. In Prussia, again, the local income tax levied subject to central authority takes to a considerable extent the place of Grants in Aid.

To return to our own country; since 1889 Grants in Aid have been largely superseded by the assignment to local authorities of the proceeds of special taxes. This, though emphasising the local character of such taxation, is, if carefully analysed, rather a change in form than in substance. The Exchequer contribution representing the proceeds of certain taxes is practically a Grant in Aid, with this peculiarity, that it depends on the proceeds of the taxes rather than on the cost and efficiency of the services, which are discharged locally or on local needs. Thus, for instance, it was assumed in 1888 that the residue of the Exchequer contribution account would pay half the cost of maintenance of main roads, whereas in practice, it now pays less than a third. Accordingly, we now have assignments from Imperial sources in aid of local expenditure, which to a large extent are based on fixed sums and not on percentage of the actual expenditure. The

reasons for this, as for most things, are historic rather than scientific. Calculations made not only with regard to roads but also, for instance, with regard to Poor Law officials, and grants stereotyped in accordance with such calculations, have proved in practice to throw increased burdens on the locality, and consequently an increasing number of people are concerned to discuss what principles, if any, apply to this question. All public services are either wholly national, wholly local, or partly one and partly the other. Of those wholly national are the army and navy, foreign and colonial affairs, civil service, customs and inland revenue, postal and telegraph. Of those which are wholly local, services of sanitary administration may be quoted, and also roads other than main roads, but between the two categories are the very important spheres of police, education, the Poor Law (including lunatics), and main roads. It is obvious that Grants in Aid are only legitimate in the case of services partly national and partly local; that it is of the highest importance that such grants should be so devised as to hinder extravagance, and that the division of services which is classed as partly national and partly local should be a division as restricted as possible. Accordingly, there is much to be said for the control of lunatics becoming entirely a State affair, and also those aspects of the Poor Law which deal with the unemployed and with vagrants, and also the care of the feeble-minded. Reasons of a similar kind would point to the great trunk roads of the country being a matter of exclusively national management, but if these are all placed under the first category, there still remain police, most main roads, education, and those parts of the Poor Law which deal with the sick and the aged and with children, though here, again, there is much to be said for putting the sick and aged poor and the children, apart from education, entirely upon local resources. A word or two on each of the other three divisions. With regard to the police, which in one aspect are a national and in another a local service, half the pay and clothing is now paid out of the Exchequer contribution account, but besides the other half of this all further police expenses are met from the rates. It would appear here that the true principle would be to divide all expenses of police save the cost of buildings, which the local authority should meet, in equal proportions between the Exchequer and the locality; in other words, that the Grant in Aid should always be half the total cost, provided that cost is approved by the inspectors of the central government. The principle of a definite proportion of the cost being the same proportion throughout the country is, it is submitted, the proper principle by which a Grant in Aid for police service should be applied. Then with regard to main roads. Here a strong argument could doubtless be constructed for putting the whole cost of main roads on the central authority, inasmuch as they are used increasingly without regard to local needs or local benefit. It is through traffic and not local traffic which is the great feature of their use. But here comes into play a limitation of the principle of Grants in Aid which may be worth noting. The rate for roads repair is a rate attached to occupation of land for a considerable period. Land has been bought and sold subject to it, and to place the whole cost on the Exchequer would be to give a special benefit to a particular class of the community. The same argument, of course, applies with greater force to poor rates, and speaking generally it is submitted that even where a service is predominantly national, but has in the past been largely financed from local sources, the principle of Grants in Aid should be checked in its full extension if it involves giving special benefits to a particular class at the cost of the whole community.

Probably the best method of dealing with the road problem is that half the cost of roads declared by the Road Board to be main roads in every sense of the word should be paid by the Exchequer, whilst in the case of some of these, which in an especial sense are trunk roads, an additional grant might be given on certificate by a government inspector that they have been properly maintained by local authorities.

The case of education is unfortunately more complicated. It may be described as more national in character than any other service, but it is a service which must be discharged locally, and all who value the maintenance of public interest in education must attach importance to the locality having considerable powers of control and to the ratepayer having enough burden to keep him acutely interested in the subject. Applying the principles already suggested to this, it would again appear to be desirable that the Grant in Aid should bear a definite proportion to the total expenditure, and also in view of the many matters included in education that the Grants in Aid should be given separately for separate departments of education and administration, and not in one grant. For the union of many distinct, though allied services under the head of education, and the method of giving a grant for the education in the locality which shall cover them all, tends in effect to enormously increase the power of a government department, and thereby to injure local self-government, and to give an opportunity to the Central Authority to punish a locality by the withdrawal of grants as a whole when the matter in dispute only concerns one particular topic. For instance, the cost of medical inspection of children is, if the phrase may be permitted, one of the most national aspects of elementary education. A definite proportion of it should therefore be borne by the State, subject, of course, to the State being satisfied with the efficiency of the local service. But there should be a special grant for this apart from the grants for evening schools or ordinary elementary day schools or training colleges or secondary education, so that if on any of these matters the locality display inefficiency, when it has carried out medical inspection properly that service should not suffer by reason of the *laches* in the other.

This brief illustration perhaps adequately explains what is here contended for as to the principle of the limitation of Grants in Aid. In the *first* place they must be confined to services partly national and partly local; *secondly*, they should be given, not in the form of a lump sum, but as a fixed proportion varying in the case of different services of the actual annual cost; *thirdly*, they should be given in accordance with the report of qualified inspectors and representatives of the Central Authority as to the actual efficiency of the service, and for this purpose different services should be carefully segregated; *fourthly*, the Grants in Aid should be given so as to benefit the whole community, and not relieve any particular class at the cost of the ratepayers or taxpayers generally; *fifthly*, under no circumstances should the Grant in Aid be so great as to deprive the locality of the sense of responsibility or of the consciousness of the burden of increased expenditure; *sixthly*, this system should be adopted wherever there is a substantial local element in the public service, for the only alternative to local self-government is an enormous increase of officialism, and both history and the racial characteristics of our nation would indicate that local self-government is likely to be more successful and officialism to be less successful than in some other countries. *Finally*, it may be well to emphasise the leading principle suggested in this short Paper, that Grants in Aid must have reference to the service done rather than to the wealth or poverty of the ratepayers who are thus assisted, and should not be a fixed amount, but a definite proportion of the cost of the same. The incidence

of rating, often unjust and crying out for legislation, is not an evil which Grants in Aid can cure. If the wrong man is being rated, or A is being rated unfairly against B, it is no true remedy to say that part of such unjust rates shall be paid by the State, any more than a stimulant is a cure for disease. For instance, the working of the Agricultural Rates Act, designed as a rough and ready form of relief to distressed agriculturists, means in practice that the occupier of valuable land in the neighbourhood of towns and markets gets greater relief, namely the half of a higher rate which he can probably afford to pay, than the pinched and struggling cultivator of barren uplands and remote farms. The remedy for this evil is an alteration in the law of assessment, not the anodyne of subvention from Imperial sources. So, too, with the second principle. In the past, Grants in Aid, when comprised in a fixed sum, have been inadequate and led to shortage and all the financial difficulties attendant on a local authority finding itself with a serious deficit. This would be avoided if the Grant in Aid bore a definite proportion of the actual expenditure which had been entailed. Grants in Aid are necessary, and are inevitable if services, largely national, are to be administered locally, but they will do more harm than good unless they take the form of a definite proportion of necessary expenses ascertained to be such by national inspection, and confined rigorously to those departments of administration which are not wholly local or wholly national.

Finally, it is well to notice another way of distinguishing between local services deserving of Grants in Aid and those which have no such claims. This is the distinction between onerous and beneficial services. Onerous services are those which cast a burden on the locality, such as the police and the care of lunatics, and the poor, which would be increased if other localities failed in their duty, and which therefore are in a sense obligations common to all localities, and so deserving help from the State which is itself an aggregate of all localities. Beneficial services are those which benefit a locality whatever other localities may do, and these obviously have a far less claim. In general this decision coincides with the division already set out in this Paper, and set out in other terms. If there be an exception it will be with regard to special sanitary work, such as infectious diseases hospitals, which are in a different category from ordinary sanitary work, and have, it may be, a claim to receive a Grant in Aid, while, on the other hand, I take it, if the Poor Law is left to localities as suggested in this paper, they will be met from local sources exclusively, onerous though its duties are. Not a little of the difficulty and failure in justice of Grants in Aid since 1889 has been owing to the neglect of this distinction between onerous and beneficial services, difficult as it is to define with precise accuracy. But the mention of it and the application of it are necessary to any complete view of the problems which arise when it is attempted to decide what local services deserve Grants in Aid, and by what principles and by what methods they are to be given.

The Principles on which money granted from the National Exchequer in aid of Local Taxation should be distributed.

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The two great principles to be observed in all measures concerning public finance are Equity and Economy—Economy meaning, of course, not necessarily spending little, but the best possible utilisation of resources. Of these two Economy requires much more consideration than Equity. History and every man's recollection, if he has reached middle age, show that the judgment of mankind about what is equitable is liable to change, and that one of the forces which cause it to change is the conviction that what was supposed to be quite just and equitable has become (or perhaps always was) uneconomical. To take an example far enough removed from our own time to be entirely outside controversy, let us look at the disappearance of the mediæval view of the iniquity of taking interest for loans of money. The conviction that interest was inequitable was undoubtedly broken down by the observation of the fact that business was much assisted by it, or in other words that it was an economical institution. While the examples of ideas of equity being changed by men's realisation of what is economical are innumerable, I fail to find a single example of something which was economical being made uneconomical by a change in men's opinions about what is equitable. Economy is ultimately the more powerful of the two principles. It is also the more difficult to follow. To find out what is the most economical course is almost always difficult. To satisfy the current demand for equity, whether in public finance or in economics generally, we need only refrain from making violent interferences with existing arrangements of taxation, property and suchlike institutions. Equity in these matters means nothing more than that the community should not use its authority so as to disappoint legitimate expectations. No one claims that the existing arrangements are equitable in themselves, so that, for instance, it is actively just and equitable that one infant should have £100,000 a year and another nothing; all that is claimed is that it would be unjust to take away the £100,000 a year from the wealthy infant and give it to the poor one. Considerations of equity compel a respect for existing arrangements which is often a useful obstacle to ill-considered schemes for pursuing the economical, but that is all. They are not the least help in the decision of the question what changes ought to be made in a system of taxation, or of grants from taxation, which has been in existence for some time.

Disregard of this has led to the adoption by some persons of the idea that the true principle for the distribution of grants from the national to the local exchequers is the redress of the inequality between rateable and non-rateable forms of property which prevails in local taxation. Owing to causes which I have described elsewhere, the force of circumstances has compelled people to acquiesce in local rates being laid only on land and other immoveable property, income from other kinds of property and from labour being exempt, and this is alleged to be an injustice which must be redressed by the provision of grants from national taxes upon non-rateable income distributed in such a way as to relieve

most the class of people who are regarded as being most hardly treated by the inequality. We need not endeavour to discover exactly who these people are or are supposed to be, since we may with confidence reject the whole claim. Equity does not demand that a system of taxation which has once come thoroughly into operation should be altered merely because different sources of income are not treated equally. Rateable and non-rateable property have been bequeathed and inherited, bought and sold, and made the subject of innumerable kinds of contracts on the assumption that the existing arrangements are in existence and will remain in existence substantially in their present form. If a father deliberately leaves £10,000 worth of rateable property to his son James, and £10,000 worth of non-rateable property to his son John, what right has James to go about demanding in the name of justice and equity that his property should be raised in value to £11,000 and John's reduced to £9,000 by a relief of rates? Even if we supposed that rateable property exclusively is handed down from generation to generation in some families and non-rateable in others, the present owners of the rateable would have no just claim against the others: no legitimate expectations have been disappointed so far as they are concerned, and they are at any rate better off than those who have no property at all. The fact is that systems of taxation are like currencies—they can scarcely be altered without injustice to someone, and if we stickle for absolute justice like children and primitive men, we shall never make any progress at all. Civilised and grown-up people learn to put up with small inequalities for the common good. Economy becomes greater than equity.

I propose therefore to ask what principles are economical rather than what may be supposed equitable or just in Mars or Saturn. No one, I believe, supposes it would be economical to raise national taxes to equalise the cost of coal in different parts of the country: everyone can see that it is economical that the cost of coal should be greater far away from the pits than close to them. No one supposes that it would be economical to equalise the cost of gas all over the country by subsidies from general taxes: everyone can see that it is better for each illuminant and each place to compete. I doubt if anyone thinks it would be economical to raise national taxes to supply water at the same price all over the country or to subsidise water rates so as to make them equal charges in proportion to rental. Very few people, I am sure, think that it would be economical to levy national taxes to equalise the charges which different towns at present have to pay for lighting their streets and the disposal of their sewage. There is, in fact, no demand whatever for State assistance in aid of rates for purposes which are regarded as distinctly "beneficial" to the locality. So long as people are allowed to sell their land for what they please, to set up factories and houses and to live and work where they please, each place, like each individual, must "stand on its own legs." If a particular locality is expensive to drain and light and sweep, people had better go elsewhere unless it is in the owners' power and worth their while to attract people by offering cheap land. Local taxation is one of the forces which determine the distribution of population and industries, and to take it away without putting anything in its place would be disastrously wasteful.

But besides these rates there are what are called the "onerous" rates which are levied because it is, by custom and the force of public opinion, or perhaps owing to mere legislation, the "duty" of the locality to raise them. Of these the rates levied for education and poor relief are the most important. However local taxation might be arranged within the locality, nobody supposes that it would "pay" the locality (*i.e.*, the local taxpayers, whoever they are) to relieve the poor

or to take proper measures towards the prevention of destitution. It would always "pay" better to drive away the indigenous poor and repel the vagrant. The case of education is not quite so strong; it is possible to imagine a community where wealth and children were so equally or proportionately distributed and where migration was so small that it might be the common interest of the locality to provide the means of education in proper measure. But as things are at present, especially perhaps in this country, the persons receiving the education correspond so little with the actual or any probable local taxes that it would be absurd to contend that education is a real "local interest." Educational enthusiasts sometimes endeavour to convince ratepayers that they will get more efficient labour for the same money if they educate the children of the place; but a glance at the tables of birthplaces in the Census would be sufficient to dispose of this argument, supposing the ratepayers had the least disposition to believe in it.

Rates for police purposes are very often classified as "onerous"; but I regard them as belonging, except for a small negligible proportion, to the "beneficial" class. The old police grant of half the cost of pay and clothing of the force was abolished in 1888, except as between the counties and the few boroughs which were too small to be county-boroughs and yet had police forces of their own. If the cost of the police had been felt to be an "onerous" expense, the disappearance of the grant would have caused some observable stinting in the expenditure on police in the counties and county-boroughs, especially in the latter, where the council has full control instead of sharing it with the justices. Not only is this not so, but the fact is that the councils have been lavish, and the ratepayers have grudged expense in this direction less than almost any other. It is only a trifling fraction of the expense which is necessitated merely by the duty of lending a hand in the repression of crime outside the locality, and there is not the least fear of this not being made. Police expense, in a word, is almost entirely "beneficial" to the locality in which it is incurred, and there is no need to trouble about the trifling proportion of it which is "onerous."

It is against the burden of rates for poor relief and education that complaint is chiefly made, or rather perhaps we should say, it is for relief from the burden of these rates that demands upon the State are chiefly made. These demands are almost always made in the name of justice or equity. For reasons which I have already given, I do not think we need concern ourselves with that. Let us ask whether economy demands change. In the first place we may try to answer the question whether the general burden is economical—that is to say, whether it is economical to put a more than proportionate part of the cost of these services upon funds which are raised almost entirely from land and other immoveable property. We must, I think, admit that it is not desirable to tax these particular sources of income higher than others when it is possible to avoid it. The effect of taxing one particular form of property more than another is to restrict investment in that form until it becomes again as profitable as other forms, and there appears to be no good reason why investment in the creation of immoveable property, whether in buildings or in roadmaking and sewering or in agricultural improvements, should be discouraged more than any other form of investment. But immoveable property is such a large proportion of the whole of property, and is so necessary in all sorts of ways to the creation of other kinds, that the displacement of industry and resources caused by taxing it rather more than other property may be regarded as trifling and not sufficient to set against the enormous gain in economy resulting from the fact that efficient taxation of immovable property is possible and efficient taxation of other property is not

possible, so long as the world continues to be divided between petty areas each of which prides itself on its sovereignty and independence, or at any rate jealously guards its fiscal autonomy. Hence I do not think we need trouble ourselves about the general burden: we can only relieve it at the expense of national taxes, and he would be a bold man who denied that we have already several national taxes which are much worse than rates.

The second question, whether the inequality of the burden of rates as between different places for "onerous" purposes is economical, is of much more interest and importance.

The inequality cannot, I think, be objected to so far as it is merely the result of a given quantity and quality of the services costing more in one place than another. I can see no reason why places in which it costs little to provide a workhouse for a given number of persons and maintain them there should contribute to the greater expense required elsewhere: each locality should "stand on its own legs" here, as in regard to the rates for beneficial purposes. If a place is for geographical reasons, or for reasons founded on differences in efficiency of management, unable to do certain necessary things as cheaply as others, it is well, on the whole, and as a general rule, that the rates there should be higher, so as to check the settlement of people and property in that place: it is well that people should go to the cheaper and well-managed places.

But inequalities which arise simply from the fact that there is a larger quantity of these services to be performed in proportion to the rateable property in some districts than in others seem to be decidedly uneconomical for two reasons.

(1) They tend to cause a distribution of population and property between the different districts for which there is no good reason. Suppose two areas uniform in all respects except that one contains a district which owing to some freak of fashion or historical accident becomes the home of a number of wealthy people who contribute no pauperism and send no children to the rate-supported schools. The rates will evidently be lower in the area containing the wealthy district than in the other, and people and property will be attracted into it as compared with the other. There seems to be no possible justification for this: it cannot possibly lead to any good result. I certainly fail to see why places should be higher taxed because they are more largely the homes of the people for whose benefit the taxes are raised.

(2) Inequalities of this kind tend to improper distribution of total resources by causing expenditure for the necessary purposes under discussion to be too stinted in some places and too lavish in others. It is not so certain as we often think it that a high rate must be more burdensome than a low one in any particular case: the ultimate burden of the high rate may be upon richer persons than that of the low one. But this is only a chance: in the average of cases it can scarcely be so, and therefore as a rule the higher rate is more burdensome; and whether it is or not, it always seems so to the people who are hit in the first instance. Moreover, people as a rule compare the rates of different places with very little regard to the different circumstances, and are apt to attribute high rates to inefficiency or too lavish expenditure. The inevitable consequence is a certain amount of profusion in some places and uneconomical stinting in others.

The practical question is whether we can devise means for reducing the tendency to wrong distribution of people and property and to uneconomical distribution of expenditure without introducing greater evils.

There is not, I think, much difficulty about the *principle*. The ideal procedure would be to ascertain for each rateable area the amount of the onerous services

required, calculate the cost of that amount at the average of the whole country, and then give to each rateable area a grant equal to the difference between the cost as calculated and the produce of some given rate in the pound. Thus, for example, if the standard rate chosen was 1s. in the £, and the cost calculated for the district of X. was £19,000, while the produce of a 1s. rate was only £10,000, the grant would be £9,000; in the district of Y., where the cost calculated was £20,000, and the produce of a 1s. rate was £18,000, the grant would be £2,000. In every case the standard rate plus the grant would produce the calculated cost. The locality would bear all excesses of the actual over the calculated cost and profit by any amount by which the actual fell short of the calculated cost; so that if the actual cost in X. was £18,000, the rate levied there would be 11d., and if the cost in Y. were £21,500 the rate levied there would be 1s. 1d.

It is true that the district with much rateable property would be able to *exceed* the ideal sum easier than the district with little, and that the gain by keeping below the calculated cost would appear more worth having to the district with little rateable property than to the other, but this does not seem very important.

The real difficulty lies in the ascertainment of the calculated cost. To ascertain it by particular inquiry in each district is obviously impracticable for many reasons. Unless some general rule, based on definite and known facts, can be devised, the plan must be rejected. Now in regard to education it does not appear to be very difficult to discover facts which will form a good and sufficient guide. The number of children in school is the most important, and it is actually used at the present time in determining the financial relations between the State and the local authorities. Various facts modifying the crude standard of members also come into the reckoning at present. The State grants for education are certainly equalisatory at present, and there seems to be little difficulty in making them much more so than they are: it is all a matter of detail. But the prevention of destitution is much more inpalpable than education. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, with the late Sir Edward Hamilton and Sir George Murray, took population as the guide in the ascertainment of the cost of the work to be done. Every rateable area was in their scheme to receive from the State the difference between the produce of a 4d. rate and 3s. 6d. per head of population.*

There are, I think, two fatal objections to this plan. In the first place the population is not ascertainable; and in the second it is, when ascertained, an untrustworthy guide for the purpose in hand. (1) Censuses can only be taken at infrequent intervals, such as every ten or five years, so that they are generally considerably out of date. When not mixed up with pecuniary considerations they are fairly accurate, but as soon as the locality (in whose service the enumerators are usually engaged except on the census day) is to benefit by a few shillings per head of persons enumerated, accuracy is likely to give way to interest. I do not mean that non-existent persons will be invented for census purposes, but that the heads of households will be encouraged to insert members of their families who are temporarily absent and are enumerated elsewhere. I know of one case of this in the London intermediate census of 1895 which was taken to settle the distribution of the equalisation fund, and do not doubt it was by no means isolated nor that the practice would not become very important if Lord Balfour of Burleigh's scheme were carried out. It is, I think, extremely important to keep the census returns free from all bias. (2) Further, supposing the population to be properly ascertained, it is by no means an efficient indicator

* Royal Commission on Local Taxation Appendix to *Final Report* 1902 Cd. 1221 pp. 205-25.

of the amount which should be spent in the prevention of destitution. Small areas, and even the larger areas likely to be the rateable areas for this purpose in the future, are far from containing equal proportions of persons likely to fall into distress. In the unions as they are now constituted, it is easily conceivable that the cost per head of population would be four times as much in many unions as it would be in many others, simply owing to the fact that poor persons are a larger proportion of the whole population in some places than in others. There are many reasons for this, but the most important—at any rate, if we look to the future rather than the present—is the fact (*a*) that industries are localised by geographical causes, and some industries are worse paid than others; and (*b*) that poor people cannot afford to live in the most salubrious places.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh endeavours to allow for this want of correspondence between population and poverty by giving, in addition to the difference between 4d. in the £ and 3s. 6d. a head, a further grant of one-third of the actual expenditure over and above the 3s. 6d. a head. This seems a very unsatisfactory expedient. It enables every locality, whatever its needs and powers, when once the low 3s. 6d. limit is exceeded, to get for 13s. 4d. what really costs 20s., and that is sure to be very uneconomical in all the localities where there is no great pinch to counteract it. The whole scheme looks much more specious in the expositions of Lord Balfour of Burleigh himself and that of Sir E. Hamilton and Sir G. Murray than it does in the table,* published later, in which its actual working is calculated for each union. It is somewhat of a shock to see a scheme which is intended to be equalisatory reducing the rates of the lowest-rated union in England, Fylde, from 3.3d. to 1.9d. simply because that union has the good fortune to include Blackpool and Lytham. Easter is not much of a holiday in Lancashire, but I have no doubt that an early Easter in the census year would make an enormous difference to the grant obtainable by some south coast unions. While the rates of the lowest-rated union are thus reduced by 43 per cent., those of the highest-rated, Mildenhall, only come down from 26.9d. to 22.6d., or about 16 per cent., simply to all appearance because that union contains no aggregation of the class of people who do not come on the local rates. Examination of the table given shows that great benefit would be derived from the scheme by the rates of the unions which happen to contain prosperous suburbs of towns. My own union, Headington, for example, in which the rate stands at the low level of 7.1d. because Oxford has pushed its wealthy northern suburb into it, has its rate still further reduced to 5d.; while the adjoining union of Thame, much the same in management and everything else except for this accident, finds its rate raised from 17.7d. to 18.9d.

Cannot some better indication of the expense which should be incurred be discovered? I have thought of the number of houses or tenements under a certain value as representing approximately the number of persons likely to be the source of the expense, but I am afraid that the difficulty arising from the different distribution of expenditure in different parts of the country and other obvious difficulties would be insuperable obstacles. I am not myself prepared with any suggestion in this direction, but it is possible that the wit of man can discover some standard which would serve the purpose.

If none such can be discovered, it seems that by far the best plan, after the State had taken over any services which can be better managed by it than by the localities, would be to adopt the rougher but simpler expedient of a frankly

* Royal Commission on Local Taxation *Final Report* 1901 Cd. 638 pp. 65-90 132-142.

and directly equalisatory scale of grants determined only by the rates levied. Such a scale might, for example, be as follows: Nothing towards expense which would be covered by an 8d. rate; one-quarter of additional expense up to the produce of a 1s. rate; one-half of further expense up to the produce of a 1s. 4d. rate; and three-quarters of still further expense over and above that amount. Thus an area in which the expense without assistance would amount to 11d. in the £ would have its actual rate reduced by one-quarter of 3d., so that its actual rate would be 10¼d.; an area in which the expense would without assistance bring out a rate of 1s. 3d. would receive a grant equal to one-quarter of 4d. and one-half of 3d., in all 2½d., so that the actual rate would be 1s. 0½d.; an area in which the expense would bring out a rate of 2s. would get one-quarter of 4d., one-half of 4d., and three-quarters of 8d., in all 9d., so that the actual rate required would be 1s. 3d.

At first sight this plan seems open to the objection which I have just urged against Lord Balfour of Burleigh's second grant, that it enables the locality to buy things for less than they cost. There is this important difference, however, that Lord Balfour of Burleigh's second grant cheapens all the expenditure over and above a certain sum per head of population, whereas my grant only cheapens all the expenditure above a certain rate in the pound. Lord Balfour of Burleigh's second grant consequently makes it easier for all localities to spend in excess of 3s. 6d. per head, whether they are already pinched by high rates or not. My grant on the other hand only cheapens the expenditure when the spenders are already feeling the pinch of high rates, and cheapens it more only as the pinch of high rates becomes greater and greater. This seems to be just what is required to encourage "onerous" expenditure in the localities which have difficulty in meeting the proper amount and to discourage it in those localities which can raise it so easily that they are inclined to be too lavish. I admit that the scheme does not, as a perfect scheme should, exclude from equalisation differences of rates arising from the different cost of given quantities of service in different localities, but we have to strive for the best possible, not for the absolutely perfect.

Perhaps I may be excused a small appeal to the mammon of unrighteousness if I point out that a given sum of money will go a great deal further in appeasing discontent when it is spent in lowering high rates than when it is spent in aiding large expenditure. This is so because the highest rates and the largest absolute expenditure by no means go together. The additional grant of £3,363 which Lord Balfour of Burleigh gives to Fylde would scarcely be noticed by the Blackpool ratepayers, who would get the most of it, whereas the same sum given to Mildenhall would reduce the rate there from 26.9 to 1.7d.* Why should £1,600 a year more be given to my own union, which is perfectly able to bear all the expense and in which nobody ever complains of the rate for the poor? The Local Taxation Commission refrained from collecting any statistics showing the percentage of expenditure to rateable or assessable value in the different unions, and the task of showing the effect upon rates of different schemes of grants in a comprehensive manner is consequently beyond the means at the disposal of a private person. But I have taken out the first eight non-metropolitan unions in which the expenditure was below 1s. in the £ of assessable value and compared them with the first eight in which the expenditure was over 2s. The under 1s. list is Reigate, Kingston, Bromley, Hastings, Christchurch, Bradfield,

* Here and onwards to the end of the paper I am using for purposes of illustration the figures given for 1899-1900 in the Appendix to the *Final Report* of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation Cd 1221 pp. 98-147.

Hendon, and Willesden. The over 2s. list consists of Hoo, Medway, Cranbrook, Tenterden, Sheppey, Rye, Hailsham, and Petworth. The present grants to those under 1s. amount to £29,112, while the other list only gets £18,714. Lord Balfour of Burleigh would increase the under 1s. list to £58,913, and the other list only to £34,713. My equalisatory scheme would give the under 1s. list only £9,542, while it would give the other list £30,611. Lord Balfour of Burleigh's total is thus £45,800 in excess of the present grants, while mine is £7,673 less than the present grants, yet the equalisatory effect of mine is vastly greater. It is so simply because Lord Balfour of Burleigh's scheme is so much kinder to the owners of Bournemouth and Hastings and some very prosperous London suburbs.

Of course, the figures of equalisatory scale which I have suggested are merely illustrative. It is impossible to say what the actual figures should be until we know what services are to continue in the hands of the smaller areas, what are to be taken over by the larger, such as the counties, and what are to be assumed by the largest possible area, such as England or the United Kingdom. I presume, for example, that everyone expects the cost of relieving vagrants to disappear from the union budgets in consequence of new arrangements made by which the State will take over the work of preventing mendicant and larcenous vagrancy, and that the counties will take over the whole charge of lunacy instead of, as at present, only a small fixed charge per lunatic maintained in the county asylums, one of the maddest arrangements ever made by people who professed to be sane. Alterations of this kind will of course reduce the amount of money necessary for equalising purposes.

Discussion.

The Chairman said he had to express regret that Mr. W. Ryland Adkins, K.C., M.P., was not able to be present, though his paper on "The Principles and Limitation of Grants in Aid" had been circulated amongst them. Similarly he had to regret that Mr. Harcourt E. Clare, the Clerk to the Lancashire County Council, was unable to be present. However, they had the pleasure of the presence of Professor Edwin Cannan. He understood that there would be no sitting that afternoon, as originally proposed, and hence this sitting would bring the business to a conclusion.

Continuing, he said that they were all obliged to the Professor for having prepared such an important paper, and invited discussion on the broad subject—that of grants in aid. He took this opportunity of interposing with the idea of first pointing out, as no doubt everybody there knew, that there were really at present two classes of grants in aid. There was the larger class of grants for services rendered, and there was the smaller class, which was very important and subject to great criticism, of grants in relief of the general burdens of a special class of property in particular districts. These two kinds of grants in aid were of such different characters that it was necessary to consider them from different points of view. With regard to the first-mentioned class, there was the maintenance of public order. That was traditional with them as a local burden, and went back to the very early times when even families, under penalties, were charged with the duty of the maintenance of the King's peace. Now there was the modern system of police and the maintenance of public order, and that was a local charge. But all the local authorities which carried out this duty received from the Imperial Exchequer a grant in aid every year

so long as the force was maintained to the satisfaction of the Home Secretary. It was, broadly speaking, supposed that the contribution should be one-half. In the case of the Poor Law, that had for a long time been a local charge; but when lunatics were differentiated from the general charges of the Poor Law, there came along a concession from the Imperial Government of a direct grant in aid towards the maintenance of lunatics of four shillings per head. The police and the lunatics were two clear instances of payment of grants in aid for services rendered. Then there was the extreme case of a grant in relief of the burden on a particular kind of property—in relief of a particular industry. The Agricultural Rating Act, passed at a time of great agricultural depression, and relieving agricultural land of one-half of the burden of rates in the assessment, was a very exceptional measure, and passed as a temporary expedient, but no Chancellor of the Exchequer had up to now had the courage to allow the Act to lapse, and it had, therefore, become part of our system of taxation and relief. This was the only case of any importance in which there had been a grant from the Imperial Exchequer in relief of a burden on a particular class of property or industry. It was important to consider the point of view in which that Act was passed. As a matter of interest, they would find in Switzerland that the system of grants in aid was exceedingly complex. If a Commune wanted, say, to do some embanking to a river which flowed through its area, or to build a bridge, or improve a road, there was a complete system of what could be vulgarly described as cadging for the money, not only from the Canton, but also from the Confederation, and ultimately all the work was carried out by means of two or three sources of grants in aid, in addition to the local charge. Perhaps the local charges would be very small. There, then, they had an elaboration of the system of grants in aid which was well worth studying.

Mr. G. Montague Harris (County Councils' Association) wished that it had been possible for him to have made a closer study of Professor Cannan's paper. He was a little surprised to find that, to his mind, whereas Professor Cannan started by objecting, yea, even ridiculing, the idea of relieving local rates by grants in aid from the taxes, he appeared to finish his paper, which was admirable in itself, by recommending practically the same thing, although he merely called it equalisation. As the equalisation was to be by means of grants in aid, it was therefore relief of local taxation from imperial taxes.

Professor Cannan: Not necessarily.

Continuing, Mr. Harris said the whole question of the desirability of relieving the local taxation seemed to be a little more prominently before the public mind than Professor Cannan wished them to believe. He ventured to think, representing as he did the County Councils' Association, that he knew something of what the people generally felt, and he was certain that the satisfaction with existing state of affairs was by no means so great as the Professor had suggested. Many people in this country—civilised and grown-up—did consider that the inequality as regards the burdens borne by real and personal property was by no means a small matter. It was not possible to get recent figures, but according to the latest statistics available, the amount received in 1907-8 from rates was £59,623,513. That fell upon real property. The amount of the Imperial taxes on real property for the same year was £18,215,000, giving a total of £77,838,513—the aggregate amount of Imperial and local taxation. The amount of taxation borne by personal property came to £24,744,000. Therefore, the total amount of taxation on real property for local and Imperial purposes was more than three times as much as that on personal property; a return for the year 1883-4 showed the capital value of real property to be £3,778,000,000, and personal property £5,632,000,000. They might take it for granted that since then the value of real property had fallen, whilst personal property had considerably risen. Hence, the capital value of personal property was double that of real property, whilst real property paid more than three times as much in taxes as personal property. That was not a small inequality. He could see no equity in it. Professor Cannan's points about the beneficial services must necessarily be taken into consideration. There were no doubt certain services which could properly be borne by the locality, whether they were great or small—services which were enjoyed by the locality and by no one else. Generally speaking, these services might be described as sanitary measures, and so forth. It was suggested by the Local Government Board in a recent report of the medical officer that grants should be made from the Imperial Exchequer to the sanitary authorities on something of the same lines as in the case of the police, and of course, subject to efficiency, with a

view to seeing that sanitation is properly carried out. But they were not likely to get such enormous grants from the central authority as to go far to relieve the local rates, whilst it did not seem to him that the particular service was one on which a real claim could be made on the general taxpayer towards the relief of the local burden. But coming to subjects of more national character, the case was different. Here they fell back upon the reports of the Royal Commision, which enumerated four services of the local authorities which were primarily national—police, roads, education, and poor relief. This conference was called for a specific purpose, and they might leave out the roads and police. Education and poor relief did come within the scope of the conference. With regard to education, it was true that grants in aid given by the central authority were large in comparison with rates. But the amounts raised by the local authorities increased to an enormous extent, whilst the grants did not increase. More should be paid out of the central exchequer to the relief of the local education rates. As long as the central authority could insist upon the local authorities expending more money on improvements, it did not appear fair that the whole of the additional expense should be borne by the local authorities. It was an unfair system that there should be a definite grant for certain purposes made by the central authority, and that any additional expenditure imposed by the central authority should come out of the local rates. It would be fairer for the central authority to pay all the expense of a service above a fixed rate. With regard to poor relief, he was glad to note that here Professor Cannan's views of the impossibility of relieving local taxation had recently received extraordinary contradiction. In this respect they had, in the case of old age pensions, received much assistance from the central exchequer in relief of local rates, and more might result. Because one lived in an area where there was a large proportion of poor, that should be no reason why he should pay more in poor rate than a man who lived where the poor were few. There was one particular branch of this subject with regard to which local authorities might be relieved—namely, in regard to lunatics and the feeble-minded. Here, then, they might transfer these people from the care of the local authorities to the central authorities in the same way as prisons, once administered by local authorities, and now, to the general satisfaction, administered by the State. Similarly lunatics and feeble-minded should be looked after by the State. These two services were very expensive for the local authorities, and got more expensive year by year. But even if, at present, it were fair—which he did not admit—that real property should bear all the burdens for local purposes, they saw clearly that the position would not remain the same in the future. In the last few years the expenses of the local authorities had grown tremendously, and by reason of the action of Parliament they seemed likely to increase in the future. It was unfortunately the characteristic of recent legislation to throw new duties upon the local authorities and to provide no funds from Parliament with which to meet the cost of the service. This was distinctly unfair. It was, however, likely to continue, and even if it did not, these expenses of the various existing services must grow greater and greater. Therefore he suggested that it was grossly unfair to leave the proportion of the burden as it now existed between the taxpayers and the ratepayers.

Mr. A. B. M'Fie (Govan School Board), who spoke upon the educational point of view, mentioned that they were controlled by orders summarily sent to them from the Board of Education. At the present moment they were concerned with an order which would throw a very severe burden on the local rates, but which burden, to his mind, ought wholly and entirely to be borne by the State. In their district they had a large number of schools, probably thirty, built in accordance with the plans sanctioned by the Board of Education. Each classroom contained sixty scholars. Now they are compelled to reduce the size of classes to fifty scholars—although the present schools were built of classes of sixty and in accordance with the plans and requirements of the Board of Education. This new order for the reduction of the size of classes was favourable to the country districts where the classes were small, but in places like Glasgow the burden on the local ratepayers would be very considerable. If the Board of Education ordered that only in new schools the classes should be reduced to fifty there would be no grievance, but it was grossly unfair to summarily issue an edict for the reduction of the size in the old buildings which, at the time of their erection, had been sanctioned by the Board of Education. The result was that in a district like theirs, they would be compelled to build five or six additional schools to accommodate the children who were to be displaced by the reduction of the size of the classes. And in return for that enormous outlay in buildings and provision

of extra teaching staff, they were not to get a solitary penny in return! The Education Department ought not to force such an order in connection with existing schools. Moreover, they had other additional burdens thrown upon them. There was the Superannuation Act which applied to the teachers. They had an Act of their own which cost nothing, but they were to pay 10 per cent. on the salaries. The teachers would pay 4 per cent., the Board was asked to pay 2 per cent., and the department promised to pay 4 per cent. But where they earn £100,000 from grants, the department would deduct £5,000 from it—that was an ingenious way of getting its contribution! (Laughter.) The State was going to relief itself from the payment of anything, and the ratepayers particularly would have to bear the whole of the burden. The time had come for a better adjustment of the grants. They were compelled, as things were, every now and again to increase their rate. In his opinion they had been compelled, through the exigencies of the regulations from the Board of Education, to put 2d. more on the rates, and the probability was that, in the Superannuation Act, next year there would be another increase of 2d., and perhaps 3d. If they were compelled to carry out these regulations they should have liberal treatment in the way of grants in aid. (Hear, hear.)

A DELEGATE, who said he was intimately connected with the Scottish case, declared that expenses were very high in Scotland because of the high educational standard which they insisted upon. The last speech was a good illustration of the manner in which requirements were insisted on by a body which did not find the money, but left the burden on the ratepayers. There would be no redress until all concerned protested against the present evil system.

Mr. GEORGE M. HALE (Govan School Board) mentioned that they had to appoint the teachers, and then the Government stepped in and said they should have to pay them 6 per cent. extra. If the Government insisted upon such a thing, the additional burden should be borne by the whole country, and not forced upon the local ratepayers.

Mr. ROBERT LAMBIE (Lanarkshire County Council) pointed out that the grievance was that though expenditure increased, grants seldom did. In his opinion it would be better to have one general rate. The whole rating system should go into the melting pot. The demand was for better education, and that could only be got by paying for it. The wealthy men did not want to pay, and the poor could not. After all, the only source from which to draw supplies was the people. The present rating inequalities were alarming—especially for education in the Highland countries. There was more money frittered away by the multitude of small municipal authorities on officialism than would pay for the whole system. They must recognise that, and the country should make up its mind that the educational system would also have to be maintained on a higher standard. Certainly if the central authority insisted upon certain requirements, it should give grants in aid, and not leave the ratepayers in the localities to bear the whole of the burden, for some in the poorer districts were already most heavily rated.

Mr. F. H. BENTHAM (Bradford Union) said the subject was most important, and one upon which a Royal Commission had sat for a considerable time and issued enormous volumes, but without coming to any practical conclusion. He ventured to think that each locality was rather apt to look at the question from its own standpoint. Grants in aid were dangerously liable to cause extravagance locally, and something is needed to prevent localities from increasing their expenses out of proportion to their rateable value, which would be the case if a proportion of the increase were to come from the National Exchequer. That would be disastrous. The survey which Professor Cannan suggested might not always answer its purpose, for there might arise a tendency on the part of the local people to get a low rateable value in order to qualify themselves for participation in national grants to an extent which conditions did not warrant. A more equitable plan would be to pay for services which were insisted upon from the national point of view—the payments, of course, being based on efficiency to a large extent. With regard to the Poor Law, the present grants were very small indeed. There was the four shillings per head grant in respect of lunatics, introduced to encourage the local authorities to provide accommodation other than in the workhouses. But here there were many ridiculous anomalies. In every case the county authorities did not provide special accommodation, and so the Guardians had themselves to provide the necessary accommodation for lunatics, in which case they failed to get the four-shilling grant. They did it because the county authorities refused to provide the wards; but yet the Guardians could get no grant. Revision, too, was needed with regard to the grants made in respect of medicine and

officers' salaries. There should be a more extensive scheme of grants in aid under the Poor Law. For example, the central authority wanted the children to be removed from the workhouses. Therefore it would be very simple to give grants in aid to enable this to be done, and also in connection with other services introduced by the Local Government Board in its scheme of general reform. Then the local authorities would be encouraged to provide better accommodation and better services in order to secure the grants.

Mr. Jas. Wright Forbes (Edinburgh Parish Council) expressed general agreement with the views expressed by Mr. Harris, but he could not accept the idea of handing over to the State the care of the lunatics and feeble-minded. While he thought the State might do more in regard to grants to the local authorities, he feared that if the State undertook the control, that the institutions might come to be regarded as glorified prisons, which would be most undesirable. Hence, he believed that in this case there should, as now, be local control. He thought that this service was essentially one that should be administered locally. The trend of modern legislation was too often in the direction of placing additional burdens upon the local authorities, burdens which involved an increasing heavy expenditure to be borne by the local ratepayers. If the State imposed other burdens in this manner it certainly should give adequate support to the localities from the Imperial Exchequer.

Professor Cannan said that a meeting like that ought to remember that for the most part it represented local authorities; therefore, that being he case, it was natural perhaps that it should exhibit a bias in favour of the point of view of the local authorities. He sympathised with that standpoint, for until three years ago he was a member of a local authority and appreciated the difficulties. Then, when he was a member of the local authority, he hated Whitehall as others did now. But now he was more impartial and could think also of the tax-payer. No constructive suggestion had been made as to how the expenses should be borne by the central authorities. It was not possible to have new taxes. He did not think that they were in favour of new taxes. Certainly, bearing in mind the taxes that had been imposed in connection with the old age pensions—the land duties and so on—he did not think the people would like any more; whilst, without venturing into politics, he might mention that a tax on commodities was not likely to meet with any great measure of popular support. Mr. Harris mentioned that he (Professor Cannan) had said that civilised and grown-up persons learned not to grumble at small inequalities. That was hardly correct, for what he said was that they had got to learn, and were in the process of learning, that such inequalities were not always avoidable. When they remember the enormous amount that was raised by means of these unpopular rates, and that by the medium of rates more money was raised than by any single tax in the world, and also that this had been going on for a very long time, he thought, after all, the rates could not be so oppressive. They were, for instance, widely diffused. The calculations put forward as to real and personal property were misleading. It would be more appropriate to take actual figures of the income derived from the two sources of property, and even then they would not have the whole thing. In all sorts of ways these taxes on immovable property permeate to all sorts of people, and they were not simply paid by the householders. His baker paid more rates than he did, but no doubt he got some of them back from the extra charges for his bread. Therefore, they could not put much trust in the calculations, for it is difficult to make out exactly what was meant by real and personal property. When they reflected that, after all, there were two classes of persons, one with the rateable property and the other without, they would come to agree that if they put the tax on one the other did not escape. At present they had this mass of taxation, conveniently and economically arranged and collected; and the whole, in spite of all that might be said, collected without complaint. Against that, they would have to introduce a new system of taxation which had yet to bear the brunt of experience. On the whole he preferred to pay rates. He was disinterested as regarded his own locality, for his proposals would give him no benefit, his district already being one of the lowest rated. In fact, his scheme of equalisation would rather damage his interests.

The proceedings of the section then terminated.

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